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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. III

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1879

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA
THE TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM

TRANSLATED BY
JAMES LEGGE

PART I
THE SHÛ KING
THE RELIGIOUS PORTIONS OF THE SHIH KING
THE HSIÃO KING

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1879

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P R E F A C E.

WHILE submitting here some prefatory observations on the version of the Shû King presented in this volume, I think it well to prefix also a brief account of what are regarded as the Sacred Books of the Religions of China. Those religions are three:—Confucianism, Tâoism, and Buddhism.

I. I begin with a few words about the last. To translate any of its books does not belong to my province, and more than a few words from me are unnecessary. It has been said that Buddhism was introduced into China in the third century B. C.; but it certainly did not obtain an authoritative recognition in the empire till the third quarter of our first century¹. Its Texts were translated into Chinese, one portion after another, as they were gradually obtained from India; but it was not till very long afterwards that the Chinese possessed, in their own language, a complete copy of the Buddhist canon². Translations from the Sanskrit constitute the principal part of the Buddhistic literature of China, though there are also many original works in Chinese belonging to it.

¹ I put the introduction of Buddhism into China before our Christian era thus uncertainly, because of what is said in the article on the history of Buddhism in China, in the Records of the Sui Dynasty (A.D. 589–618), the compilers of which say that before the Han dynasty (began B. C. 202) Buddhism was not heard of in China. They refer to contrary statements as what 'some say,' and proceed to relate circumstances inconsistent with them. It is acknowledged on all sides that Buddhist books were first brought to China between A. D. 60 and 70.

² Mr. Beal (*Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 1, 2) says that 'the first complete edition of the Buddhist Canon in China dates from the seventh century; that a second and much enlarged edition of it, called the Southern Collection, was prepared in A. D. 1410; that a third edition, called the Northern Collection, appeared about A. D. 1590; which again was renewed and enlarged in the year 1723.'

II. Confucianism is the religion of China par excellence, and is named from the great sage who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. Confucius indeed did not originate the system, nor was he the first to inculcate its principles or enjoin its forms of worship. He said of himself (*Analects*, VII, i) that he was a transmitter and not a maker, one who believed in and loved the ancients; and hence it is said in the thirtieth chapter of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, ascribed to his grandson, that 'he handed down the doctrines of Yáo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wăn and Wû, taking them as his models.'

In fulfilling what he considered to be his mission, Confucius did little towards committing to writing the views of antiquity according to his own conception of them. He discoursed about them freely with the disciples of his school, from whom we have received a good deal of what he said; and it is possible that his accounts of the ancient views and practices took, unconsciously to himself, some colour from the peculiar character of his mind. But his favourite method was to direct the attention of his disciples to the ancient literature of the nation. He would neither affirm nor relate anything for which he could not adduce some document of acknowledged authority. He said on one occasion (*Analects*, III, ix) that he could describe the ceremonies of the dynasties of Hsiâ (B.C. 2205-1767) and Yin (B.C. 1766-1123), but did not do so, because the records and scholars in the two states of K'âu, that had been assigned to the descendants of their sovereigns, could not sufficiently attest his words. It is an error even to suppose that he compiled the historical documents, poems, and other ancient books from various works existing in his time. Portions of the oldest works had already perished. His study of those that remained, and his exhortations to his disciples also to study them, contributed to their preservation. What he wrote or said about their meaning should be received by us with reverence; but if all the works which he handled had come down to us entire, we should have been, so far as it is possible for foreigners to be, in

the same position as he was for learning the ancient religion of his country. Our text-books would be the same as his. Unfortunately most of the ancient books suffered loss and injury after Confucius had passed from the stage of life. We have reason, however, to be thankful that we possess so many and so much of them. No other literature, comparable to them for antiquity, has come down to us in such a state of preservation.

But the reader must bear in mind that the ancient books of China do not profess to have been inspired, or to contain what we should call a Revelation. Historians, poets, and others wrote them as they were moved in their own minds. An old poem may occasionally contain what it says was spoken by God, but we can only understand that language as calling attention emphatically to the statements to which it is prefixed. We also read of Heaven's raising up the great ancient sovereigns and teachers, and variously assisting them to accomplish their undertakings; but all this need not be more than what a religious man of any country might affirm at the present day of direction, help, and guidance given to himself and others from above. But while the old Chinese books do not profess to contain any divine revelation, the references in them to religious views and practices are numerous; and it is from these that the student has to fashion for himself an outline of the early religion of the people. I will now state what the books are.

First, and of greatest importance, there is the Book of Historical Documents, called the *Shû* and, since the period of the Han dynasty (began B.C. 202), the *Shû King*. Its documents commence with the reign of Yáo in the twenty-fourth century B.C., and come down to that of king Hsiang of the *K'áu* dynasty, B.C. 651-619. The earliest chapters were not contemporaneous with the events which they describe, but the others begin to be so in the twenty-second century B.C. The reader will find a translation of the whole of this work without abridgment.

Second, and nearly as important as the *Shû*, there is the *Shih*, or the Book of Poetry. It contains in all 305

pieces, five of which are of the time of the Shang dynasty (called also the Yin), B.C. 1766-1123. The others belong to the dynasty of K'au, from the time of its founder, king Wăn, born B.C. 1231, to the reign of king Ting, B.C. 606-586. The whole is divided into four Parts, the last of which is occupied with 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar.' Many pieces in the other Parts also partake of a religious character, but the greater number are simply descriptive of the manners, customs, and events of the times to which they belong, and have no claim to be included in the roll of Sacred Texts. In this volume will be found all the pieces that illustrate the religious views of their authors, and the religious practices of their times.

The third work is the Yi, commonly called the Book of Changes. Confucius himself set a high value on it, as being fitted to correct and perfect the character of the learner (Analects, VII, xvi); and it is often spoken of by foreigners as the most ancient of all the Chinese classics. But it is not so. As it existed in the time of the sage, and as it exists now, no portion of the text is older than the time of king Wăn, mentioned above. There were and are, indeed, in it eight trigrams ascribed to Fû-hsî, who is generally considered as the founder of the Chinese nation, and whose place in chronology should, probably, be assigned in the thirty-fourth century B.C. The eight trigrams are again increased to sixty-four hexagrams. To form these figures, two lines, one of them whole (—) and the other divided (— —), are assumed as bases. Those lines are then placed, each over itself, and each over the other; and four binograms are formed. From these, by the same process with the base lines, are obtained eight figures,—the famous trigrams. Three other repetitions of the same process give us successively sixteen, thirty-two, and sixty-four figures. The lines in the figures thus increase in an arithmetical progression, whose common difference is one, and the number of the figures increases in a geometrical progression, whose common ratio is two. But what ideas Fû-hsî attached to his primary lines,—the whole and the divided; what significance he gave to his trigrams; what to the

sixty-four hexagrams,—if indeed he himself formed so many figures; and why the multiplication of the figures was stayed at sixty-four:—of none of these points have we any knowledge from him. There is some reason to believe that there were texts to the hexagrams under the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, but none of them have been preserved. It may be that king Wăn and his equally famous son, the duke of Kâu, adopted much of what they found already existing, and incorporated it with their own interpretations of the figures; but they, and they alone, are accepted as the authors of the text of the Yî. King Wăn, we are told, at a time when he was imprisoned by the tyrannical sovereign with whom the dynasty of Shang or Yin ended, took in hand the ever-changing hexagrams, and appended to each a brief explanation of the meaning which the trigrams composing it suggested by their union to his mind; and in some cases the practical course in affairs to which that meaning should direct. His son did for the separate lines of each hexagram what Wăn had done for the whole figure. Confucius is said to have entered into their labours about 600 years afterwards. Several appendixes are ascribed to him, in which there is an attempt to explain the origin of the Fû-hsi figures, and many of the interpretations of Wăn and his son. The early linear figures; the notes of Wăn and the duke of Kâu; and the Confucian appendixes:—these constitute the Yî.

The work was from the first intimately connected with the practice of divination, which, we know from the Shû, entered largely into the religion of the ancient Chinese. This goes far to account for its obscure and enigmatical character; but at the same time there occur in it, though in a fragmentary manner, so many metaphysical, physical, moral, and religious utterances, that the student of it is gradually brought under a powerful fascination. In consequence, moreover, of its use in divination, it was exempted by the superstitious tyrant of K'hin from the flames to which he condemned all the other Confucian literature in B.C. 213. It has thus come down to us entire, and a translation of the whole of it will be given.

An additional interest belongs to the *Yi* as the fountain-head from which the comparatively modern philosophers of the Sung dynasty (began A. D. 960) professed to draw what has been called their 'atheo-political' system. As an appendix to the translation of the *Yi*, there will be given an outline of that system, and an attempt will be made to test the correctness of the interpretation of this classic by its authors.

The fourth of the great classics is the *Lî Kî*, or the Record of Rites; but it is only one of a class that we may denominate the Constitutional and Ritual Books of ancient China, especially under the *K'au* dynasty. They are often mentioned together as 'the Three Rituals.' The first of them is called *K'au Lî*, the Rites of *K'au*, and also *K'au Kwan*, the Officers of *K'au*, which latter is the better name for it. It is the official book of the *K'au* dynasty. The prevailing opinion is that it was the production of the duke of *K'au*; and if it were not composed in its present form by him, it contains, no doubt, the substance of the regulations which he made for the administration of the government, after the dynasty of Shang had passed, through the achievements of his father and brother, into that of *K'au*. Under the various departments in which that administration was arranged, it enumerates the principal and subordinate officers belonging to each, and describes their duties. After the fires of *K'hin*, the work was recovered nearly complete in the first century B. C. A good translation of the whole work was published in 1851, at Paris, by M. Edouard Biot.

The second Ritual Collection bears the name of *Î Lî*, which has been translated 'the Decorum Ritual,' and 'the Rules of Demeanour.' It was recovered earlier than the former, and is as voluminous. It consists of the rules by which a scholar or officer should regulate his behaviour on social and state occasions. It has not yet, so far as I know, been translated into any European language.

The third Collection, more voluminous than either of the others, was made also under the Han dynasty. In the first century B. C., it was an immense compilation of 214 books arranged in five divisions. The 214 were reduced

to eighty-five by Tâi Teh, a scholar of the time, and his eighty-five again to forty-six by a cousin, called Tâi K'hang. Three other books were added to these towards the end of the Han period, forming forty-nine in all, which have come down to us under the title of Lî K'î, or 'the Record of Rites,' and have long constituted by imperial authority one of the five King. An abridgment of this work was translated by M. J. M. Callery, at Turin, in 1853, with the title,—'*Lî K'î, ou Memorial des Rites, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de notes, de commentaires, et du texte original.*' Callery's work, however, contains only thirty-six of the forty-nine books of the Lî K'î, and most of those thirty-six in a condensed form. Whether it will be possible to give in these Sacred Books of the East translations of the whole of these Rituals; and if that be not possible, by what principles to be guided in the selection of portions of them:—these are questions to be determined after further deliberation. Many passages contain more of the mind of Confucius himself on the sacrificial worship of his country, and the ideas underlying it, than we find elsewhere.

But it must not be forgotten that these ritual books do not throw so valuable a light on the ancient religion of China as the older Shû and Shih. They belong to the period of the K'au dynasty, and do not go back as contemporaneous records to the dynasties beyond it and the still remoter age of Yâo and Shun. The views of Confucius, moreover, as given in them, do not come to us at first hand. They were gathered up by the Han scholars five and six centuries after his death, nor can we be sure that these did not sometimes put ideas of their own into the mouth of the sage, and make additions to the writings which were supposed, correctly or incorrectly, to have come from his immediate disciples.

We owe the fifth and last of the Kings of China to Confucius himself. It is what he called *K'hun K'hiu*, or 'the Spring and Autumn,' a very brief chronicle compiled by him of the annals of his native state of Lû for 242 years, from B. C. 722 to 481. But there is not much to be

gleaned from it for the Sacred Texts; and if we were to launch out into the three supplements to it of *So K'hiu-ming*, *Kung-yang*, and *K'ü-liang*, the result would not repay the labour. A translation of the whole of *So's* supplement, much the most important, is given in my work on the *K'ün K'hiu*, published at Hong Kong in 1872.

There is another short treatise attributed to Confucius,—the *Hsiáo King*, or 'Classic of Filial Piety.' Though not like one of the five great works that have been described, it was the first to receive the denomination of a King,—and that from the lips of the sage himself,—if the account which we have received of the matter is to be relied on. This little work does not come to us, like the *K'ün K'hiu*, as directly from the pencil of Confucius, but in the shape of conversations between him and his disciple *Šǎng-ze*, put on record in the first place, probably, by some members of *Šǎng's* school. No portion of the ancient literature has more exercised the minds and engaged the attention of many of the emperors of successive dynasties. The *Hsiáo* seems to me an attempt to construct a religion on the basis of the cardinal virtue of Filial Piety, and is open to criticism in many respects. A translation of it is given in the present volume.

The classical books are often spoken of as being 'the five King' and 'the four Shû.' The King have all been separately referred to above; the four Shû is an abbreviation for the Shû or Books of the four Philosophers. The first is the *Lun Yü*, or 'Discourses and Conversations,' occupied chiefly with sayings of Confucius and conversations between him and many of his disciples. The second is the *Works of Mencius*, perhaps the greatest thinker and writer of the Confucian school after the Master. I hope to be able to give both these works. The third of the Shû is the *T'â Hsio*, or 'Great Learning,' ascribed, like the *Hsiáo*, to *Šǎng-ze*. The fourth is the *Kung Yung*, or 'Doctrine of the Mean,' the production of *Šze-sze*, the sage's grandson. Both of these treatises, however, are taken from the *Lî K'î*. The whole of the Four Books were translated and published by me in 1861.

III. The third Religion in China is what is called Tãoism. It was, like Confucianism, of native origin, and its acknowledged founder was Lî R, called also Lî Po-yang, and, after his death, Lî Tan. More commonly he is designated Láo-ze, translated by some 'the Old Philosopher,' and by others 'the Old Boy' from a fabulous story that his mother carried him in her womb for seventy-two years, so that when he was at length cut out of it, his hair was already white. His birth is referred to the year 604 B.C., so that he was between fifty and sixty years older than Confucius. There are accounts, hardly reliable, of interviews and discussions between the two men.

Láo-ze's system often goes with English writers by the name of Rationalism; but if that name be retained, the term must be taken in quite a peculiar sense. His doctrine was that of the Tão, but it is not easy to determine what English term will best express the meaning of the Chinese character. The only record which we have of Láo-ze's views is the Tão-teh King, or 'Classic of Tão and Virtue,' a treatise of no great length. It was published at Paris in 1842, with a translation in French, by the late Stanislas Julien, under the title of '*Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu.*' Appealing to the views of Kwang-ze and other writers of the Tãoist school, M. Julien says that '*Le Tão est dépourvu d'action, de pensée, de jugement, d'intelligence,*' and adds that 'it appears impossible therefore to take it for the primordial reason, the Sublime Intelligence, which created and rules the world.'

A translation in English was published, in 1868, by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Canton, under the title of 'the Speculations in Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality, of "the Old Philosopher."' Dr. Chalmers retains the term Tão in his English Text, and says, 'I have thought it better to leave the word Tão untranslated, both because it has given the name to the sect,—the Tãoists,—and because no English word is its exact equivalent. Three terms suggest themselves,—the Way, Reason, and the Word; but they are all liable to objection. Were we guided by etymology, "the Way" would come nearest to the original, and in one

or two passages the idea of a Way seems to be in the term; but this is too materialistic to serve the purpose of a translation. Reason again seems to be more like a quality or attribute of some conscious Being than Tào is. I would translate it by the Word in the sense of the Logos, but this would be like settling the question which I wish to leave open, viz. what amount of resemblance there is between the Logos of the New Testament and this Tào, which is its nearest representative in Chinese.'

Two other translations of the Tào-teh King have appeared, both in German:—'Lao-tsze's Tao Te King, aus dem Chinesischen ins Deutsche übersetzt, eingeleitet, und commentirt, von Victor von Strauss (Leipzig, 1870),' and 'Lao-tse, Tao-te-king, "Der Weg zur Tugend," aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt und erklärt von Reinhold von Plänckner,' also published at Leipzig. Strauss closely follows Julien, while Plänckner allows himself great freedom in dealing with his original. Notwithstanding these four attempts to give the meaning of 'the Old Philosopher' in three European languages, there is room for a new version, which will be submitted to the reader in due course. It is only by an intense and long-continued study of the original that we can come to an agreement as to the meaning of the Tào. I propose not only to give a translation of the Tào-teh King, but also of the works of Kwang-ze, the most remarkable of the early writers of the Tàoist school.

Whatever Láo-ze intended by the Tào, Tàoism has, in the course of time, borrowed largely, both from Confucianism and Buddhism. It inculcates a morality of a high order in some respects, and has developed a system of grotesque beliefs and practices, ministering to superstition, and intended to refine and preserve the breath of life. Its practical teachings will be exhibited in the most popular of all the Tàoist writings,—the treatise on 'Actions and their Recompenses,' and perhaps in one or more, besides, of the characteristic productions of the system.

The version of the Shû that appears in this volume is substantially the same as that in the third volume of my

large edition of the Chinese Classics, and which was published in 1865. I wrote out the whole afresh, however, having before me not only my own version, but the earlier translations of P. Gaubil in French and Dr. Medhurst in English. Frequent reference was made likewise to a larger apparatus of native commentaries than I had formerly used. Going to the text anew, after more than twelve years devoted mainly to the continuous study of the Chinese classics, I yet hardly discovered any errors which it was necessary to correct. A few verbal alterations were made to make the meaning clearer. Only in one case will a reader, familiar with the former version, be struck with any alteration in this. The Chinese character 帝 (Tî), applied repeatedly to the ancient Yáo and Shun in the commencing books of the classic, and once in the 27th Book of the fifth Part, was there translated by 'emperor,' while it is left untranslated in the present volume, and its name transferred to the English text.

Before adopting this change, I had considered whether I ought to translate Tî in all other instances of its occurrence in the Shû (and invariably in the Shih), and its intensified form Shang Tî (上帝), by our term 'God.' Gaubil rendered Tî for the most part by 'le Seigneur,' and Shang Tî by 'le Souverain Maître,' adding sometimes to these names Tî and Shang Tî in brackets. Medhurst translated Tî by 'the Supreme,' and 'the Supreme Ruler,' and Shang Tî by 'the Supreme Ruler.' More than twenty-five years ago I came to the conclusion that Tî was the term corresponding in Chinese to our 'God,' and that Shang Tî was the same, with the addition of Shang, equal to 'Supreme.' In this view I have never wavered, and I have rendered both the names by 'God' in all the volumes of the Chinese Classics thus far translated and published.

What made me pause before doing so in the present volume, was the consideration that the object of 'the Sacred Texts of the Religions of the East,' as I understand it, is to give translations of those texts without any colouring in the first place from the views of the trans-

lators. Could it be that my own view of Tî, as meaning God, had grown up in the heat of our controversies in China as to the proper characters to be used for the words God and Spirit, in translating the Sacred Scriptures? A reader, confronted everywhere by the word God, might be led to think more highly of the primitive religion of China than he ought to think. Should I leave the names Tî and Shang Tî untranslated? Or should I give for them, instead of God, the terms Ruler and Supreme Ruler? I could not see my way to adopt either of these courses.

The term Heaven (天, pronounced Thien) is used everywhere in the Chinese Classics for the Supreme Power, ruling and governing all the affairs of men with an omnipotent and omniscient righteousness and goodness; and this vague term is constantly interchanged in the same paragraph, not to say the same sentence, with the personal names Tî and Shang Tî. Thien and Tî in their written forms are perfectly distinct. Both of them were among the earliest characters, and enter, though not largely, as the phonetical element into other characters of later formation. According to the oldest Chinese dictionary, the Shwo Wăn (A.D. 100), Thien is formed, 'by association of ideas,' from yî (一), 'one,' and tâ (大), 'great,' meaning—what is one and undivided, and great. Tâi Thung, of our thirteenth century, in his remarkable dictionary, the Liû Shû Kû, explains the top line of it as indicating 'what is above,' so that the significance of the character is 'what is above and great.' In both these dictionaries Tî (帝) is derived from 一 or 𠂇 (shang), 'above,' or 'what is above:' and they say that the whole character is of phonetical formation, in which I am not able to follow them¹;

¹ It is said in the Shwo Wăn that the phonetical element in Tî is 東; but this is pronounced 3hze. Neither in form nor sound is there any similitude between it and Tî. An error, probably, has crept into the text. Dr. Chalmers, in his treatise on 'the Origin of the Chinese,' attempts (p. 12) to analyse the character into its constituent parts in the following way:—'The peculiar nature of the Chinese written language has done good service in stereotyping the primi-

but Tâi Thung gives the following account of its meaning:—‘Tî is the honourable designation of lordship and rule,’ adding, ‘Therefore Heaven is called Shang Tî; the five Elementary Powers are called the five Tî; and the Son of Heaven¹—that is, the Sovereign—is called Tî.’ Here then is the name Heaven, by which the idea of Supreme Power in the absolute is vaguely expressed; and when the Chinese would speak of it by a personal name, they use the terms Tî and Shang Tî;—saying, I believe, what our early fathers did, when they began to use the word God. Tî is the name which has been employed in China for this concept for fully 5000 years. Our word God fits naturally into every passage where the character occurs in the old Chinese Classics, save those to which I referred above on p. xxiii. It never became with the people a proper name like the Zeus of the Greeks. I can no more translate Tî or Shang Tî by any other word but God than I can translate *sǎn* (人) by anything else but man.

The preceding is a brief abstract of the reasoning by which I was determined to retain the term God for Tî and Shang Tî in this volume, excepting in the cases that have called for these observations. But in the account of Tî which I have adduced from Tâi Thung, it is said that ‘the sovereign is also called Tî;’ and most of my readers know that Hwang Tî (皇帝) is the title of the emperor of China. How did this application of the name arise? Was it in the first place a designation of the ruler or emperor; and was it then given to the Supreme Power, when the vague Heaven failed to satisfy the thinker and worshipper,

tive belief in one Supreme Tî (帝), who is 大 “great,” over, and |, “ruling,” heaven (☾ = ☿) and earth (☶). This is ingenious, but not entirely satisfactory. The three last steps are so; but the finding 大 (great) in the top part of 帝 does not in the same way carry conviction to the mind.

¹ Thien 3ze, ‘the Son of Heaven,’ is a common designation of the sovereign of China. Originally 3ze performed in the expression the part of a verb, and Thien 3ze was equivalent to ‘he whom Heaven sons,’ that is, considers and treats as its son. See the second line of the ode, p. 318.

and he wished to express his recognition of a personal Being who was to himself his almighty ruler? If these questions be answered in the affirmative, Tî would be a name applied to the Supreme Being, just as we rise from the paternal relation among ourselves and call him Father. Or, on the other hand, was Tî the designation of the Supreme Lord and Ruler, corresponding to our God, and was it subsequently applied to the earthly ruler, thereby deifying him, just as the title Divus was given to a Roman emperor? I believe that it was in this latter way that Tî came to be used of the sovereigns of China; and therefore in again publishing a translation of the Shû, I resolved, that where the appellation is given in it to Yáo and Shun, and it is only to them that it is given, I would retain the Chinese term instead of rendering it, as formerly, by 'emperor.'

The following are the reasons which weighed with me in coming to this resolution:

First, the first really historical sovereign of China who used the title of Hwang Tî was the founder of the K'ín dynasty; and he assumed it in B. C. 221, when he had subjugated all the sovereignties into which the feudal kingdom of Káu had become divided, and was instituting the despotic empire that has since subsisted.

The Káu dynasty had continued for 867 years, from B. C. 1122 to 256, and its rulers had been styled Wang or kings.

Káu superseded the dynasty of Shang or Yin, that had endured for 644 years, from B. C. 1766 to 1123; and its rulers had similarly been styled Wang or kings.

Shang superseded the dynasty of Hsiá, which had lasted for 439 years, from B. C. 2205 to 1767, and its rulers had been styled Wang, or kings, and Háu, or sovereigns.

Thus, from the great Yü, B. C. 2205 to B. C. 221, that is, for nearly 2000 years, there was no Tî or emperor in China. During all that time the people had on the whole been increasing in numbers, and the nation growing in territory;—how did it come to pass, that the higher title, if it had previously existed, gave place to an inferior one?

Prior to the dynasty of Hsiâ, with the exception of the period of Yáo and Shun, the accounts which we have of the history of China have been, and ought to be, pronounced 'fabulous' and 'legendary.' The oldest documents that purport to be historical are the books in the Shû about Yáo and Shun, and even they do not profess to be contemporaneous with those personages. The earlier accounts open with a Phan-kû, in whose time 'heaven and earth were first separated.' To him succeeded the period of the San Hwang, or Three August Lines, consisting of twelve Celestial, eleven Terrestrial, and nine Human Sovereigns, who ruled together about 50,000 years. After them come a host of different Lines, till we arrive at the Wû Tî, or Five Emperors. The first of these is commonly said to be Fû-hsi, while he and two others are sometimes put down as the San Hwang, in order to bring in Yáo and Shun as the last two of the Tîs.

I have entered into these details because of the account which we have of the king of *K'in*'s assuming the title of Hwang Tî. We are told:—'As soon as the king had brought the whole country into subjection, thinking that he united in himself the virtues of the three Hwangs, and that his merits exceeded those of the five Tîs, he changed his title into Hwang Tî.' The three Hwangs are entirely fabulous, and the five Tîs are, to say the least, legendary. That there were either Hwangs or Tîs ruling in China before the age of the Hsiâ dynasty cannot be admitted.

Second, it has been stated above, and is shown in the Introduction to the Shû, pp. 13-19, that the books in the Shû, previous to the Hsiâ dynasty, are not historical in the sense of their being contemporaneous documents of the times about which they speak. They profess to be compilations merely from older documents; and when they speak of Yáo and Shun as Tîs, the title Tî precedes the name or designation, instead of following it, as it ought to do, according to Chinese usage, if Tî is to be taken in the sense of emperor. Yáo Tî would be 'the emperor Yáo,' but we have Tî Yáo, where Tî performs the part of an adjective. King Wán, the founder of the *Káu* dynasty, is

invariably mentioned as Wăn Wang, 'Wăn the king.' To say Wang Wăn would be felt at once by every Chinese scholar to be inadmissible; and not less so is Tî Yáo for 'the emperor Yáo.' It was the perception of this violation of usage in Chinese composition, five years ago, that first showed me the error of translating Tî Yáo and Tî Shun by 'the emperor Yáo' and 'the emperor Shun.' It is true that in the early books of the Shû, we have Tî used alone, without the adjunct of Yáo or Shun, and referring to those personages. In those cases it does perform the part of a substantive, but its meaning depends on that which belonged to it as an adjective in the phrases Tî Yáo and Tî Shun. If it be ascertained that in these it means 'the Deified,' then when used singly as a noun, it will mean Divus, or the Divine One.

Third, the sovereigns of the Hsiâ, the Shang, and the K'áu dynasties, it has been seen, were styled Wang and not Tî. Confucius speaks repeatedly in the Analects of Yáo and Shun, but he never calls either of them by the title of Tî. Mencius, however, uses it both of the one and the other, when he is quoting in substance from the accounts of them in the Shû. This confirms the view that the early books of the Shû were current after the middle of the K'áu dynasty, very much in the form in which we now have them; and the question arises whether we can show how the application of the title Tî as given in them to Yáo and Shun arose. We can.

The fourth Book of the Lî K'î is called Yüeh Ling, 'the Monthly Record of the Proceedings of Government.' In it certain sacrificial observances paid to the five Tîs are distributed through the four seasons. The Tîs are Fù-hsi, Shân-năng, Yü-hsiung or Hsien-yüan, K'in-thien, and K'ao-yang, who are styled Thái Hào (the Greatly Resplendent), Yen Tî (the Blazing Tî), Hwang Tî (the Yellow Tî), Shào Hào (the Less Resplendent), and K'wan Hsü (the Solely Correct); with each Tî there is associated in the ceremony a personage of inferior rank, who is styled Shân (神 = a Spirit). The language descriptive of the ceremony is the same in all the cases, with the exception of the names and

months. Thus the first entry is:—‘In the first month of spring, on such and such days, the Tî is Thái Hào, and the Shân is Kâu-mang.’ Now this Kâu-mang was a son of Shào Hào, several hundreds of years later than Thái Hào, so that the associating them together in this ceremony could only have arisen in later times.

However we explain the ceremony thus curtly described; whether we see in it the growing prevalence of nature-worship, or an illustration of the practice of worshipping ancient heroes and worthies:—Tî appears in the account of it plainly used in the sense of God. In each of the five instances, we have a Tî and a Shân, not an emperor and a spirit, but a God and a Spirit,—a Spirit standing in the same relation to the God, that *Khăn* (臣 = a subject or minister) stands in to a ruler. Thus it was that, by a process of deification, the title of Tî came to be given, in the time of the Kâu dynasty, to the great names, fabulous and legendary, of antiquity; and thus it was that it was applied to the heroes Yáo and Shun. It may well be that the title Hwang Tî, used by a Chinese of the present emperor or of any emperor of the past, does not call up to his mind any other idea than that of a human sovereign; but being satisfied as to the proper signification of Tî as God, and as to the process by which the title came to be applied to the ancient Yáo and Shun, I could no longer render it, when used of them in the Shû, by emperor, and elected to leave it untranslated in the present volume.

To any unimportant changes of translation it is unnecessary to refer. The dates B.C. in the introductions and notes are all one year more than in the translations formerly published. They are thus brought into accordance with those of P. Gaubil and the useful Chinese Chronological Tables of the late Mr. Mayers.

The changes in the transliteration of Chinese names are very considerable. As foreigners are now resident in Peking, it seemed proper to adopt the pronunciation of the

capital as given by Sir T. F. Wade in his Hsin Ching Lu and Tzŭ Erh Chî. At the same time, in order to secure as near an approach as possible to uniformity in all the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East, the letters employed were made to conform to those in Professor Max Müller's Scheme for the Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets. It was not easy at first to do this, for Chinese, having no alphabet, reluctated against being made to appear as if it had; but use has more than reconciled me to the method now employed. It was not possible to introduce into the table all the diphthongs in which Chinese speech is rich. The reader has to be informed that i before another vowel or a diphthong approximates to the sound of y, so that the whole utterance is still monosyllabic. The powers of *r* and *ze* must be heard before they can be appreciated.

To call the attention of the reader to passages in the Shû, embodying, more or less distinctly, religious ideas, an asterisk (*) will be found appended to them.

J. L.

OXFORD,
18th April, 1879.

THE SHŪ KING
OR
BOOK OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

THE SHŪ KING

OR

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF THE SHŪ.

1. The Shū is the most ancient of the Chinese classical books, and contains historical documents of various kinds, relating to the period from about B.C. 2357-627. The character Shū shows us by its composition that it denotes 'the pencil speaking,' and hence it is often used as a designation of the written characters of the language. This, indeed, was the earliest meaning of it, but from this the transition was easy to its employment in the sense of writings or books, applicable to any consecutive compositions; and we find it further specially employed by Confucius and others to designate the historical remains of antiquity, in distinction from the poems, the accounts of rites, and other monuments of former times. Not that those other monuments might not also be called by the general name of Shū. The peculiar significance of the term, however, was well established, and is retained to the present day.

Meaning of
the name
Shū King.

The book has come down to us in a mutilated condition; but even as it is said to have existed in the time of Confucius, it did not profess to contain a history of China, and much less, to give the annals of that history. It was simply a collection of historical memorials, extending over a space of about 1700 years, but on no connected method, and with frequent and great gaps between them.

The name King (now in Pekinese *King*) was not added to Shû till the time of the Han dynasty (began B. C. 202). If Confucius applied it to any of the classical works, it was to the classic of Filial Piety, as will be seen in the Introduction to the translation of that work. The Han scholars, however, when engaged in collecting and digesting the ancient literary monuments of their country, found it convenient to distinguish the most valuable of them, that had been acknowledged by Confucius, as King, meaning what was canonical and of unchallengeable authority.

2. In the Confucian Analects, the sage and one of his disciples quote from the Shû by the simple formula—

The Shû was
an existing
collection of
documents
before
Confucius.

‘The Shû says.’ In the Great Learning, four different books or chapters of the classic, all in it as we have it now, are mentioned, each by its proper name. Mencius sometimes

uses the same formula as Confucius, and at other times designates particular books. It is most natural for us to suppose that Confucius, when he spoke of the Shû, had in his mind’s eye a collection of documents bearing that title.

One passage in Mencius seems to put it beyond a doubt that the Shû existed as such a collection in his time. Having said that ‘it would be better to be without the Shû than to give entire credit to it,’ he makes immediate reference to one of the books of our classic by name, and adds, ‘In the Completion of the War I select two or three passages only, and believe them¹.’ In Mo-ze, Hsün-ze, and other writers of the last two centuries of the Kâu dynasty, the Shû is quoted in the same way, and also frequently with the specification of its parts or larger divisions,—‘The Books of Yü,’ ‘of Hsiâ,’ ‘of Shang,’ ‘of Kâu.’ And, in fine, in many of the narratives of 3o K’hiu-ming’s commentary on the Spring and Autumn, the Shû is quoted in the same way, even when the narratives are about men and events long anterior to the sage². All these consi-

¹ Mencius, VII, ii, ch. 3.

² The first quotation of the Shû in 3o is under the sixth year of duke Yin, B. C. 717.

derations establish the thesis of this paragraph, that the Shû was an existing collection of historical documents before Confucius.

3. From the above paragraph it follows that Confucius did not compile the collection of documents that form the

Confucius did not compile the Shû. The number of documents in it in his time. The Preface ascribed to him.

Shû. The earliest assertion that he did so we have from Khung An-kwo, his descendant in the eleventh generation, in the second century, B. C. Recounting the labours of his ancestor, An-kwo says, in the Preface to his edition of the Shû, that 'he examined and arranged the old literary monuments and records, deciding

to commence with Yáo and Shun, and to come down to the times of K'áu. Of those deserving to be handed down to other ages and to supply permanent lessons, he made in all one hundred books, consisting of canons, counsels, instructions, announcements, speeches, and charges.' The same thing is stated by Sze-mâ K'ien in his Historical Records, completed about B. C. 100, but K'ien's information was derived from An-kwo. Such a compilation would have been in harmony with the character which Confucius gave of himself, as 'a transmitter and not a maker, believing and loving the ancients'¹, and with what his grandson says of him in the Doctrine of the Mean, that 'he handed down (the lessons of) Yáo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed those of Wán and Wû, whom he took for his model'².

We have seen, however, that the collection existed in his time and before it. Did it then, as An-kwo says, consist of a hundred books? His authority for saying so was a Preface, which was found along with the old tablets of the Shû that were discovered in his time and deciphered by him, as will be related farther on. He does not say, however, that it was the work of Confucius, though K'ien does. It still exists,—a list of eighty-one documents in a hundred books. The prevailing opinion of scholars in China is now, that it was not written by the sage. I entirely

¹ Analects, VII, i.

² The Doctrine of the Mean, XXX, 1.

agree myself with the judgment of *Shâi K'han*, the disciple of *K'ü Hsi*, whose Collected Comments, first published A. D. 1210, are now the standard of orthodoxy in the interpretation of the Shû. He says of the document: 'It sheds light on nothing, and there are things in it at variance with the text of the classic. On the books that are lost it is specially servile and brief, affording us not the slightest help. That it is not the work of Confucius is exceedingly plain.'

The eighty-one documents mentioned in it, and more, may have been in the Shû of the time of Confucius. I think, however, that several of them must have been lost subsequently, before the rise of the tyrant of *K'in*, who doomed the whole collection to the flames. Mencius complains that in his days the feudal princes destroyed many of the records of antiquity that they might the better perpetrate their own usurpations and innovations¹. Other considerations, on the exhibition of which I need not enter, confirm me in this conclusion.

4. It will be well here to devote a paragraph to the sources of the Shû. Have we sufficient proofs of the composition in ancient times of such documents as it contains, and of their preservation, so that they could be collected in a sort of historical canon?

We have. Under the dynasty of *K'au* (B. C. 1122-256), at the royal court, and at the courts of the feudal princes on a smaller scale, there were officers styled *Sze*, which has been translated 'Recorders,' 'Annalists,' 'Historiographers,' and simply 'Clerks.' There were the Grand Recorder, the Assistant Recorder, the Recorder of the Interior, the Recorder of the Exterior, and the Recorder in Attendance on the Sovereign. Among the duties of the Recorder of the Interior were the following:—'In case of any charge given by the king to the prince of a state, or to any other dignitary, he writes it on tablets;' 'In case of any memorials on business coming in from the different quarters of the kingdom, he reads them (to the king);' 'It is his business

¹ Mencius, V, ii, ch. 2.

to write all charges of the king, and to do so in duplicate.' Of the duties of the Recorder of the Exterior it is said :— ' He has charge of the histories of the states in all parts of the kingdom ; ' ' He has charge of the most ancient books ; ' ' It is his business to publish in all parts of the kingdom the books and the characters in them¹.'

These entries show that under the *K'au* dynasty there was provision made for the recording and preservation of royal charges and ordinances, of the operations of the general government, and of the histories of the different states ; and, moreover, for the preservation and interpretation of documents come down from more ancient times. Confucius himself tells us that in his early days a recorder would leave a blank in his text, rather than enter anything of which he had not sufficient evidence². Mencius also mentions three works, the *Shǎng* of *Kin*, the *Thâu-wû* of *K'ôu*, and the *K'kun K'hiu* of *Lû*, which must have come from the recorders of those states.

Of the existence of a similar class of officers under the previous dynasties of Shang or Yin (B.C. 1766–1123) and Hsiâ (B.C. 2205–1765), we have not such abundant evidence. Chapter 2 in the 10th Book of the 5th Part of our classic, however, seems to speak of them in the time of the former. *Wû-ting* (B.C. 1324–1264), the twentieth sovereign of it, is described as communicating, in writing, a dream which he had had, to his ministers³; and fully four hundred years earlier, *Î Yin*, the chief minister, remonstrates, in writing, with his young and careless sovereign *Thâi K'ia*⁴. Going back to the dynasty of Hsiâ, we find the prince of Yin, during the reign of *Kung Khang* (B.C. 2159–2145), in addressing his troops, quotes the Statutes of Government in a manner which makes us conceive of him as referring to a well-known written compilation⁵. The grandsons of the great *Yü*, its founder (B.C. 2205–2196), likewise, make mention, in the Songs of the Five Sons, of his Lessons, in a style that suggests to us the formula that Mencius was

¹ See for all these statements the Ritual or Official Book of *K'au*, XXXI, 35–42.

² Analects, XV, xxv.

⁴ Part IV, v, section 1.

³ Part IV, viii, section 1.

⁵ Part III, iv.

wont to employ when referring to the documents acknowledged to be of authority in his day¹.

Mâ Twan-lin, the encyclopedist, in his General Examination of Records and Scholars, first published A. D. 1321, says that 'the pencil of the recorders was busy from the time of Hwang Tî (B. C. 2697).' The compilers of the records of the Sui dynasty (A. D. 589-617) say that 'historical documents began immediately with the invention of written characters.' That invention I must place myself at an earlier date than the time assigned to Hwang Tî. When once the characters were invented, they would come in time to be employed in the writing of history. The early dates alleged for many of the documents in the Shû are no valid reason for rejecting them without further examination. We may rather be surprised that, when the compilation was made, it did not contain many more than a hundred documents.

5. The dynasty of K'âu came to an end in B. C. 256, and after an anarchic interval of thirty-five years, the king of K'hin succeeded in uniting all the feudal states under his own sway, and proclaimed himself emperor.

Destruction of the classical literature by the emperor of K'hin. Up to this time the Shû had sustained no other damage than all human works are liable to in the course of time; but now it narrowly escaped an entire destruction. An edict went forth from the tyrant in B. C. 213, commanding that all the old classical books should be consigned to the flames, excepting those belonging to the great scholars in the service of the court, and the Yî. His rage was hottest against the Shû and the Shih (the Book of Poetry). Death was the doom of scholars who should be known to meet together and speak of these works, and all who should be discovered having copies of them in their possession, when thirty days had elapsed after the publication of the edict, were to be branded, and sent to labour for four years on the Great Wall, which was then building.

This is not the place to explain the reasons that led to

¹ Part III, iii.

this insane attempt to extinguish, with the exception of one work, the ancient literary monuments of China. The edict was ruthlessly enforced, and hundreds of scholars who refused obedience to the imperial command were buried alive. The Shû had nearly perished from off the earth.

6. The tyrant, however, died in B. C. 210, within four years from the issuing of his edict. The dynasty which he had sought to establish passed away in B. C. 206. That of Han dates from the year B. C. 202, and in 191 the edict against the ancient books was formally repealed. They had been

Recovery of
the Shû. under the ban for less than a quarter of a century. There would probably have been no difficulty in recovering copies of them, but for the sack of the capital in B. C. 206 by the most formidable opponent of the founder of the House of Han. Then the fires blazed, we are told, for three months among the palaces and public buildings, and proved as destructive to the copies that might have been preserved about the court as the edict of *K'ên* had been to those among the people.

Among the scholars of *K'ên*, however, there had been one, of the surname Fû, who, when the edict was issued, hid his tablets of the Shû in a wall. Returning for them, after the rule of Han was established, he found that many were perished or gone. He recovered only twenty-nine of the documents, containing, according to the division of them that has long been followed, thirty-five books in all. About one of them there is some difficulty, on the discussion of which I need not enter. Fû commenced teaching them, and from all parts scholars resorted to him, and sat at his feet. The emperor Wăn (B. C. 179-155) heard of him, and sent one of the recorders of the court to visit him, and bring the recovered tablets themselves, or a copy of them, to the capital. They were in the form of the character that was prevalent at that time, different from that which had been used in previous centuries, and are known as 'the Shû of the modern text.' The Catalogue of the Imperial Library, prepared by Liû Hin for the emperor Âi (B. C. 6-1), contains an entry of 'the text of the Shû in twenty-nine portions,'—the same, no doubt, which was

received from Fû. Fû himself commented on his Shû. The text was engraved on the stone tablets of the emperor Ling (A.D. 168-189). Very many scholars of the Han times laboured on this text, taught it to their disciples, and published their views on it. Not one of their writings, however, survived, in a complete form, the troubles which desolated the empire during the reign of the emperor Hwâi (A.D. 307-312) of the western dynasty of Kin.

In the reign of the Han emperor Wû (B.C. 140-85) a discovery was made in the wall of the house of the Khung or Confucian family of the tablets of the Shû, the Spring and Autumn, the classic of Filial Piety, and the Lun-yü or Confucian Analects. How long they had lain there we do not know. It is commonly said that they had been hidden by some one of the Khung family to save them from the fires of K'hin. But they were in a form of the character that had long gone into disuse, and which hardly any one could decipher, and must have been deposited towards the beginning of the fifth century B.C. They were committed to the care of Khung An-kwo, who was then one of the 'great scholars' of the empire, and the chief of the Khung family. By means of the current text of Fû and other resources he made out all the tablets of the Shû that were in good preservation, and in addition to Fû's twenty-nine documents several others. He found also that Fû had in three cases incorporated two different documents under one name, and taken no note of the division of one other into three books or sections. Altogether there were now forty-six documents or different portions of the old Shû brought anew to light. They appear in Liû Hin's Catalogue as 'the text of the Shû in old characters in forty-six portions.'

When An-kwo had made out the tablets, he presented them to the emperor in B.C. 97, with a transcript of them in the current characters of the time, keeping a second transcript of them for himself; and he received an order to make a commentary on the whole. He did so, but when he was about to lay the result of his labours before the court, troubles had arisen which prevented for several years the paying attention to literary matters. It was

owing to these that his commentary was neglected for a time, and the enlarged text which he had deciphered was not officially put in charge of the Board of 'Great Scholars,' to which the care of the five King, so far as they had been recovered, had been committed in B. C. 136.

An-kwo's commentary, however, was not lost; but before speaking of it, I must refer to a third recovery of a large portion of the Shû early in our first century. A scholar and officer, named Tû Lin, had been a fugitive, having many wonderful escapes, during the usurpation of Mang (A. D. 9-22). During his wanderings he discovered a portion of the Shû on 'lacquered' tablets, or perhaps on lacquered cloth, which he thenceforth guarded as his richest treasure, and kept near his person. When the empire was again settled by the first emperor of the eastern Han, he communicated his text to other scholars. Wei Hung published a commentary on it, and subsequently K'ia Khwei, Mâ Yung, and K'ang Khang-*k'hang* (all, great names in Chinese literature) did the same. Tû Lin's 'lacquered' books were the same in number as An-kwo's, but they contained five documents in thirteen books, which were not in the text of the other, and wanted nine documents, also in thirteen books, which An-kwo's text had. The commentary of K'ang Khang-*k'hang* continued till the Sui dynasty, after which we lose sight of it.

I return to the commentary of An-kwo, which, of course, contained his text. Its transmission from hand to hand down to the close of the western Han dynasty is clearly traced. Less distinctly, but surely, we can discover evidence of its preservation, till we come to the commencement of the eastern dynasty of Kin, when Mei Jeh, a recorder of the Interior, having come into possession of a copy, presented it to the emperor Yüan (A. D. 317-322). The Canon of Shun was wanting in it, and was supplied from the commentary of Mâ Yung, based on the text of Tû Lin. From this time the text and commentary of An-kwo had their place assigned them in the Imperial College. They are mentioned in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Sui. The second emperor of the Thang dynasty gave orders

for a grand edition of the Shŭ, under the superintendence of Khung Ying-tâ, assisted by others. They adopted the commentary of An-kwo, and enriched it with profuse annotations. In A. D. 654 their work was ordered to be printed, and happily remains to the present day. The text of the Shŭ, that is, of all of it that had been recovered by An-kwo, was still further secured, being engraved with that of all the other classics on the Thang tablets of stone which were completed in the year 837, and are still preserved at K'ang-an, in Shen-hsi.

It is not necessary to trace the history of the Shŭ further on. The titles of more than 500 works, on the whole of it or on portions, from the dynasty of Thang to the present day, could easily be adduced. Under the Sung dynasty, indeed, there began the sceptical criticism, which, setting comparatively little store on external evidence, decides on the genuineness of documents principally from their style. The results of such criticism always vary according to the knowledge and the subjective character of the mind of its author. Many maintain that the commentary said to be that of An-kwo was not really from him, but was made by Mei Jch, and palmed on the world under the name of the great Han scholar. Even if it were so, the work would remain, produced nearly 1600 years ago. And to the annotations of the Thang scholars upon it we are indebted for most of what we know of the earlier views of Mâ Yung, K'ang Khang-k'ang, and other writers of the Han period. Whether its author were the true Khung or a false Khung, its value cannot be over-estimated. But I do not believe that it was a forgery. That An-kwo did write a commentary on his 'Shŭ in the ancient characters' is admitted by all. When did it perish? There is no evidence that it ever did so. On the contrary, its existence rises as a fact, here and there, at no great intervals of time, on the surface of the literary history of the empire, till we arrive at Mei Jch, who received it, as Khung Ying-tâ proves, from a scholar named Jang Jhao.

Then as to the text of the Shŭ, there is no controversy about the documents which were recovered in the first

place by Fû ; but the additional ones found by Khung An-kwo are so much more easily understood, that I do not wonder that the charge of not being genuine has been raised against them. But even they are not easy. They only appear to be so, when we come to one of them, after toiling through some of the more contorted portions common to both texts. And, moreover, the style of the different books differs according to their subjects. The 'Announcements' are the hardest to understand of all. The 'Charges,' 'Speeches,' and 'Instructions' are much simpler in their construction ; and the portions which we owe to An-kwo consist principally of these. In making out his obsolete characters he had, in the first place, to make use of the Books of Fû. That he did not servilely follow his text we conclude from the readings of Fû's followers, different from his in many passages which the industry of critics has gathered up. When he came, however, to new books, which were not in Fû's copy, he had to make out his tablets as he best could. His most valuable aid had ceased. We can conceive that, when he had managed to read the greater portion of a paragraph, and yet there were some stubborn characters that defied him, he completed it according to his understanding of the sense with characters of his own. That he was faithful and successful in the main we find by the many passages of his peculiar books that are found quoted in writings of the Kâu dynasty. This is a fact worthy of the most attentive consideration. I do not think there is an important statement in his chapters that is not thus vouched for. The characteristics of his books which have exposed them to suspicion are not sufficient to overthrow their claims to be regarded as genuine transcripts of the tablets discovered in the wall of the house of the Khung family.

The conclusion to which I come, at the close of this chapter, is, that there is nothing seriously to shake our confidence in the portions of the Shû that we now possess, as being substantially the same as those which were in the collection of the Kâu dynasty both before and after Confucius.

CHAPTER II.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDS IN THE SHŪ.

1. Accepting the conclusion which I have stated immediately above, I now go on to enquire whether the documents in the Shū can be relied on as genuine narratives of the transactions which they profess to relate. And it may be said at once, in reference to the greater number of them, that there is no reasonable ground to call their credibility in question. Allowance must be made, indeed, for the colouring with which the founders of one dynasty set forth the misdeeds of the closing reigns of that which they were superseding, and for the way in which the failures of a favourite hero may be glossed over. But the documents of the Shū are quite as much entitled to credit as the memorials and edicts which are published at the present day in the Peking Gazette.

Whether the
records in
the Shū
are reliable
or not.

The more recent the documents are, the more, of course, are they to be relied on. And provision was made, we have seen, by the statutes of *K'áu*, for the preservation of the records of previous dynasties. But it was not to be expected that many of those should not perish in the lapse of time, and others suffer mutilations and corruptions. And this, we find, was the case. Of the eighty-one documents that the Shū at one time contained, only one belonged to the period of *Yáo*; seven to the period of *Shun*; four to the dynasty of *Hsiá*, much the larger one of which narrates what was done in the time of *Yáo*; thirty-one to the dynasty of *Shang*; and thirty-eight to the first 500 years of that of *K'áu*. All this seems to bear on the surface of it the stamp of verisimilitude.

2. The Books of *K'áu* were contemporaneous with the events which they describe, and became public property not long after their composition.

The Books
of *K'áu*. They are to be received without hesitation.

Nor are those of the previous dynasty of Shang open to suspicion. We ascend by means of them to Thang the Successful, its founder, with a confident step. The beginning of his rule is placed chronologically in B. C. 1766.

Of the still earlier dynasty of Hsiâ, there are only four documents, and we have no evidence that there were any more when the collection of the Shû was made in the times of K'au. The first and longest of the four, though occupied with the great achievement of Yü, the founder of Hsiâ, whose chronological place is B. C. 2205-2196, really belongs to the reign of Yâo, and is out of place among the records of Hsiâ. The other three documents bring us down only to the reign of Kung Khang (B. C. 2159-2145), and I see no grounds for doubting their genuineness. In the last of them a celestial phenomenon is mentioned, which has always been understood to have been an eclipse of the sun in Fang, a space of about $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ from π to σ of Scorpio, on the first day of the last month of autumn. P. Gaubil thought he had determined by calculation that such an eclipse really took place in the fifth year of Kung Khang, B. C. 2155. Doubts, however, have been cast, as will be seen in the next chapter, on the accuracy of his calculation, and therefore I do not avail myself of it here as a confirmation of the truth of the document.

3. We come to the earlier records,—those of the reigns of Yâo and Shun, with which must be classed the Tribute of Yü, the first of the documents of Hsiâ; and it must be admitted that there is not the same evidence that they existed originally in their present form.

i. The Canon of Yâo and three of the four still existing books of the time of Yü, all commence with the words, 'Examining into antiquity, we find.' They are therefore, on their own showing, the compilations of a later age. The writer separates himself from the date of the events which he narrates, and while professing to draw from the records

The Books
of Thang
and Yü.

They are
professedly
later compi-
lations.

of 'antiquity,' yet writes himself from a modern standpoint. The Yî and Kî, the last of the documents of the Shun period, formed one book with the preceding in the Shŭ of Fû, and came under the opening words of that, as being a result of 'the examination of antiquity.' I will draw separate attention farther on to the Tribute of Yü.

ii. Much of what is related in the Canons of Yáo and Shun, as well as in the other documents, has more the air

of legend than of history. When Yáo has ^{They are} ^{legendary.} been on the throne for seventy years, he proposes to resign in favour of his principal minister, who is styled the Four Mountains. That worthy declares himself unequal to the office. Yáo then asks him whom he can recommend for it; be the worthiest individual a noble or a poor man, he will appoint him to the dignity. This brings Shun upon the stage. All the officers about the court can recommend him,—Shun of Yü¹, an unmarried man among the lower people. His father, a blind man, was obstinately unprincipled; his mother, or stepmother, was insincere; his brother was arrogant; and yet Shun had been able by his filial piety to live harmoniously with them, and to bring them to a considerable measure of self-government and good conduct. Yáo is delighted. He had himself heard something of Shun. He resolved to give him a preliminary trial. And a strange trial it was. He gave him his own two daughters in marriage, and declared that he would test his fitness for the throne by seeing his behaviour with his two wives.

Shun must have stood the test. Yáo continued to employ him as General Regulator for three years, and then called him to ascend the throne. Shun refused to do so, but discharged the royal duties till the death of Yáo in 2257, becoming himself sole ruler in B. C. 2255. These

¹ 虞舜—Yü is the dynastic designation of Shun. It is to be distinguished from Yü (禹), the name of Shun's successor, the founder of the dynasty of Hsiâ. Bunsen confounded the two appellations (Egypt's Place in Universal History, III, p. 399).

and other marvellous notices of Yáo and Shun are largely added to by Mencius and Sze-má *K'ien*, but their accounts are of the same extraordinary character. I must believe that the oldest portions of the Shû do not give us the history of Yáo and Shun, but legendary tales about them.

At the same time it must be allowed that the compiler of these books in their present form had in his possession some documents as old as the time of Yáo. To my mind three things render this admission necessary. First, the titles of the high officers of Yáo and Shun are different from those of the corresponding dignitaries at a later age. The principal personage was called the Four Mountains; next to him was the General Regulator; and the Minister of Religion was the Arranger of the Ancestral Temple. It is more probable that the compiler received these and other peculiar designations from old documents than that he invented them himself. Second, the style of these early books is distinguished in several particulars from the style of those of Hsiâ, Shang, and K'áu. I need only specify the exclamations, 'Alas!' 'Ah!' and 'Oh!' which are expressed by characters that we do not elsewhere find used in the same way. Third, the directions of Yáo to his astronomers, telling them how to determine the equinoxes and solstices, by means of the stars culminating at dusk in those seasons, could not be the inventions of a later age. The reader will find this subject discussed in the next chapter, where it is shown how those culminating stars may be employed to ascertain the era of Yáo. No compiler, ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, which was not known in China till about the middle of our fourth century, could have framed Yáo's directions with such an adjustment to the time assigned to him in chronology.

When the Books of Thang and Yü received their present form, we cannot tell. Probably it was in the early period of the K'áu dynasty, though I am not without a suspicion that some verbal changes were made in them under the short-lived dynasty of K'ên, which intervened between

Their compiler
had ancient
documents on
which to
base his
representations.

the dynasties of K'âu and Han, and possibly some also when they were recovered under the latter.

4. It remains for us to consider the case of the Tribute
 The Tribute of Yü, the first, as the books are now arranged,
 of Yü. of those of Hsiâ, but belonging, as has been
 already said, to the period of Yáo, or at least to the period
 when Yáo and Shun were together on the throne. It thus
 appears out of its chronological order, and must share in the
 general uncertainty which attaches to the documents of
 the first two parts of our classic.

Yáo, in what year of his reign we are not told, appears suddenly startled by the ravages of a terrible inundation. The waters were overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens in their surging fury. The people everywhere were groaning and murmuring. Was there a capable man to whom he could assign the correction of the calamity? All the nobles recommend one Khwăn, to whom Yáo, against his own better judgment, delegates the difficult task, on which Khwăn labours without success for nine years. His son Yü then entered on the work. From beyond the western bounds of the present China proper he is represented as tracking the great rivers, here burning the woods, hewing the rocks, and cutting through the mountains that obstructed their progress, and there deepening their channels until their waters flow peacefully into the eastern sea. He forms lakes, and raises mighty embankments, till at length 'the grounds along the rivers were everywhere made habitable; the hills cleared of their superfluous wood; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. A great order was effected in the six magazines (of material wealth); the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified according to the three characters of the soil, and the revenues of the Middle Kingdom were established.' Of the devotion with which Yü pursued his work, he says himself in the Yî and K'î:—'I mounted my four conveyances,'—carriages on the land, boats on the water, sledges in icy places, and

shoes with spikes in them in ascending the hills,—‘and all along the hills hewed down the woods, at the same time, along with Yî, showing the people how to get flesh to eat,’—that is, by capturing fish and birds and beasts. ‘I opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time, along with Kî, sowing grain, and showing the people how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.’ And again:—‘When I married in Tû-shan, I remained with my wife only four days.’ Mencius says that while engaged on his task, he thrice passed the door of his house; but did not enter it. His own words are:—‘When K’hi (my son) was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land.’

Along with his operations to assuage the wide-spread inundation, Yü thus carried on other most important labours proper to an incipient civilization. We gather from the Shû that it did not take him many years to accomplish his mighty undertaking. It was successfully finished before the death of Yáo. All this is incredible. The younger Biot, in an article on the Tribute of Yü, published in the *Journal Asiatique*, in 1842, says:—‘If we are to believe the commentators, Yü will become a supernatural being, who could lead the immense rivers of China as if he had been engaged in regulating the course of feeble stream-lets.’ There is no occasion to say, ‘If we are to believe the commentators;’—if we are to believe the Shû, this is the judgment that we must form about Yü.

The general conclusion to which Biot came about the document under our notice was that we are to find in it only the progress of a great colony. Yü was the first explorer of the Chinese world. He established posts of colonists or planters in different parts of the territory. He caused the wood around those posts to be cut down,

and commenced the cultivation of the soil. After Yü, the labours of draining the country and clearing the forests continued during some ages, and the result of all was attributed by Chinese tradition to the first chief. I have no doubt there is an inkling of the truth in this view of the French sinologue, but the idea of Yü's being the leader of a Chinese colony had better be abandoned. We recognise the primitive seat of the Chinese people, in the southern parts of the present Shan-hsi, with the Ho on the west and south of it. His son fought a battle with the Chief of Hû at a place in the present department of Hsi-an, in Shen-hsi, across the Ho, and his grandson was kept a sort of prisoner at large in the present province of Ho-nan, south of the river. The people or tribe extended itself westward, eastward, and southward, and still later northward, as it increased in numbers, and was able to subdue the earth.

The flood of Yáo was probably an inundation of the Ho, similar to many in subsequent times which have procured for that river the name of 'China's Sorrow,' and Yü distinguished himself in the assuaging of it, and the regulation of its course to the sea. The extent of the country came to be ascertained under the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, and its different parts were gradually occupied by the increasing numbers of the people, and contributed their various proportions of revenue to the central government. There were memorials of the toils which Yü had undergone, and of allotments of territory which he had made to the most distinguished among his followers. It occurred to some historiographer to form a theory as to the way in which the whole country might have been brought to order by the founder of the Hsiâ dynasty, and he proceeded to glorify Yü by ascribing so grand an achievement to him. About the same time, probably, the popular stories of Yü's self-denial had found their expression in the Yî and Kî, prompting at once the conception of the Tribute of Yü, and obtaining for it a favourable reception. Yü entered well into association with Yáo and Shun, and formed a triad with them

at the beginning of the Chinese monarchy. Their wisdom and benevolence appeared in him, combined with a practical devotion to the duties of his position, in which all sovereigns would have a model, to win them from indolence and self-indulgence, and stimulate them to a painstaking discharge of their responsibilities.

In the nineteenth of the Books of Part V, the duke of *Kâu* counsels his young sovereign, king *Khăng* (B.C. 1115-1077), to have his armies in a good state of preparation, so that he might go forth 'beyond the footsteps of Yü,' and travel over all beneath the sky, everywhere meeting with submission. The duke's reference to 'the footsteps of Yü' does not prove that Yü really travelled and toiled as the Tribute of Yü reports, but only that such was the current belief at the commencement of the *Kâu* dynasty, while it affords at the same time a presumption that our document was then among the archives of the kingdom. It may have been compiled before the end of the *Hsiá* dynasty, or under that of *Shang*. From *Shang* it passed to *Kâu*, and came under the care of the recorders of the Exterior. Then subsequently it was very properly incorporated in the collection of the *Shû*.

5. While we are thus unable to receive the six earliest documents in our classic as contemporaneous in their present form with the events which they relate, it is not meant to throw doubt on the existence of Yáo, Shun, and Yü as historical personages. More especially does Yü stand forth as the first sovereign of the dynasty of *Hsiá*, the man who laid the foundation of the hereditary monarchy in China, its feudal sovereign who 'conferred surnames and lands.' The documents which follow the Tribute of Yü, commencing with the Speech at Kan, delivered in B.C. 2197 by Yü's son and successor, may all be received as veritable monuments of antiquity.

Yáo, Shun,
and Yü are
all historical
personages.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHINA, AND THE PRINCIPAL
ERAS IN THE SHŪ.

1. I do not enter here on the subject of the chronology of China further than is necessary to show that there is no chronological difficulty in the way of our accepting the documents of the Shŭ, which I have just specified, as being possessed of the antiquity ascribed to them.

The Shŭ itself does not supply the means of laying down any scheme of chronology for the long period of time which it covers. We learn from it that No detailed chronological system can be made out from the Shŭ. the dynasty of Kâu succeeded to that of Shang (another name for which was Yin), and the dynasty of Shang to that of Hsiâ, and that prior to Yü, the founder of the Hsiâ, there were the reigns of Shun and Yáo. As P. Gaubil has observed, 'If we had only the Shŭ King, we should have but confused ideas of the time comprised in the different parts of the book.' There is nothing in this to awaken our surprise. The chronology of a nation comes to be cultivated as a science only when a necessity is felt to arrange the events of its history in regular series on the course of time.

2. It was under the Han dynasty that it was first attempted to construct a chronological scheme of the history of the nation. For this purpose its scholars employed the well-known cycle of sixty years, in the fifteenth year of the seventy-sixth revolution of which Attempts at systematic chronology began in the Han period. I am now writing. It was assumed that this cycle was first devised by Tâ-não, an officer of Hwang Tî, in B.C. 2637, which is the first year of the first cycle. But all scholars in China, whether they call in question this origin of the cycle or not, now agree in saying that the use of the cyclic characters to chronicle years was not the ancient method, and did not begin earlier than the time of the usurper Mang (A. D. 9-22).

In the Shŭ itself the current cycle is used to chronicle

days, and days only. Years are specified according to their order in the reign of the sovereign to whom they are referred. Such specification of years in it, however, is rare.

Before the Han dynasty a list of sovereigns, and of the length of their several reigns, was the only method which the Chinese had of determining the duration of their national history. And it would still be a satisfactory method, if we had a list of sovereigns, and of the years that each reigned, that was complete and reliable. But we do not have this. Even in the early part of the Han dynasty, Sze-mâ *K'ien*'s father and himself, in their Historical Records, completed about B. C. 100, were obliged to content themselves with giving simply the names and order of most of the rulers of Shang and Hsiâ. It is right to state also that in A. D. 279, when the grave of king Hsiang of Wei (died in B. C. 295) was opened, there were found a number of bamboo tablets in it, written in the ancient seal characters, among which the most valuable portion was a book of annals, beginning with the reign of Hwang Tî, and coming down to the sixteenth year of the last king of K'âu, B. C. 299. This work is still current under the name of the Annals of the Bamboo Books. The chronology derived from it is shorter than the received system by rather more than 200 years.

If in any of the 'classical books of the K'âu dynasty we had a statement of the length of the national history from any given era to the time of the writer, the notice would be exceedingly valuable; or, if the length of the reigns of the sovereigns of Shang and Hsiâ, cursorily mentioned in it, were correctly given, we should be in a position to make an approximate computation for ourselves. But there are only two passages in all those books which are helpful to us in this point. The former of them is in a narrative in 30 *K'îu-ming*'s supplement to the Spring and Autumn, under the third year of duke Hsüan, where it is said that the dynasty of Shang possessed the throne for 600 years. The other passage is the last chapter of the works of Mencius, where that philosopher says that 'from Yáo and Shun to Thang'—a period including all the dynasty of Hsiâ—

'there were 500 years and more; from Thang to king Wăn'—the period of the Shang dynasty—'500 years and more; and from king Wăn to Confucius, 500 years and more.' We know that Confucius was born in B. C. 551. Adding 551 to the 1500 years 'and more,' given by Mencius, we have the era of Yáo and Shun at 2100 years 'and more' before our Christian era. And the received chronology places Yü's accession to the throne, as the successor of Shun, in B. C. 2205. Vague as the language of Mencius is, I do not think that with the most painstaking research, apart from conclusions based on astronomical considerations, we can determine anything more precise and definite concerning the length of Chinese history than it conveys.

3. The Charge to the Marquis Wăn, which now forms the 28th Book of the 5th Part of the Shŭ, is understood to have been delivered by king Phing, the thirteenth of his line. His place in historical time is well ascertained. Confucius' chronicle of the Spring and Autumn commences in B. C. 722. The first of the thirty-six solar eclipses mentioned in it took place three years after, on the 14th February (N. S.) 719, and it is recorded that in the month after king Phing died. Here therefore is a point of time about which there can be no dispute. An earlier date in the Kâu dynasty is known with the same certainty. The Book of Poetry mentions an eclipse of the sun which took place on the 29th August, B. C. 776, in the sixth year of king Yü, who preceded Phing. Yü reigned eleven years, and his predecessor, Hsüan, forty-six, whose reign consequently commenced B. C. 827. Up to this date Chinese chronologers agree. To the ten reigns before king Hsüan, the received chronology assigns 295 years, making the dynasty begin in B. C. 1122, which cannot be far from the truth.

4. In the period of the Shang dynasty we cannot fix a single reign by means of astronomical facts. The received chronology assigns to it twenty-eight reigns, extending over 644 years, so that its commencement was in B. C. 1766. The scheme

The period
of the Shang
dynasty.

derived from the bamboo books makes the sovereigns to be thirty, but the aggregate of their reigns is only 508. Mencius says that between Thang, the founder of the dynasty, and Wû-ting, the twentieth sovereign (in the common scheme), 'there had been six or seven worthy and sage rulers¹,'—leading to the conclusion that the number of twenty-eight sovereigns in all is not beyond the truth. In the fifteenth of the Books of *Kâu* the names of three of the Shang rulers are given, and the duration of their reigns,—to show how Heaven is likely to crown a good king with length of sway. They are *Thâi Mâu*, who reigned seventy-five years; *Wû-ting*, who reigned fifty-nine; and *Û-kia*, who reigned thirty-three. The two schemes agree in the length of those reigns and of five others. From the statement in the *Ûo-kwan*, to which I have referred above, that the Shang dynasty possessed the throne for 600 years, and Mencius' language that it lasted 'for 500 years and more,' we may believe that the 644 years of the common scheme are more likely to be correct than the 508 of the shorter.

5. The dynasty of *Hsiâ* lasted, according to the received chronology, 439 years, and according to the bamboo books,
 The period 431; so that the difference here between the
 of *Hsiâ*. two schemes is small. The former estimate carries us up to B.C. 2205, as the first year of *Yü*'s reign.

I referred on page 13 to an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the fourth of the Books of *Hsiâ*, as having occurred in the reign of *Kung Khang*, a grandson of *Yü*, and stated that P. Gaubil had found by calculation that on the day and month stated in the document, and in the quarter of the heavens given, an eclipse did occur in the fifth year of *Kung Khang*, that is, in B.C. 2156, and was visible at his capital at 6^h 49', A.M. In 1840, J. B. Biot submitted a copy of Gaubil's calculations to the younger *Largeteau*, a member, like himself, of the Institute of France, who went over them with the lunar tables of *Damoiseau* and the solar tables of *Delambre*, and brought out the result that

¹ Mencius, II, i, ch. 1.

there was indeed an eclipse on the day stated, but before the rising of the sun at the then capital of China¹. My friend, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Canton, not knowing anything of the examination made by Largeteau, undertook to verify the eclipse in 1861, and found that while the year, the month, and the day, as given by Gaubil, were correct, the eclipse had taken place during the night, and could not have been seen by the Chinese astronomers. The eclipse mentioned in the document of the Shŭ cannot therefore be used at present to confirm the received chronology of China; but I am unwilling to give it up entirely. M. Biot says that, 'Notwithstanding the failure of the attempt of Largeteau to verify the eclipse, the hope of yet finding it in some one of the years of the twenty-second century before our era is not entirely lost. We ought to wait till the further perfecting of the lunar tables brings us new lights, by means of which we can form a surer judgment.'

6. We come to the earliest period of Chinese history of which the Shŭ makes more than a cursory mention,—that

The period
of Yáo
and Shun.

of Yáo and Shun. It says that Shun was thirty years on the throne with Yáo, and that, fifty years after, he died and went on high.

We learn from it also that it was in the seventieth year of his reign that Yáo sought for another to relieve him of the toils of government. The period covered by the two therefore is 150 years, which both the schemes of chronology accept. Adding two years of mourning between Shun's death and Yü's accession to the throne, we have B. C. 2357 as the first year of Yáo.

In the Canon of Yáo, when that personage is giving directions to his astronomers how to determine the equinoxes and solstices, he tells them that at the vernal equinox they would find the star in Niáo, and at the autumnal in Hsü; at the summer solstice, the star in Hwo, and at the winter in Mão. It has always been assumed by Chinese scholars that when Yáo said, 'The star of mid-spring is in

¹ Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne et sur l'Astronomie Chinoise, pp. 376-382.

Niáo,' he meant the star culminating at dusk at that season, at the point of observation. And so of the other stars and seasons. A Chinese astronomer at the present day would similarly express himself.

Further, the most common, and what was the earliest division of the ecliptic in China, is that of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, forming what we may call the Chinese zodiac. These mansions are grouped together in four classes of seven each, assigned to the four quarters of the heavens¹. Of the celestial spaces which Yáo specified, Niáo is the general name for the seven mansions or constellations belonging to the southern quarter; Hwo is an old name of what is now called Fang, the central constellation of the eastern quarter; Hsü and Mão are the central constellations of the northern and southern quarters respectively. What Yáo meant therefore was, that his astronomers could determine the solstices and the autumnal equinox by the culmination of the stars in the mansions which he specified for those seasons. And we may assume that he directed them, for the star of the vernal equinox, to Hsing, the central mansion in the southern space Niáo. Now, Hsing corresponds to α (Alphard) Hydræ, and small stars near it, in our stellar nomenclature; Hwo, to β , δ in Scorpio; Hsü, to β Aquarii; and Mão, to Pleiades. When we wish to make the directions of Yáo available for the purpose of chronological enquiry, the question that arises is this:—When did the above-named stars culminate at dusk in China at the equinoctial and solstitial seasons?

Bunsen tells us that Ideler, computing the places of the constellations backwards, fixed the accession of Yáo at B. C. 2163, and that Freret was of opinion that the observations left an uncertainty of 3°, leaving a margin of 210

¹ In the Official Book of Káu, a work of the twelfth century before our era, Book XXVI, par. 25, in the enumeration of the duties of the astronomer royal of that day, there is mentioned the determination of 'the places of the twenty-eight stars,' meaning 'the principal stars in the twenty-eight lunar mansions.' The names of the stars and their mansions are not mentioned;—surely a sufficient indication that they were even then well known. See Biot's *Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne*, &c., pp. 112, 113.

years¹. On the other hand, J. B. Biot found in the directions a sufficient confirmation of the received date for Yáo's accession,—B.C. 2357². Appended to this Introduction is a chart of the stars as they were visible in China in B.C. 2300, which the Rev. C. Pritchard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, kindly prepared for me. An inspection of it, in the manner directed by him, will show that the phenomena indicated by Yáo to his astronomers were all apparent at that date. This fact must be accepted as a strong proof of the approximate correctness of the chronology, which places Yáo in the twenty-fourth century B. C. The precession of the equinoxes, it has already been observed, was not known in China till more than 2500 years after the time assigned to Yáo, so that the culminating stars at the equinoxes and solstices of his remote period could not have been computed back scientifically in the time of the K'áu dynasty, during which the collection of the Shŭ existed. The form in which the directions are given, and other things in the Canon, savour, indeed, of legend, and I have not claimed for it that in its present form it be received as a document contemporaneous with the reign of Yáo. I have argued, however, that the compiler of it had before him ancient documents, and one of them must have contained the facts about the culminating of the stars, which I have now endeavoured to set in a clear light.

The mention of these culminating stars does seem to fix Yáo's place in chronology in the twenty-fourth century B. C., and to show that at that remote era it was the custom to make and to record astronomical observations of the heavenly bodies. Having respect to these things, my claim to have the documents of the Shŭ from the Speech at Kan, nearly two centuries later than Yáo, downwards, regarded as contemporaneous with the events which they describe, cannot be considered extravagant.

7. In the 27th Book of the 5th Part, the Marquis of

¹ Egypt's Place in Universal History, III, pp. 400, 401.

² Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne, &c., pp. 361-366.

Lü on Punishments, there is a historical reference which would carry us back four centuries beyond the time of Yáo. It is said that, 'According to the teachings of antiquity, *K'ih Yü* was the first to create disorder.' There is no intimation, however, of the time when this rebel disturbed the happy order and innocence which had previously prevailed; and the very same sentence brings the review of antiquity down to the time of Shun. But the chronologers place him in the reign of Hwang Tî, towards the end of the twenty-seventh century B.C. Other writers describe the struggle between him and Hwang Tî, in which dragons, mists, and the invention of the compass play conspicuous parts. It is to the credit of the Shû, and an evidence of its being a genuine collection of historical memorials, that this cursory reference to *K'ih Yü* is the only mention in it of any name older than that of Yáo.

THE USE OF THE CHART.

This chart is intended to represent approximately the aspect of the principal zodiacal stars as seen above the horizon of any place in central China, at any hour of any day, about the year B.C. 2300.

In order to apply the chart to a practical purpose, the reader is advised to cut out a sheet of paper (cardboard is preferable) with its upper edge exactly fitting the curved line A B O C D, and to draw, near to the bottom of the paper, a line coinciding with 'the hour-line' on the chart.

This being done, if it be asked what will be the aspect of the heavens when the Sun sets at the Vernal Equinox, the reader is to move the line at the bottom of the cardboard along the horizontal 'hour-line' of the chart until the place of the Sun in the Ecliptic at the Vernal Equinox O just touches the curved top of the paper; then all the stars not covered over are above the horizon at the time of that sunset, viz. in this case Aldebaran, Sirius, Spica, &c.; the Pleiades are just setting, Regulus and α Hydræ are very near the meridian, β Centauri is on the point of rising, and α Serpentis is well up above the horizon. This exactly corresponds with that state of the heavens which Yáo, (alleged in the Chinese records to have flourished about B.C. 2300,) indicated to his astronomers (Hsi and Ho) would be the case, viz. that he would find the star (or the

stellar division) Shun Hwo (corresponding, it is said, to α Hydræ) culminating at the time of sunset at the Vernal Equinox¹.

Again, if it be required to find what constellation is culminating at the time of sunset at the Summer Solstice, the cardboard must be moved, as before, towards the right hand until the position of the Sun at the Summer Solstice, viz. G, just touches the horizon curve, when it will be seen that α Serpentis and Antares are then culminating, Regulus and β Centauri are just setting, while the constellations of Aquila and Aquarius are rising; Vega is a conspicuous object above the eastern horizon. This again corresponds to the indications given by Yâo to his astronomers, viz. that they would find the constellation Scorpio culminating at the time.

Thirdly, to find what constellation is culminating at sunset at the Winter Solstice, the cardboard horizon is to be moved, as before, until the Sun at F falls upon it, when the constellations Aries and Taurus with the Pleiades will be seen near to their culmination. This is a third correspondence with the indications of the astronomical sovereign.

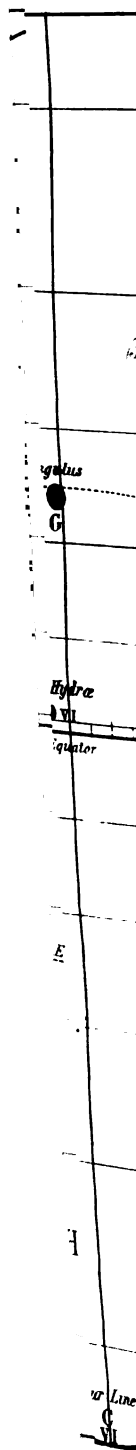
Lastly, at sunset of the Autumnal Equinox the movable horizon is to be shifted to the left until the point A falls upon it, where it will be seen in this position that the stars in Aquarius are culminating at the time. It is scarcely possible that all these indications of the positions of the stars at these several times of the year could be simultaneously correct at any other epoch than somewhere about B.C. 2300 or a very small number of centuries before or after.

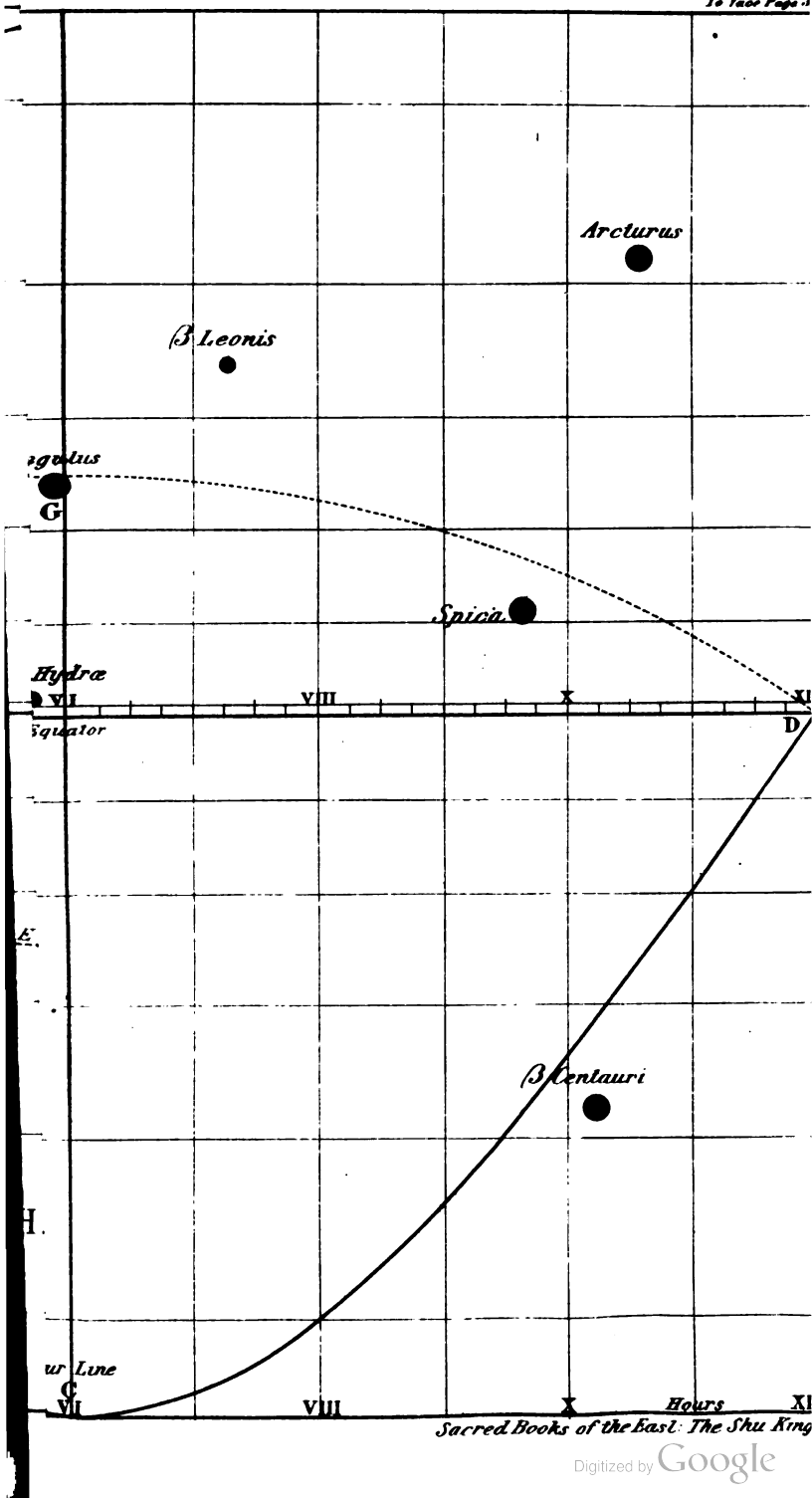
The reader may easily make for himself many other interesting applications of the chart. A general notion of the effects of precession on the positions of the stars may be seen at once by observing the three positions of the Pleiades, at the three epochs B.C. 2300, A.D. 1, and A.D. 1878, marked in the chart by the letters K, L, M; and as the approximate effect of precession is to cause all stars to move parallel to the Ecliptic and through the same arc, if the reader will imagine every star to be shifted parallel to the Ecliptic through spaces equal respectively to K L, L M, he will get the aspect of the heavens at the epochs A.D. 1 and A.D. 1878.

The following table has been calculated for the apparent positions of the principal stars in the years B.C. 2300, B.C. 1500, A.D. 1, and A.D. 1000; except in one instance it will be found to confirm a similar calculation made by Biot for the earliest of these dates.

¹ See an excellent memoir by Mr. Williams, the late Assistant Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, on Chinese Comets, procurable at the apartments of the Royal Astronomical Society, Burlington House, London.

Name of Star.	For the year B.C. 2300.			For the year B.C. 1500.			For the year A.D. 1.			For the year A.D. 1000.			For the year A.D. 1874.		
	R.A.	h. m. s.	° ' "	R.A.	h. m. s.	° ' "	R.A.	h. m. s.	° ' "	R.A.	h. m. s.	° ' "	R.A.	h. m. s.	° ' "
α Andromedæ		20 33 18	82 1.7		21 13 18	79 1.3		22 27 33	71 49.4		23 18 4	66 28.4		0 2 5	61 35.0
γ Pegasi		20 38 50	96 1.1		21 12 0	92 58.9		23 30 26	85 45.9		23 2 23	80 23.8		0 6 57	75 29.7
β Ceti		20 40 23	129 55.3		21 32 5	126 40.1		22 59 27	119 2.8		23 53 7	113 33.4		0 37 28	108 39.4
α Arctis		22 18 8	89 27.4		22 59 59	85 16.6		0 18 20	76 57.2		1 13 25	71 36.3		2 0 18	67 6.9
γ Tauri		23 49 0	86 8.3		0 31 15	81 42.1		2 43 20	73 52.4		2 49 17	69 31.6		3 40 14	66 16.4
Aldebaran		0 40 10	90 54.6		1 22 25	86 38.2		3 39 17	79 37.0		3 39 17	76 7.5		4 28 55	73 44.3
Capella		0 43 7	60 13.1		1 22 14	55 56.4		2 53 15	49 3.0		4 4 9	45 54.0		5 7 41	44 44.3
Rigel		1 47 31	111 43.8		2 26 12	107 58.3		3 38 7	102 21.2		4 26 41	99 52.2		5 8 40	98 20.7
α Orionis		2 5 7	93 37.4		2 46 56	90 4.8		4 6 40	85 9.1		5 1 10	83 22.1		5 48 34	82 37.1
Sirius		3 16 27	112 9.0		4 2 2	108 57.4		5 14 27	100 24.3		6 0 31	106 6.5		6 39 46	106 33.0
Castor		2 54 18	62 4.9		3 44 10	59 14.8		5 22 33	56 27.0		6 29 36	56 35.9		7 26 49	57 50.7
Procyon		3 44 27	85 4.8		4 28 20	83 50.0		5 50 36	82 18.3		6 45 52	82 59.1		7 32 55	84 27.8
α Hydræ		5 45 32	88 32.7		6 28 6	88 43.5		7 46 41	91 25.9		8 38 14	94 39.4		9 21 35	98 7.8
Regulus		5 55 10	65 46.6		6 45 15	66 6.8		8 16 11	69 36.6		9 14 2	74 25.8		10 1 52	77 26.2
β Leonis		7 39 12	55 54.2		8 31 25	58 6.5		10 1 9	64 43.8		10 56 54	69 54.5		11 42 50	74 44.8
Spica		9 37 49	78 15.6		10 37 29	82 7.8		11 40 35	90 15.5		12 33 13	95 45.2		13 18 46	100 31.4
β Centauri		10 16 8	127 25.1		10 46 42	131 31.7		12 1 16	139 48.1		12 59 23	145 11.8		13 55 14	149 47.0
Arcturus		10 36 18	47 58.2		11 22 12	52 16.1		12 39 47	60 40.3		13 28 52	65 48.7		14 10 6	70 10.9
α Serpentis		12 10 58	63 47.2		12 51 58	68 11.0		14 6 6	75 46.5		14 55 30	79 58.8		15 38 16	83 11.4
Antares		12 24 0	98 16.5		13 6 50	102 37.4		14 30 11	109 53.9		15 29 8	113 36.6		16 21 56	116 9.6
α Lyræ		16 8 29	48 3.5		16 36 28	49 51.2		17 28 24	51 38.0		18 3 18	51 43.1		18 32 48	51 19.7
α Aquilæ		16 17 0	82 12.2		16 37 6	83 44.0		18 12 14	84 21.1		19 2 19	83 12.7		19 44 50	81 27.2
α Aquarii		18 19 16	103 8.6		18 55 26	102 28.3		20 19 41	98 45.1		21 14 2	94 45.9		21 59 31	90 54.7
Fomalhaut		18 16 30	134 54.0		19 15 43	133 67.8		20 58 57	129 17.4		22 1 5	124 46.9		22 50 51	120 16.1
α Pegasi		19 24 1	92 34.4		20 6 35	90 33.5		21 24 14	84 49.4		22 15 19	80 2.6		22 58 41	75 27.0





THE SHŪ KING.

PART I. THE BOOK OF THANG.

THE CANON OF YÁO.

SHŪ KING, the name of the whole work, has been sufficiently explained in the Introduction. The name of this Part, the first of the five into which the whole is divided, is the Book of Thang, Thang being taken as the dynastic designation of Yáo, who before his elevation to the throne had been marquis of the small state of Thang, the name of which is supposed to be still retained in Thang, one of the districts of the department Páo-ting, in K'ih-lí. It is said that after his elevation he established his capital in Phing-yang, lat. $36^{\circ} 06'$, long. $111^{\circ} 33'$, in Shan-hsí. But all this is very uncertain. See on Part III, Book iii, ch. 2. The one Book, forming this Part, is called the Canon of Yáo. The character which we translate 'Canon' means a document of the most exalted nature, the contents of which are entitled to the greatest regard. The name is given expressly only to one other Book in the Shū. The Canons are the first of the six classes of documents which the Shū contains.

Yáo is the subject of the Book:—In ch. 1, in his personal character and the general results of his government; in ch. 2, in his special care for the regulation of the calendar and the labours of agriculture; in ch. 3, in his anxiety to find one who could cope with the ravages of a terrible inundation, and take his place on the throne. The third chapter introduces to our notice Shun, the successor of Yáo.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Tî Yáo¹ was styled Fang-hsün². He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,—naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land), and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath.

He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) regulated and polished the people (of his domain), who all became brightly intelligent. (Finally), he united and harmonized the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

2. He commanded the Hsîs and Hos³, in reverent accordance with (their observation of) the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people.

¹ Yáo is to us now the name of the ancient ruler so denominated. The character means 'high,' 'lofty and grand.' It may originally have been an epithet, 'the Exalted One.' On the meaning of Tî in Tî Yáo, see what has been said in the Preface.

² The Han scholars held that Fang-hsün was the name of Yáo. Those of Sung, taking the characters as an epithet, make them signify 'the Highly Meritorious.'

³ The Hsîs and Hos seem to have been brothers of two families, on whom devolved the care of the calendar, principally with a view to regulate the seasons of agriculture. See Parts III, iv, and V, xxvii. On Yáo's directions to them, see the Introduction, pp. 24-28.

He separately commanded the second brother Hsi to reside at Yü-î¹, in what was called the Bright Valley, and (there) respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. 'The day,' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Nião;—you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed (in the fields), and birds and beasts breed and copulate.'

He further commanded the third brother Hsi to reside at Nan-kião², (in what was called the Brilliant Capital), to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the exact limit (of the shadow). 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its longest, and the star is in Hwo;—you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats.'

He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and (there) respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. 'The night,' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Hsü;—you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition.'

He further commanded the third brother Ho to

¹ Yü-î is by some identified with Täng-kâu, in Shan-tung, lat. 37° 48', long. 121° 4'; by others, it is sought in Corea.

² Nan-kião was south, it is said, on the border of An-nan or Cochinchina. The characters for 'in what was called the Brilliant Capital' are supposed to have dropt out of the text.

reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and (there) to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its shortest, and the star is in Mão;—you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep in their houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick.'

The Tî said, 'Ah! you, Hsîs and Hos, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete (the period of) the year. (Thereafter), the various officers being regulated in accordance with this, all the works (of the year) will be fully performed.'

3. The Tî said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?' Fang-*k'hi* said, '(Your) heir-son *K'û*¹ is highly intelligent.' The Tî said, 'Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome:—can he do?'

The Tî said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?' Hwan-tâu² said, 'Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale.' The Tî said, 'Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful (only) in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!'

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four

¹ In Part II, iv, 2, Yü speaks of this son of Yáo as 'the haughty *K'û* of Tan,' Tan probably being the name of a state, over which, according to tradition, he had been appointed.

² Hwan-tâu and the Minister of Works, whom he recommends, appear in the next Book as great criminals.

Mountains¹, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur! Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?' All (in the court) said, 'Ah! is there not Khwăn²?' The Tî said, 'Alas! how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.' (The President of) the Mountains said, 'Well but—. Try if he can (accomplish the work).' (Khwăn) was employed accordingly. The Tî said (to him), 'Go; and be reverent!' For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands;—I will resign my place to you.' The Chief said, 'I have not the virtue;—I should disgrace your place.' (The Tî) said, 'Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean.' All (then) said to the Tî, 'There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yü³.' The Tî

¹ (President of) the Four Mountains, or simply Four Mountains, appears to have been the title of the chief minister of Yáo. The four mountains were—mount Thái in the east; Hwâ in the west, in Shan-hsí; Hăng in the south, in Hû-nan; and Hăng in the north, in Kih-lí. These, probably, were the limits of the country, so far as known, and all within these points were the care of the chief minister.

² Khwăn is believed to have been the father of Yü, who afterwards coped successfully with the inundation. We are told that he was earl of K'hung, corresponding to the present district of Hû, in Shen-hsí.

³ See on the title of next Book.

said, 'Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?' The Chief said, 'He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his (step-)mother was insincere; his (half-)brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been able, (however), by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they (no longer) proceed to great wickedness.' The Tî said, 'I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behaviour with my two daughters.' (Accordingly) he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei¹, to be wives in (the family of) Yü. The Tî said to them, 'Be reverent!'

¹ The Kwei is a small stream in Shan-hsî, which flows into the Ho.

PART II. THE BOOKS OF YÜ.

BOOK I. THE CANON OF SHUN.

THE Books of Yü is the name of this Part of the *Shû*, Yü being the dynastic designation of Shun, as Thang was that of Yáo. It does not appear so clearly, however, how it came to be so. Yü must be the name of a state, and is commonly identified with the present district of An-yü, in *Kieh Kâu*, *Shan-hsi*. Some think that Yáo, after marrying his two daughters to Shun, appointed him lord of this state; but in the first mention of him to Yáo in the last Book, he is called Shun of Yü. It is generally said that Shun's ancestors had been lords of the principality of Yü up to the time of his father, who lost his patrimony and was reduced to the rank of a private man. But after what has been said, in the Introduction, on the Books in the first two Parts of the *Shû*, it will not be thought surprising that much in the accounts about Yáo and Shun should be open to suspicion. According to Mencius, IV, Part ii, ch. 1, Shun was from the country of the wild tribes on the east. Sze-mâ *K'ien* makes him to have been descended from Hwang-Ti, in which case he and his wives, the daughters of Yáo, would have had the same ancestor. Nothing more injurious to the fame of Yáo and Shun, according to Chinese notions of propriety, could be alleged against them.

Shun is the subject of this Canon, as Yáo was of the former. As it now stands, we may divide it into six chapters:—the first, describing Shun's virtues and gradual advancement; the second, Yáo's satisfaction with his administration of affairs, and associating of Shun with himself on the throne; the third, the acts of Shun in that position; the fourth, the demise of Yáo, and Shun's accession as sole monarch; the fifth, his choice of ministers and complete organization of his government; and the sixth, his death.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Tî Shun¹ was styled *K'ung-hwâ*². His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Tî; he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

2. (Shun) carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be (universally) observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every (official) department were arranged in their proper seasons. (Being charged) to receive (the princes) from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

The Tî said, 'Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on (all) affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practice;—(now) for three years. Do you ascend the seat of the Tî.' Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be (Yáo's) successor. On the first day of the first month, (however), he received (Yáo's) retirement (from his duties) in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor³.*

3. He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere,

¹ If Shun be taken as an epithet, it will mean 'the Benevolent and Sage.'

² *K'ung-hwâ*, the name of Shun according to the Han scholars, may mean 'the Glorious (Yáo) repeated.'

³ The Accomplished Ancestor would be, probably, the individual in some distant time to whom Yáo traced his possession of the throne.

with its transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system (the movements of) the Seven Directors¹.

Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits².*

He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors³, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes.

In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Thái-jung⁴, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers.* Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steel-yards; he regulated the five (classes of) ceremonies, with (the various) articles of introduction,—the five

¹ Probably the seven stars of the Great Bear.

² Who the Six Honoured Ones were cannot be determined with certainty. An-kwo thought they were, 'the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars, and drought,' that is, certain spirits, supposed to rule over these phenomena and things, and residing probably in different stars. The whole paragraph describes Shun's exercise of the prerogative of the sovereign, so far as religious worship was concerned.

³ The princes of the various states, whose official chief was the President of the Four Mountains, all 'shepherds of men.'

⁴ Thái-jung is mount Thái, in Shan-tung. See note on the President of the Four Mountains, p. 35.

symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living (animals) and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southwards, as far as the mountain of the south¹, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Thái. In the eighth month he made a tour westwards, as far as the mountain of the west¹, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northwards, as far as the mountain of the north¹, where he observed the same ceremonies as in the west. He (then) returned (to the capital), went to (the temple of) the Cultivated Ancestor², and sacrificed a single bull.*

In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report (of their government) in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.

He instituted the division (of the land) into twelve provinces³, raising altars upon twelve hills in them.* He (also) deepened the rivers.

He exhibited (to the people) the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five (great) inflictions⁴; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be

¹ See note on the President of the Four Mountains, p. 35.

² Probably the same as the Accomplished Ancestor on p. 38.

³ As Yü, according to Part III, i, divided the land into nine provinces, this division of it into twelve must have been subsequent to the completion of Yü's work. See on the Tribute of Yü.

⁴ Those five great inflictions were—branding on the forehead; cutting off the nose; cutting off the feet; castration; and death, inflicted in various ways.

employed in schools¹, and money to be received for redeemable offences. Inadvertent offences and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!' (he said to himself.) 'Let compassion rule in punishment!'

He banished the Minister of Works to Yü island; confined Hwan-tâu on mount *Khung*; drove (the chief of) San-miào (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Khwân a prisoner till death on mount Yü. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice (of Shun's administration)².

24. After twenty-eight years the Tî deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed. On the first day of the first month (of the) next year, Shun went to (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor.*

¹ This punishment was for officers in training; not for boys at school.

² The Minister of Works, Hwan-tâu, and Khwân are mentioned in the former Canon. Yü island, or Yü Kâu, was in the extreme north of the present district of Mî-yun, department Shun-thien, Kih-lî.

Mount *Khung* was in the district of Yung-ting, Lî Kâu, Hû-nan. San-miào was the name of a territory, embracing the present departments of Wû-khang in Hû-pei, Yo-kâu in Hû-nan, and Kîu-kiang in Kiang-hsî. San-wei was a tract of country round a mountain of the same name in the present department of An-hsî, Kan-sû. Mount Yü was in the present district of Than-khăng, Shan-tung.

5. He deliberated with (the President of) the Four Mountains how to throw open the doors (of communication between himself and the) four (quarters of the land), and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all.

He consulted with the twelve Pastors¹, and said to them, 'The food!—it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful;—so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission.'

Shun said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of the Tî, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in (all) affairs, managing each department according to its nature?' All (in the court) replied, 'There is Po-yü², the Minister of Works.' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Yü, you have regulated the water and the land. In this (new office) exert yourself.' Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the Minister of Agriculture, or Hsieh, or Kâo-yâo. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties).'

The Tî said, 'K'hi³, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as

¹ These were the twelve princes holding the chief sway and superintendence in his twelve provinces.

² Po-yü is the great Yü, the founder of the Hsiâ dynasty. Po denotes, probably, his order as the eldest among his brothers.

³ K'hi was the name of the Minister of Agriculture, better known in the Shih and other books as Hâu-k'hi, the progenitor of the kings of K'âu. See the legend about him in the Shih, Part III, ii, Ode 1.

Minister of Agriculture, (continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain.'

The Tî said, 'Hsieh¹, the people are (still) wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness.'

The Tî said, 'Kâo-yâo², the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are (also) robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offences. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere (submission).'

The Tî said, 'Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Zui³?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Zui, you must be Minister of Works.' Zui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Shû, K'hiang, or Po-yü. The

¹ Hsieh was honoured by the kings of the Shang dynasty as their progenitor. See the Shih, Part IV, iii, Odes 3 and 4.

² See the preliminary note to Book iii.

³ Zui was not claimed by any great family as its progenitor, but he was handed down by tradition as a great artificer. See a reference to him in Part V, xxii, 2. Shû and K'hiang must have been named from their skill in making halberds and axes. The Yü (quite different from the name of the great Yü) in Po-yü gives us no indication of the skill of that individual.

Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Effect a harmony (in all the departments).'

The Tî said, 'Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Yî?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Yî, do you be my Forester.' Yî did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Kû, Hû, Hsiung, or Pî.¹ The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). You must manage them harmoniously.'

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of the) Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three (religious) ceremonies²?' All (in the court) answered, 'Is there not Po-î³?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Po, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure.' Po did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Khwei or Lung. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Be reverential!'^{*}

The Tî said, 'Khwei⁴, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified; the strong, not tyrannical; and the impetuous,

¹ For Yî, see the preliminary note to Book iv. He wishes here to decline his appointment in favour of Kû ('The Cedar'), Hû ('The Tiger'), Hsiung ('The Bear'), or Pî ('The Grisly Bear').

² The three ceremonies were the observances in the worship of the Spirits of Heaven, the Spirits of Earth, and the Spirits of Men.

³ Po-î was the progenitor of the great family of K'iang, members of which ruled in K'hi and other states.

⁴ Of Khwei we know nothing more than what is here told us. The character denotes a monstrous animal, 'a dragon with one leg.'

not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard-tubes. (In this way) the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony.' Khwei said, 'I smite the (sounding-) stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.'

The Tí said, 'Lung¹, I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the (right) ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true.'

The Tí said, 'Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you be helpful to the business (entrusted to me by) Heaven.'*

Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. (By this arrangement) the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the (people of) San-miáo (also) were discriminated and separated.

6. In the thirtieth year of his age, Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne (with Yáo). Fifty years afterwards he went on high and died².*

¹ We are in ignorance of Lung, as we are of Khwei. The character denotes 'the dragon.'

² The Chinese text is here difficult to construe. K'ü Hsi says that the term 'went on high' is appropriate to the death of the Son of Heaven; and that the meaning is that Shun went to heaven.

BOOK II. THE COUNSELS OF THE GREAT YŪ.

OF the six classes of documents in the Shŭ, 'Counsels' are the second, containing the wise remarks and suggestions of high officers on the subject of government.

This Book may be divided into three chapters:—the first, containing counsels of Yŭ and Yî on principles and methods of government; the second, occupied with Shun's resignation of the administration to Yŭ, and containing also many sage observations and maxims; and the third, describing Yŭ's operations against the people of Mião, and counsels addressed to him by Yî. The style differs from that of the Canons; being more sententious, and falling occasionally into rhyme.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Great Yŭ¹ was styled Wăn-ming². Having arranged and divided (the land), all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Tî, he said, 'If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignty, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous.'

The Tî said, 'Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad states will all enjoy repose. (But) to obtain the views of all; to give up one's opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the

¹ The name Yŭ, taken as an epithet, would mean 'the Unconstrained.' As an epithet after death, it has the meaning of 'Receiving the Resignation and Perfecting the Merit;' but this is evidently based on the commonly received history of Yŭ.

² Wăn-ming may be translated, 'the Accomplished and the Issuer of Commands.'

straitened and poor ;—it was only the (former) Tî who could attain to this.'

Yî said, 'Oh! your virtue, O Tî, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favour, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven.'*

Yü said, 'Accordance with the right leads to good fortune ; following what is opposed to it, to bad ;—the shadow and the echo.' Yî said, 'Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of (the wisdom of) which you have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people's (wishes), to follow your own desires. (Attend to these things) without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty.'

Yü said, 'Oh! think (of these things), O Tî. The virtue (of the ruler) is seen in (his) good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain,—these must be duly regulated ; there are the rectification of (the people's) virtue, (the tools and other things) that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation,—these must be harmoniously

attended to. When the nine services (thus indicated) have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by (the people's) songs. Caution them with gentle (words), correct them with the majesty (of law), stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects,—in order that (your success) may not suffer diminution.' The Tî said, 'The earth has been reduced to order, and the (influences of) heaven produce their complete effect; those six magazines and three departments of (governmental) action are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations :—this is your merit.'

2. The Tî said, 'Come, you Yü. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people.' Yü replied, 'My virtue is not equal (to the position), and the people will not repose in me. (But there is) Kâo-yâo with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Tî, think of him! When I think of him, (my mind) rests on him (as the man fit for this place); when I would put him out of my thoughts, (my mind still) rests on him; when I name and speak of him, (my mind) rests on him (for this); the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Tî, think of his merits.'

The Tî said, 'Kâo-yâo, that of these my ministers and all (my people) hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby

assisting (the inculcation of) the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with (the path of) the Mean. (Continue to) be strenuous,' Káo-yáo replied, 'Your virtue, O Tí, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to (the criminal's) heirs, while rewards reach to (succeeding) generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers.' The Tí said, 'That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind,—this is your excellence.'

The Tí said, 'Come Yü. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly (all that you had represented), and completed your service;—thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated,—you (again) show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no

one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend (the throne) of the great sovereign.* The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean. Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating (the virtues) that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven-conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words.'

Yü said, 'Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination¹, and let the favouring indication be followed.' The Tî replied, '(According to the rules for) the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterwards refer (his judgment) to the great tortoise-shell. My mind (in this matter) was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all (my

¹ On Divination, see Part V, iv.

ministers and people), and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated.* Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined (the place). The Tî said, 'You must not do so. It is you who can suitably (occupy my place).' On the first morning of the first month, (Yü) received the appointment in the temple (dedicated by Shun) to the spirits of his ancestors¹, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the Tî at the commencement (of his government).*

3. The Tî said, 'Alas! O Yü, there is only the lord of Miáo² who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him.' Yü on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, 'Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miáo, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys (all the obligations of) virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill (all) the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven

¹ Many contend that this was the ancestral temple of Yáo. But we learn from Confucius, in the seventeenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that Shun had established such a temple for his own ancestors, which must be that intended here.

² The lord of Miáo against whom Yü proceeded would not be the one whom Shun banished to San-wei, as related in the former Book, but some chieftain of the whole or a portion of the people, who had been left in their native seat. That Yáo, Shun, and Yü were all obliged to take active measures against the people of Miáo, shows the difficulty with which the Chinese sway was established over the country.

is sending down calamities upon him.* I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions (of the Tî) to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success.'

At the end of three decades, the people of Miào continued rebellious against the commands (issued to them), when Yî came to the help of Yü, saying, 'It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase;—this is the way of Heaven.* In the early time of the Tî, when he was living by mount Lî[†], he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with (their) wickedness.* (At the same time) with respectful service he appeared before Kû-sâu, looking grave and awe-struck, till Kû also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings,—how much more will it move this lord of Miào!''* Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' (Thereupon) he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The Tî set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace;—with shields and feathers they danced between the two staircases (in his courtyard). In seventy days, the lord of Miào came (and made his submission).

[†] Mount Lî is found in a hill near Phû Kâu, department of Phing-yang, Shan-hsi. It is difficult to reconcile what Yî says here of Shun 'in his early life' and his father Kû-sâu with the account of it as happening when Shun was fifty years old; see Mencius V, Part i, ch. 5. The whole is legendary, and there were, no doubt, more forms of the legend than one.

BOOK III. THE COUNSELS OF KÂO-YÂO.

KÂO-YÂO was Minister of Crime to Shun, and is still celebrated in China as the model for all administrators of justice. There are few or no reliable details of his history. Sze-mâ *Khien* says that Yü, on his accession to the throne, made Kâo-yáo his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but that the design was frustrated by Kâo-yáo's death. But if there had been such a tradition in the time of Mencius, he would probably have mentioned it, when defending Yü from the charge of being inferior to Yáo and Shun, who resigned the throne to the worthiest, whereas he transmitted it to his son. Kâo-yáo's surname was Yen, but an end was made of his representatives, when the principality belonging to them was extinguished in the dynasty of *Kâu* by the ambitious state of *K'û*. There is still a family in China with the surname Kâo, claiming to be descended from this ancient worthy; but Kâo and Yáo are to be taken together in the *Shû* as his name.

The 'Counsels' in the Book do not appear as addressed directly to Shun, but are found in a conversation between Yü and Kâo-yáo, the latter being the chief speaker. The whole may be divided into four chapters:—the first, enunciating the principle that in government the great thing is for the ruler to pursue the course of his virtue, which will be seen in his knowledge and choice of men for office, thereby securing the repose of the people; the second, illustrating how men may be known; the third, treating of the repose of the people; in the fourth, the speaker asserts the reasonableness of his sentiments, and humbly expresses his own desire to be helpful to the sovereign.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Kâo-yáo said, 'If (the sovereign) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels (offered to him) will be intelligent, and the aids (of admonition that he receives) will be harmonious.' Yü said, 'Yes, but explain yourself.' Kâo-yáo said, 'Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will

produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent (also) will exert themselves in his service; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant.' Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' Kào-yáo continued, 'Oh! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people.' Yü said, 'Alas! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the Tî. When (the sovereign) knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be (thus) wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Hwan-tâu? what to be removing a lord of Miào? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?'

2. Kào-yáo said, 'Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses (any) virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such things.' Yü asked, 'What (are the nine virtues)?' Kào-yáo replied, 'Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. (When these qualities are) displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good (officer)? When there is a daily

display of three (of these) virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan (of which he was made chief). When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the state (with which he was invested). When (such men) are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in (the public) service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons (as the several elements predominate in them),—and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let not (the Son of Heaven) set to the holders of states the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, (remembering that) in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!*

3. 'From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties;—and lo! we have the five courses of honourable conduct¹. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies;—and lo! they appear in

¹ The five duties are those belonging to the five relationships, which are the constituents of society;—those between husband and wife, father and son, ruler and subject, elder brother and younger, friend and friend.

regular practice¹. When (sovereign and ministers show) a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature (of the people) is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous;—are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them²? Heaven punishes the guilty;—are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government!—ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it? *

‘Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe;—such connexion is there between the upper and lower (worlds). How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!’ *

4. Kào-yáo said, ‘My words are in accordance with reason, and may be put in practice.’ Yü said, ‘Yes, your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success.’ Kào-yáo added, ‘(As to that) I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May (the government) be perfected!’

BOOK IV. THE YÎ AND Kĭ.

Yî and Kĭ, the names of Shun’s Forester and Minister of Agriculture, both of whom receive their appointments in Book i, occur near the commencement of this Book, and occasion is thence taken to give its title to the whole. But without good reason; for these worthies do not appear at all as interlocutors

¹ The five ceremonies are here those belonging to the distinctions of rank in connexion with the five constituent relations of society.

² See in next Book, ch. 1.

in it. Yü is the principal speaker; the Book belongs to the class of 'Counsels.'

To Yŷ there is, of course, assigned an ancient and illustrious descent; what is of more importance, is that the lords of *K'in*, who finally superseded the kings of *K'au*, traced their lineage to him. *K'hî* was the name of *K'î*, the character for the latter term meaning 'Millet,' and *K'hî* was so styled from his labours in teaching the people to sow and reap, so that *K'î* became equivalent to 'Minister of Agriculture.'

The contents of the Book have been divided into three chapters.

The first gives a conversation between Shun and Yü. Yü relates his own diligence and achievements as a model to Shun, and gives him various admonitions, while Shun insists on what his ministers should be, and wherein he wished them to help him. In the second chapter, Khwei, the Minister of Music, makes his appearance; it has no apparent connexion with the former. In the third, Shun and K'áo-yáo sing to each other on the mutual relation of the sovereign and his ministers.

I. The Tŷ said, 'Come Yü, you also must have excellent words (to bring before me).' Yü did obeisance, and said, 'Oh! what can I say, O Tŷ, (after K'áo-yáo)? I can (only) think of maintaining a daily assiduity.' K'áo-yáo said, 'Alas! will you describe it?' Yü replied, 'The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances¹, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yŷ, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I (also) opened passages for the streams (throughout the) nine (provinces), and conducted them to the four seas. I deepened (more-over) the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing (grain), at the same time,

¹ See the Introduction, pp. 16, 17.

along with *Ki*, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, (in addition to) the flesh meat. I urged them (further) to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. (In this way) all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.' *Kão-yáo* said, 'Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words.'

Yü said, 'Oh! carefully maintain, O *Ti*, the throne which you occupy.' The *Ti* replied, 'Yes;' and *Yü* went on, 'Find your repose in your (proper) resting-point. Attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright:—then shall your movements be grandly responded to, (as if the people only) waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive (the favour of) God;—will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?' *

The *Ti* said, 'Alas! what are ministers?—are they not (my) associates? What are associates?—are they not (my) ministers?' *Yü* replied, 'Yes;' and the *Ti* went on, 'My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people;—you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters;—you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients,—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (= the pheasant), which are depicted (on the upper garment); the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered (on the lower garment),—(I wish to see all these) fully displayed

in the five colours, so as to form the (ceremonial) robes;—it is yours to see them clearly (for me). I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes (determined by them), and the eight kinds of musical instruments (regulated again by these), examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as (the odes that) go forth (from the court, set to music), and come in (from the people), are ordered by those five notes;—it is yours to hear them (for me). When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me;—do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not—the target to exhibit (their true character)¹, the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance²? Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters (of music) to receive their compositions, (set them to music), and continually publish them (as corrected by themselves). If they become reformed they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors (of punishment) overtake them.'

¹ Archery was anciently made much of in China, and supposed to be a test of character. Unworthy men would not be found hitting frequently, and observing the various rules of the exercise. Confucius more than once spoke of archery as a discipline of virtue; see *Analects*, III, xvi.

² In the *Official Book of Kâu*, the heads of districts are required to keep a register of the characters of the people. *Shun's Book of Remembrance* would be a record on wood or cloth. The reference implies the use of writing.

Yü said, 'So far good! But let your light shine, O Tt, all under heaven, even to every grassy corner of the sea-shore, and throughout the myriad regions the most worthy of the people will all (wish) to be your ministers. Then, O Tt, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare not to cultivate a humble virtue? who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Tt, do not act thus, all (your ministers) together will daily proceed to a meritless character.'

'Be not haughty like *Kû* of Tan¹, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Thû-shan², (I remained with my wife only the days) *hsin*, *zăn*, *kwei*, and *kiâ*. When (my son) *Kht* was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. (Then) I assisted in completing the five Tenures³, extending over 5000 *lî*⁴; (in appointing) in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing

¹ This was the son of Yáo. He must have been made lord of some principality, called Tan.

² Yü married the daughter of the lord of Thû-shan, a principality in the present department of Făng-yung, An-hui.

³ See in the Tribute of Yü, Part II.

⁴ The *lî* is what is called the Chinese mile, generally reckoned to be 360 paces.

in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still (the people of) Mião, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Tï.' The Tï said, 'That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Kão-yáo, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the (various) punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence.'

2. Khwei said, 'When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors (of the Tï) come (to the service),* the guest of Yü¹ is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. (In the court) below (the hall) there are the flutes and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the organ and bells take their place. (This makes) birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Tï, have all been performed, the male and female phoenix come with their measured gambolings (into the court).'

Khwei said, 'Oh! when I smite the (sounding-) stone, or gently strike it, the various animals lead on one another to dance², and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious.'

¹ Kû of Tan.

² These last words of Khwei have already appeared in Book i, ch. 5. They are more in place here, though this second chapter has no apparent connexion with what precedes. 'The stone' is the sonorous stone formed, often in the shape of a carpenter's square, into a musical instrument, still seen everywhere in China.

3. The Tî on this made a song, saying, 'We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular.' * He then sang,

'When the members (work) joyfully,
The head rises (grandly);
And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged!'

Kão-yâo did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, 'Think (O Tî). It is yours to lead on and originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws (in doing so). Be reverential! and often examine what has been accomplished (by your officers). Be reverential!' With this he continued the song,

'When the head is intelligent,
The members are good;
And all affairs will be happily performed!'

Again he continued the song,

'When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!'

The Tî said, 'Yes, go and be reverently (attentive to your duties).'

PART III. THE BOOKS OF HSIÂ.

BOOK I. THE TRIBUTE OF YÜ.

HSIÂ is the dynastic designation under which Yü and his descendants held the throne for 439 years (B. C. 2205-1767). On the conclusion of his labours, according to what was the universally accepted tradition in the *Kâu* period, Yü was appointed by Yâo to be earl of Hsiâ, a small principality in Ho-nan, identified with the present Yü-tâu, department Khâi-fâng, which thus still retains the name of Yü.

It has been repeatedly said in the Introduction that the Tribute of Yü describes what was done before the death of Yâo. The reason why it got its place as the first of the Books of Hsiâ was, no doubt, because the merit set forth in it was the ground of Yü's advancement to the throne.

Altogether the Books of Hsiâ are properly no more than three;—a fact which shows that in so early a period the duty of the recorder was little exercised, or that the destruction of its monuments in the course of time was nearly complete. We may assume that it was in consequence of both of these things that, when the collection of the *Shû* was made, only three documents of Hsiâ were found, to go into it.

The word 'Tribute' in the name of this first Book is not to be understood only in the sense of a contribution paid by one nation to another in acknowledgment of subjection, but also as the contribution of revenue paid by subjects to their proper ruler. The term, moreover, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents, which describe generally the labours of Yü in remedying the disasters occasioned by the inundation with which he had to cope, and how he then defined the boundaries of the different provinces, made other important territorial divisions, and determined the quality of the soil in each province, and the proportion of revenue it should pay, with other particulars. The Book, if we could fully credit it, would be a sort of domesday book of China in the twenty-third century

B.C., in the compass of a few pages. In the classification of the Books of the Shū, according to their subject-matter, this is rightly considered as a Canon. The first section of it is divided into one short introductory chapter, and nine others, each containing the account of one province.

Section 1.

1. Yü divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers (in the several regions).

2. With respect to *K'ī K'âu*¹, he did his work at Hû-khâu, and took effective measures at (the mountains) Liang and *K'hi*. Having repaired the works on Thâi-yüan, he proceeded on to the south of (mount) Yo. He was successful with his labours on Tan-hwâi, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Kang.

The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class.

¹ *K'ī K'âu* embraced the present provinces of Shan-hsî, K'ih-lî, the three most northern departments of Ho-nan, and the western portion of Lião-tung. It had the Ho—what we call the Yellow river—on three sides of it. On the west was all that part of the Ho which forms the dividing line between Shen-hsî and Shan-hsî. At the south-western corner of Shan-hsî, the Ho turns to the east: and in Yü's time it flowed eastwards to about the place where K'ih-lî, Shan-tung, and Ho-nan all touch, forming the southern boundary of *K'ī K'âu*. Thence it ran north and east, till its waters entered the present gulph of K'ih-lî, forming, so far, the eastern boundary of the province. The northern boundary must be left undefined.

It would be foreign to the object of the present publication of the Shū, and take too much space, to give notes on the details of Yü's operations in *K'ī K'âu* and the other provinces.

The (waters of the) Hăng and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Tâ-lü was made capable of cultivation.

The wild people of the islands (brought) dresses of skins (i. e. fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of Kieh, they entered the Ho.

3. Between the Kî and the Ho was Yen Kâu¹.

The nine branches of the Ho were made to keep their proper channels. Lêi-hsiâ was made a marsh, in which (the waters of) the Yung and the 3ü were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then (the people) came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds (below).

The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics.

They floated along the Kî and Thâ, and so reached the Ho.

4. The sea and (mount) Tâi were the boundaries of Khing Kâu².

¹ Yen Kâu was a small province, having the Ho on the north, the Kî on the south, the gulph of Kih-lî on the east, and Yü Kâu, Yü's seventh province, on the west. It embraced the department of Tâ-ming, with portions of those of Ho-kien and Thien-king, in Kih-lî, and the department of Tung-khang, with portions of those of Kî-nan and Yen-kâu, in Shan-tung.

² Khing Kâu, having mount Tâi and Hsü Kâu (the next province) on the west and south, Yen Kâu and the sea on the north-west and the north, and the sea on the east and south,

(The territory of) Yü-t was defined ; and the Wei and 3ze were made to keep their (old) channels.

Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, productions of the sea of various kinds ; with silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Tái. The wild people of Lái were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry tree.

They floated along the Wăn, and so reached the K1.

5. The sea, mount Tái, and the Hwâi were (the boundaries of) Hsü Kâu¹.

The Hwâi and the Î (rivers) were regulated. The (hills) Măng and Yü were made fit for cultivation. (The waters of) Tâ-yeh were confined (so as to form

would be still smaller than Yen Kâu, and contain the three departments of K'ing-kâu, Lái-kâu, and Têng-kâu, with the western portion of that of K'î-nan, in Shan-tung. From the text we should never suppose that it passed across the sea which washes the north and east of Shan-tung, and extended indefinitely into Lião-tung and Corla. This, however, is the view of many Chinese geographers.

¹ The western boundary of Hsü Kâu, which is not given in the text, was Yü Kâu, and part of K'ing Kâu. It embraced the present department of Hsü-kâu, the six districts—Tháo-yüan, K'ing-ho, An-tung, Hsü-k'ien, Sui-ning, and Kan-yü, department of Hwâi-an, with Phei Kâu and Hái Kâu,—all in Kiang-sü ; the whole of Yen-kâu department, Tung-phing Kâu and the south of Phing-yin district in the department of Thái-an, the department of Î-kâu, and portions of those of K'î-nan and K'ing-kâu,—all in Shan-tung ; with the four districts Hwâi-yüan, Wû-ho, Hung, and Ling-pi, department of Făng-yang, with Sze Kâu and Hsü Kâu,—all in An-hui.

a marsh); and (the tract of) Tung-yüan was successfully brought under management.

The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were—earth of five different colours, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yü, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yt, and the sounding-stones that (seemed to) float on the (banks of the) Sze. The wild tribes about the Hwâi brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white.

They floated along the Hwâi and the Sze, and so reached the Ho.

6. The Hwâi and the sea formed (the boundaries of) Yang Kâu¹.

The (lake of) Phăng-lt was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (= the wild geese) had places

¹ The Hwâi was the boundary of Yang Kâu on the north, and we naturally suppose that the other boundary mentioned, the sea, should be referred to the south of the province. If it were really so, Yang Kâu must have extended along the coast as far as Cochin-China, and not a few Chinese scholars argue that it did so. But that no southern boundary of the province is mentioned may rather be taken as proving that when this Book was compiled, the country south of the Kiang—the present Yang-ze—was unknown.

Along the greater part of its course, the province was continuous on the west with K'ing Kâu, and in the north-west with Yü Kâu. We may safely assign to it the greater portion of An-hui, and a part of the department of Hwang-kâu, in Hû-pei. All this would be the northern portion of the province. How far it extended southwards into Kê-kiang and Kiang-hsî, it is impossible to say.

to settle on. The three *Kiang* were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of *Kăn*. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry.

The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; *yâo* and *khwăn* stones; bamboos, small and large; (elephants') teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloës,—rendered when specially required.

They followed the course of the *Kiang* and the sea, and so reached the *Hwâi* and the *Sze*.

7. (Mount) *King* and the south of (mount) *Hăng* formed (the boundaries of) *King Kâu*¹.

The *Kiang* and the *Han* pursued their (common) course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine *Kiang* were brought into complete order. The *Tho* and *Khien* (streams) were conducted by

¹ Mount *King*, which bounded *King Kâu* on the north, is in the department of *Hsiang-yang*, *Hû-pei*, and is called the southern *King*, to distinguish it from another mountain of the same name farther north in *Yung Kâu*. Mount *Hăng*, its southern boundary, is 'the southern mountain' of the Canon of *Shun* in *Hăng-kâu* department, *Hû-nan*. *Yang Kâu* was on the east, and the country on the west was almost unknown. *King Kâu* contained the greater portion of the present provinces of *Hû-pei* and *Hû-nan*, and parts also of *Kwei-kâu* and *Sze-khuan*. Some geographers also extend it on the south into *Kwang-tung* and *Kwang-hsî*, which is very unlikely.

their proper channels. The land in (the marsh of) Yün (became visible), and (the marsh of) Măng was made capable of cultivation.

The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, (elephants') teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; *kün* trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and cinnabar; and the *kün* and *lû* bamboos, with the *hû* tree, (all good for making arrows)—of which the Three Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the (country of the) nine *Kiang*, the great tortoise was presented when specially required (and found).

They floated down the *Kiang*, the *Tho*, the *Kkien*, and the *Han*, and crossed (the country) to the *Lo*, whence they reached the most southern part of the *Ho*.

8. The *King* (mountain) and the *Ho* were (the boundaries of) *Yü Kâu*¹.

The *Î*, the *Lo*, the *Khan*, and the *Kien* were conducted to the *Ho*. The (marsh of) *Yung-po* was

¹ *Yü Kâu* was the central one of *Yü's* nine divisions of the country, and was conterminous, for a greater or less distance, with all of them, excepting *Khing Kâu*, which lay off in the east by itself. It embraced most of the present *Ho-nan*, stretching also into the east and south, so as to comprehend parts of *Shan-tung* and *Hû-pei*.

confined within its proper limits. The (waters of that of) Ko were led to (the marsh of) Mǎng-k'ô.

The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was (in some places) rich, and (in others) dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and the bæhmerea. The baskets were full of chequered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required.

They floated along the Lo, and so reached the Ho.

9. The south of (mount) Hwâ and the Black-water were (the boundaries of) Liang K'âu¹.

The (hills) Min and Po were made capable of cultivation. The Tho and K'ien streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to (the hills) Zhâi and Mâng on the regulation (of the country about them).* (The country of) the wild tribes about the Ho was successfully operated on.

¹ Liang K'âu was an extensive province, and it is a remarkable fact that neither the dominions of the Shang nor the K'âu dynasty, which followed Hsiâ, included it. Portions of it were embraced in the Yü and Yung provinces of K'âu, but the greater part was considered as wild, savage territory, beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom. It is difficult to believe that the great Yü operated upon it, as this chapter would seem to indicate. The Hwâ at its north-eastern corner is the western mountain of Shun. The Black-water, or 'the K'iang of the Golden Sands,' is identified with the present Lû. The province extended over most of the present Sze-k'üan, with parts of Shen-hsi and Kan-sü. I can hardly believe, as many do, that it extended far into Yün-nan and Kwei-k'au.

The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute were—the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and (nets) woven of their hair.

From (the hill of) Hst-*k'ing* they came by the course of the Hwan; floated along the *K'hien*, and then crossed (the country) to the Mien; passed to the Wei, and (finally) ferried across the Ho.

10. The Black-water and western Ho were (the boundaries of) Yung *K'âu*¹.

The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The *K'ing* was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The *K'hi* and the *K'hi* were next led in a similar way (to the Wei), and the waters of the Fêng found the same receptacle.

(The mountains) *K'ing* and *K'hi* were sacrificed to.* (Those of) *Kung-nan* and *K'hiun-wû* (were also regulated), and (all the way) on to Niáo-shû. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to (the marsh of) *K'û-yeh*. (The country of) San-wei was made habitable, and the (affairs of the) people of San-miáo were greatly arranged.

¹ The Black-water, which was the western boundary of Yung *K'âu*, was a different river from that which, with the same name, ran along the south of Liang *K'âu*. Yung *K'âu* was probably the largest of Yü's provinces, embracing nearly all the present provinces of Shen-hsi and Kan-sü, and extending indefinitely northwards to the Desert.

The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the *khiu* jade and the lin, and (the stones called) lang-kan.

Past *Ki-shih* they floated on to Lung-măn on the western Ho. They then met on the north of the Wei (with the tribute-bearers from other quarters).

Hair-cloth and skins (were brought from) Khwăn-lun, Hsi-kih, and *Kkü-sâu*;—the wild tribes of the west (all) coming to (submit to Yü's) arrangements.

Section 2.

The division of the Book into two sections is a convenient arrangement, but modern, and not always followed. The former section gives a view of Yü's labours in each particular province. This gives a general view of the mountain ranges of the country, and of the principal streams; going on to other labours, subsequently, as was seen in the Introduction, ascribed to Yü,—his conferring lands and surnames, and dividing the whole territory into five domains. The contents are divided into five chapters:—the first, describing the mountains; the second, describing the rivers; the third, containing a summary of all the labours of Yü thus far mentioned; the fourth, relating his other labours; and the fifth, celebrating Yü's fame, and the completion of his work.

1. (Yü) surveyed and described (the hills), beginning with *Khien* and *Khi* and proceeding to mount *King*; then, crossing the Ho, Hû-khâu, and Lêi-shâu, going on to *Thái-yo*. (After these came) *Ti-kû* and *Hsi-khăng*, from which he went on to *Wang-wû*; (then there were) *Thái-hang* and mount *Hăng*, from which he proceeded to the rocks of *Kieh*, where he reached the sea.

(South of the Ho, he surveyed) *Hsi-khing*, *Kü-yü*,

and Nião-shû, going on to Thâi-hwâ; (then) Hsiung-r, Wâi-fang, and Thung-pâi, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

He surveyed and described Po-*khung*, going on to (the other) mount *King*; and Nêi-fang, from which he went on to Tâ-pieh.

(He did the same with) the south of mount Min, and went on to mount Hăng. Then crossing the nine *Kiang*, he proceeded to the plain of Fû-*khien*.

2. He traced the Weak-water as far as the Ho-lî (mountains), from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

He traced the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it (went away to) enter the southern sea.

He traced the Ho from Kî-shih as far as Lung-măn; and thence, southwards, to the north of (mount) Hwâ; eastward then to Tî-*khû*; eastward (again) to the ford of Măng; eastward (still) to the junction of the Lo; and then on to Tâ-pei. (From this the course was) northwards, past the *Kiang*-water, on to Tâ-lü; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine Ho, which united again, and formed the Meeting Ho, when they entered the sea.

From Po-*khung* he traced the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east it became the water of 3hang-lang; and after passing the three Dykes, it went on to Tâ-pieh, southwards from which it entered the *Kiang*. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Phăng-lî; and from that its eastern flow was the northern *Kiang*, as which it entered the sea.

From mount Min he traced the *Kiang*, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tho; eastward again, it reached the Lî, passed the nine *Kiang*, and

went on to Tung-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined (the Han) with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was the middle *Kiang*, as which it entered the sea.

He traced the Yen water, which, flowing eastward, became the *Ki*, and entered the Ho. (Thereafter) it flowed out, and became the Yung (marsh). Eastward, it issued forth on the north of *Tháo-khiu*, and flowed farther east to (the marsh of) Ko; then it went north-east, and united with the Wán; thence it went north, and (finally) entered the sea on the east.

He traced the Hwái from the hill of Thung-pái. Flowing east, it united with the Sze and the *Í*, and (still) with an eastward course entered the sea.

He traced the Wei from (the hill) *Niáo-shû-thung-shüeh*. Flowing eastward, it united with the Fêng, and eastwards again with the *King*. Farther east still, it passed the *Khi* and the *Khü*, and entered the Ho.

He traced the Lo from (the hill) *Hsiung-r*. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the *Kien* and the *Khan*, and eastwards still with the *Í*. Then on the north-east it entered the Ho.

3. (Thus), throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected:—the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to;* the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas.

The six magazines (of material wealth) were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that con-

tribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. (The fields) were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established.

4. He conferred lands and surnames. (He said), 'Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct.'

Five hundred *li* formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred *li* (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred *li* was occupied by the cities and lands of the (sovereign's) high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the (other) three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred *li* (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defence.

Five hundred *li* (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the *Î*; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred *li* (the most remote) constituted the Wild Domain. The (first) three hundred were

occupied by the tribes of the Man; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

5. On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south:—his fame and influence filled up (all within) the four seas. Yü presented the dark-coloured symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

BOOK II. THE SPEECH AT KAN.

WITH this Book there commence the documents of the Shū that may be regarded, as I have said in the Introduction, as contemporaneous with the events which they describe. It is the first of the 'Speeches,' which form one class of the documents of the classic.

The text does not say who the king mentioned in it was, but the prevalent tradition has always been that he was *K'hi*, the son and successor of Yü. Its place between the Tribute of Yü and the next Book belonging to the reign of Thái Khang, *K'hi*'s son, corroborates this view.

Kan is taken as the name of a place in the southern border of the principality of Hû, with the lord of which *K'hi* fought. The name of Hû itself still remains in the district so called of the department Hsi-an, in Shen-hsi.

The king, about to engage in battle with a rebellious vassal, assembles his generals and troops, and addresses them. He declares obscurely the grounds of the expedition which he had undertaken, and concludes by stimulating the soldiers to the display of courage and observance of order by promises of reward and threats of punishment.

There was a great battle at Kan. (Previous to it), the king called together the six nobles, (the leaders of his six hosts), and said, 'Ah! all ye who

are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you.

'The lord of Hû wildly wastes and despises the five elements (that regulate the seasons), and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year¹. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hû); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.*

'If you, (the archers) on the left², do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, (the spearmen) on the right², do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers², do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders, shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders, shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children.*'

¹ The crimes of the lord of Hû are here very obscurely stated. With regard to the second of them, we know that Hsiâ commenced its year with the first month of spring, Shang a month earlier, and Kâu about mid-winter. It was understood that every dynasty should fix a new month for the beginning of the year, and the dynasty of K'in actually carried its first month back into our November. If the lord of Hû claimed to begin the year with another month than that which Yü had fixed, he was refusing submission to the new dynasty. No doubt, the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival.

² The chariots were the principal part of an ancient Chinese army; it is long before we read of cavalry. A war-chariot generally carried three. The driver was in the centre; on his left was an archer, and a spearman occupied the place on his right. They all wore mail.

BOOK III. THE SONGS OF THE FIVE SONS.

This Book ranks in that class of the documents of the Shū which goes by the name of 'Instructions.' Though the form of it be poetical, the subject-matter is derived from the Lessons left by Yü for the guidance of his posterity.

Thái Khang succeeded to his father in B.C. 2188, and his reign continues in chronology to 2160. His character is given here in the introductory chapter. *K'hiung*, the principality of Í who took the field against him, is identified with the sub-department of Tê-Kâu, department K'í-nan, Shan-tung. There is a tradition that Í, at an early period of his life, was lord of a state in the present Ho-nan. This would make his movement against Thái Khang, 'south of the Ho,' more easy for him. The name of Thái Khang remains in the district so called of the department *K'ăn-kâu*, Ho-nan. There, it is said, he died, having never been able to recross the Ho.

In his song the king's first brother deplores how he had lost the affections of the people; the second speaks of his dissolute extravagance; the third mourns his loss of the throne; the fourth deplores his departure from the principles of Yü, and its disastrous consequences; and the fifth is a wail over the miserable condition of them all.

1. Thái Khang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead¹. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any

¹ The character that here as a verb governs the character signifying 'throne' means properly 'a corpse,' and is often used for the personator of the dead, in the sacrificial services to the dead which formed a large part of the religious ceremonies of the ancient Chinese. A common definition of it is 'the semblance of the spirit,'=the image into which the spirit entered. Thái Khang was but a personator on the throne, no better than a sham sovereign.

self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Lo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Î, the prince of *K'ziung*, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the Ho. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Lo; and (when they heard of Î's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yü in the form of songs.

2. The first said,

'It was the lesson of our great ancestor :—
 The people should be cherished,
 And not looked down upon.
 The people are the root of a country;
 The root firm, the country is tranquil.
 When I look at all under heaven,
 Of the simple men and simple women,
 Any one may surpass me.
 If the One man err repeatedly¹,
 Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?
 Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
 In my dealing with the millions of the people,
 I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving
 six horses with rotten reins.
 The ruler of men—
 How should he be but reverent (of his duties)?'

The second said,

'It is in the Lessons :—
 When the palace is a wild of lust,
 And the country is a wild for hunting;

¹ Any king, in the person of Yü, may be understood to be the speaker.

When spirits are liked, and music is the delight ;
When there are lofty roofs and carved walls ;—
The existence of any one of these things
Has never been but the prelude to ruin.'

The third said,

'There was the lord of Tháo and Thang¹,
Who possessed this region of Kí.
Now we have fallen from his ways,
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws ;—
The consequence is extinction and ruin.'

The fourth said,

Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,
Sovereign of the myriad regions.
He had canons, he had patterns,
Which he transmitted to his posterity.
The standard stone and the equalizing quarter
Were in the royal treasury.
Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,
Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our
sacrifices.'*

The fifth said,

'Oh ! whither shall we turn ?
The thoughts in my breast make me sad.
All the people are hostile to us ;
On whom can we rely ?
Anxieties crowd together in our hearts ;
Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
We have not been careful of our virtue ;
And though we repent, we cannot overtake the
past.'

¹ The lord of Tháo and Thang is Yáo, who was lord of the principalities of Tháo and Thang, but of which first and which last is uncertain, before his accession to the throne. Kí is the Kí Káu of the Tribute of Yü.

BOOK IV. THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.

THIS Book is another of the 'Speeches' of the Shû, belonging to the reign of Kung Khang, a brother of Thái Khang, the fourth of the kings of Shang (B. C. 2159-2147).

Hsî and Ho, the principal ministers of the Board of Astronomy, descended from those of the same name in the time of Yáo, had given themselves over to licentious indulgence in their private cities, and grossly neglected their duties. Especially had they been unobservant of an eclipse of the sun in autumn. The king considered them worthy of death, and commissioned the marquis of Yin to execute on them the sentence of his justice. Where Yin was is not now known.

The principal part of the Book consists of the speech made by the marquis to his troops.

1. When Kung Khang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king's) six hosts. (At this time) the Hsî and Ho had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them.

2. He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, 'Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage (founder of our dynasty), clearly verified in their power to give stability and security:—"The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven¹,* and their ministers observed the regular laws (of their offices). All the officers (moreover) watchfully did their duty to

¹ That is, here, such warnings as were supposed to be conveyed by eclipses and other unusual celestial phenomena.

assist (the government), and their sovereign became entirely intelligent." Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads¹, (proclaiming), "Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect (to this requirement), the country has regular punishments for you."

' Now here are the Hst and Ho. They have allowed their virtue to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly (bodies) get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang². The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people (employed about the public offices) ran about³. The Hst and the Ho, however, as if they were (mere) personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing;—so stupidly went they astray (from their duties) in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, "When they anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when (their

¹ A similar practice existed in the *K'au* dynasty.

² See the Introduction, p. 13.

³ Similar observances are still practised on occasion of an eclipse of the sun. See Biot's *Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise*, pp. 357-360.

reckoning) is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy."

'Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven.* Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

'When the fire blazes over the ridge of Khwăn¹, gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

'Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning, (and obey my orders)!'

¹ Khwăn is perhaps a part of the Khwăn-lun mountain in the west of the Ko-ko-nor, where the Ho has its sources. The speaker evidently thought of it as volcanic.

PART IV. THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK I. THE SPEECH OF THANG.

SHANG was the name under which the dynasty that superseded Hsiâ (B. C. 1766) held the kingdom for fully 300 years. Yin then began to be used as well as Shang, and the dynasty was called indifferently Shang or Yin, and sometimes Yin-Shang by a combination of the two names. The ruling House traced its origin into the remote times of antiquity, through Hsieh, whose appointment by Shun to be Minister of Instruction is related in the Canon of Shun. For his services Hsieh was invested with the principality of Shang, corresponding to the present small department of the same name in Shen-hsî. From Hsieh to Thang, the founder of the dynasty, there are reckoned fourteen generations, and we find Thang, when he first becomes prominent in history, a long way from the ancestral fief, in 'the southern Po,' corresponding to the present district of Shang-khiu, department Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang.

There were in the Shû, when the collection was formed, thirty-one documents of Shang in forty Books, of which only eleven remain in seventeen Books, two of them containing each three parts or sections. The Speech of Thang, that is now the first Book in the Part, was originally only the sixth. Thang was the designation of the hero, whose surname, dating from Hsieh, was 3ze, and name Lî. Thang may be translated, 'the Glorious One.' His common style in history is as K'hang Thang, 'Thang the Completer,' or 'Thang the Successful.'

He had summoned his people to take the field with him against Kieh, the cruel and doomed sovereign of Hsiâ, and finding them backward to the enterprise, he sets forth in this Book his reasons for attacking the tyrant, argues against their reluctance, using in the end both promises and threats to induce them to obey his orders.

The king said, 'Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child¹, who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hsiâ, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.*

'Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, "Our prince does not compassionate us, but (is calling us) away from our husbandry to attack and punish Hsiâ." I have indeed heard (these) words of you all; (but) the sovereign of Hsiâ is guilty, and, as I fear God, I dare not but punish him.*

'Now you are saying, "What are the crimes of Hsiâ to us?" The king of Hsiâ in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the cities of Hsiâ. His multitudes are become entirely indifferent (to his service), and feel no bond of union (to him). They are saying, "When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee²." Such is the course of (the sovereign) of Hsiâ, and now I must go (and punish him).

'Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me;—I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put

¹ 'The little child' is a designation used humbly of themselves by the kings of Shang and Kâu. It is given also to them and others by such great ministers as Î Yin and the duke of Kâu.

² Kieh, it is said, had on one occasion, when told of the danger he was incurring by his cruelties, pointed to the sun, and said that as surely as the sun was in the heavens, so firm was he on the throne.

your children to death with you ;—you shall find no forgiveness.'

BOOK II. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF KUNG-HUI.

THIS Book is the first of the 'Announcements,' which form a large class of the documents in the Shū. They are distinguished from the Speeches, as being made in a general assembly, or published, for the information of all, whereas the Speeches were made to an army.

Kung-hui, of an old family, whose surname was Zǎn, with its seat in the territory of Hsieh, corresponding to the present district of Thang, department Yen-káu, Shan-tung, was a minister of Thang. Thang has been successful against Kieh, and dethroned him, but is haunted by some feeling of remorse, and afraid that what he has done may be appealed to in future ages as an apology for rebellion. This gives occasion to the Announcement, in which Kung-hui vindicates the proceeding of the king, showing, first, that he had only obeyed the guidance of Heaven, and, then, that men consented with Heaven in the matter. He concludes with various counsels addressed to the king.

1. When Thang the Successful was keeping Kieh in banishment in Nan-kháo¹, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, 'I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, (as an apology for their rebellious proceedings.)'

2. On this Kung-hui made the following announcement: 'Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with (such) desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth

¹ Nan-kháo is identified with the present district of Kháo, department Lô-káu, An-hui.

to the man of intelligence to regulate them.* The sovereign of Hsiâ had his virtue all-obsured, and the people were (as if they had fallen) amid mire and (burning) charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted (our) king with valour and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yü. You are now (only) following the proper course, honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Hsiâ was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed (you) to enlighten the multitudes (of the people).’ *

3. ‘Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful,—many such followers he had indeed; (but) from the first our country was to the sovereign of Hsiâ like weeds among the springing corn, and blasted grains among the good. (Our people), great and small; were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our (prince’s) virtues became a theme (eagerly) listened to! Our king did not approach to (dissolute) music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if (their excellences) were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display (of such virtue), confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

‘When the earl of Ko¹ showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Ko. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured:—they said, “Why does he make us alone the last?” To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, “We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive.” The people’s honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.’

4. ‘Show favour to the able and right-principled (among the princes), and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you (thus) accelerate the end of what is (of itself) ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the states all flourish! When (a sovereign’s) virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full (only) of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue (still more) illustrious, and set up (the standard of) the Mean before the people. Order your affairs

¹ Ko was a principality corresponding to the present district of Ning-ling, department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. It was thus near the southern Po, which belonged to Thang. Mencius tells us (III, ii, ch. 3) that Thang sent a multitude of his people to assist the farmers of Ko, about the poor produce of which their chief had lamented to him. That chief, however, instead of showing any gratitude, surprised and robbed those who were carrying provisions from Po to the labourers in the field, and committed various atrocities upon them. This aroused Thang’s indignation, and he made him the first object of his punitive justice.

by righteousness; order your heart by propriety;—so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, “He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions, becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views, becomes smaller (than he was).” Oh! he who would take care for the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven.’*

BOOK III. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THANG.

THANG had made an end of the dynasty of Hsiâ, and returned to Po, when he issued this Announcement, which may be considered as a solemn inauguration of the new dynasty. He shows how he had taken possession of the throne in reverent submission to the will of Heaven, what appreciation he had of the duties devolving on him, and the spirit in which he would discharge them. In the end he calls on the princes and the people to sympathize and co-operate with him.

1. When the king returned from vanquishing Hsiâ and came to Po, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

2. The king said, ‘Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man¹. The great God has conferred

¹ ‘The One man’ has occurred before, in the Songs of the Five Sons, as a designation of the sovereign. It continues to be so to the present day.

(even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right.* To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.

‘The king of Hsiâ extinguished his virtue, and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the worm-wood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth.* The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on (the House of) Hsiâ, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive (the criminal). I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens¹, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Hsiâ as a criminal.* Then I sought for the great Sage², with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favour (of Heaven) for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error ;—brilliantly (now), like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.’ *

3. ‘It is given to me, the One man, to secure the

¹ For ‘the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens,’ we have in the Confucian Analects, XX, 1, professing to quote this passage, ‘the most great and Sovereign God.’

² ‘The great Sage’ must be Î Yin, Thang’s chief adviser and minister, who appears prominently in the next Book.

harmony and tranquillity of your states and clans ; and now I know not whether I may not offend against (the Powers) above and below.* I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, (ye princes), follow lawless ways ; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness ; let every one be careful to keep his statutes ;—that so we may receive the favour of Heaven.* The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed ; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God.* When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man¹. When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

‘Oh ! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a (happy) consummation.’

¹ There was a tradition in the *K'au* dynasty, given with variations by Hsün-ze, Sze-mâ K'ien, and others, which may be quoted to illustrate these noble sentiments of Thang. For seven years after his accession to the throne, B. C. 1766–1760, there was a great drought and famine. It was suggested at last that some human being should be offered in sacrifice to Heaven, and prayer made for rain. Thang said, ‘If a man must be the victim, I will be he.’ He fasted, cut off his hair and nails, and in a plain carriage, drawn by white horses, clad in rushes, in the guise of a sacrificial victim, he proceeded to a forest of mulberry trees, and there prayed, asking to what error or crime of his the calamity was owing. He had not done speaking when a copious rain fell.

BOOK IV. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF Î.

THANG died in B.C. 1754 or 1753, and was succeeded, so far as the evidence of the Shū goes, by his grandson, known as Thái Kĩa. The chief minister of Thang had been Î Yin, who delivers these Instructions to his young sovereign soon after his accession. Î was a great and wise man, 'a great sage,' as Thang calls him in the last Book, and is classed by Mencius among other celebrated ministers as 'the one most inclined to take office.' He reasons thus:—'Heaven's plan with mankind is that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are later in doing so.' He thought he was one of the former class, and a fire burned within him, impelling him to seek for office with a view to benefit the ignorant and erring. There were many legends about him in the times of K'âu. He was surnamed Î, from having been born near the river of that name, an affluent of the Ho. His name is said to have been Kih, and also Â-hăng (see the beginning of next Book). Yin was his designation. Thang had, probably, entrusted to him the guardianship of his grandson, and so he now went over the history of the kingdom from Yü, till it was transferred from the line of Hsiâ to that of Shang, celebrated the virtues of Thang and his government, and warned the young king of the fate that he must incur, if he neglected the instructions given to him.

1. In the twelfth month of the first year, on (the day) Yt-k'âu, Î Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before (the shrine of) his grandfather.* All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers (also), each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. Î Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the (young) king.

2. He said, 'Oh! of old the former kings of Hsiâ cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all enjoyed their existence according to their nature.* But their descendant did not follow (their example), and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our (ruler) who was in possession of its favouring appointment.* The attack (on Hsiâ) may be traced to (the orgies in) Ming-thiâu¹, but our (rise) began in Po. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue;—all depends on (how) you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love (your relations); to set up respect, it is for you to respect (your elders). The commencement is in the family and the state; the consummation is in (all within) the four seas.'

3. 'Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to (the wisdom of) the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed (the good qualities of) the men (whom he employed), and did

¹ Ming-thiâu was a place not far from the capital of K'ieh (in the present district of An-yî, Hâi K'âu, Shan-hsi). He had a palace there, where the vilest orgies were celebrated that alienated the minds of the people from him,

not seek that they should have every talent ; in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never (sufficiently) attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions.—How painstaking was he in these things !

‘ He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned those who were in authority, saying, “ If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers,—that is called the fashion of sorcerers ; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase,—that is called the fashion of extravagance ; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths,—that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their ten evil ways¹, his family will surely come to ruin ; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his state will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not (try to) correct (such vices in the sovereign) shall be punished with branding.” These rules were minutely inculcated (also) on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.’

4. ‘ Oh ! do you, who now succeed to the throne, revere (these warnings) in your person. Think of

¹ The ‘ ten evil ways ’ are those mentioned in connexion with the three evil fashions ;—two under the sorcerers’ fashion, and four under each of the other two fashions.

them!—sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! (The ways) of God are not invariable:—on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries.* Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or in large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things (or in small), it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.'

BOOK V. THE THÂI KIÃ.

THIS Book also belongs to the class of 'Lessons or Instructions,' and is called 'the Thâi Kiã,' because the Instructions were addressed to the young monarch so named. It is divided into three sections or parts. Î Yin finds the young sovereign disobedient to his counsels, and proceeds to a high-handed measure. He removes him from his palace and companions, and keeps him in a sort of easy confinement, near the grave of his grandfather, all the period of mourning; and Thâi Kiã becomes sincerely penitent and virtuous. This is related in the first section. In the second, Î Yin brings the king back with honour to Po, to undertake the duties of the government, and congratulates him on his reformation. The king responds suitably, and asks the minister to continue to afford him his counsels, which the other at once proceeds to do. The third section is all occupied with further and important counsels.

Section 1.

1. The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow (the advice of) Â-hăng¹. (Â-hăng or) Î Yin

¹ Â-hăng, it is said by Sze-mâ K'ien, was the name of Â. Others make it the title of the chief minister under the dynasty of Shang, = 'the Support and Steelyard,' 'the Buttress and Director.'

then made the following writing¹:—‘The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple;—all with a sincere reverence.* Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions.* I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Hsiâ with its western capital², that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterwards, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather.’

2. The king would not think (of these words), nor listen to them. On this Î Yin said, ‘The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn (to carry them into practice). He (also) sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge (to me), and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue

¹ This is the first direct statement in the Shû of a communication made in writing.

² An-yî, the capital of Hsiâ, might be described as ‘western,’ from the standpoint of Po.

of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust.'

3. The king was not yet able to change (his course). Î Yin said (to himself), 'This is (real) unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice (a second) nature. I cannot bear to be near (so) disobedient (a person). I will build (a place) in the palace at Thung¹, where he can be in silence near (the grave of) the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.' The king went (accordingly) to the palace at Thung, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

Section 2.

1. On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, Î Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Po. (At the same time) he made the following writing:—

'Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to (the comfort of) their lives; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters (of the kingdom).

¹ Thung was the place where Thang's tomb was; probably in the present district of Yung-ho, department of Phû-kâu, Shan-hsi. The site or supposed site of the grave there was washed away in an overflow of the Fân river under the Yüan dynasty, and a stone coffin was removed to another position, near which a royal tomb has been built.

Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous.* This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.'

2. The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape.* Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian ;—my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good !'

3. Î Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head on the ground, and said, 'To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring (all) below to harmonious concord with him ;—this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands,—all with sincere delight. Even in the states of the neighbouring princes, (the people) said, "We are waiting for our sovereign ; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments (that we now do)."

'O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In

worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety ;* in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful ; in looking to what is distant, try to get clear views ; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue ;—then shall I acknowledge (and respond to) the excellence of your majesty with an untiring (devotion to your service).

Section 3.

1. Í Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, ‘Oh! Heaven has no (partial) affection ;—only to those who are reverent does it show affection.* The people are not constant to those whom they cherish ;—they cherish (only) him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them ;—they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere.* A place of difficulty is the Heaven-(conferred) seat. When there are (those) virtues, good government is realized ; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity ; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God¹.* Now, O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line ;—fix your inspection on him.’

2. ‘(Your course must be) as when in ascending

¹ This phrase is used, as here, with reference to the virtue of a sovereign, making him as it were the mate of God, ruling on earth as He rules above ; and with reference to the honours paid to a departed sovereign, when he is associated with God in the great sacrificial services.

high you begin from where it is low, and when in travelling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people ;—think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne ;—think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must enquire whether they be not right ; when you hear words that accord with your own views, you must enquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh ! what attainment can be made without anxious thought ? what achievement can be made without earnest effort ? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.'

3. 'When the sovereign does not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favour and gain, continue in an office whose work is done,—then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness.'

BOOK VI.

THE COMMON POSSESSION OF PURE VIRTUE.

THIS is the last of the 'Instructions' of Í Yin ;—addressed, like those of the last two Books, to Thái Kíá, but at a later period when the great minister wished to retire from the toils of administration. He now disappears from the stage of history, though according to Sze-má K'ien, and a notice in the Preface to the Shū, he lived on to B. C. 1713, the eighth year of Thái Kíá's son and successor.

In this Book, his subject is 'Pure or Single-eyed Virtue,' and the importance of it to the ruler of the kingdom. He dwells on the fall of K'ieh through his want of this virtue, and the elevation of Thang through his possession of it ; treats generally on its nature and results ; and urges the cultivation of it on Thái Kíá.

1. Í Yin, having returned the government into

the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

2. He said, 'Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven ;—its appointments are not constant.* (But if the sovereign see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Hsiâ could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue, whom it might make lord of all the spirits.* Then there were I, Yin, and Thang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Hsiâ's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang ;—it simply gave its favour to pure virtue.* It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people ;—the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprizes are all fortunate ; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprizes are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.' *

3. 'Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your (great) appointment,—you should be seeking to

make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to (his sovereign) above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to the (people) beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be (to find the proper man)! what careful attention must be required! (Thereafter) there must be harmony (cultivated with him), and a oneness (of confidence placed in him).

‘There is no invariable model of virtue;—a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded;—it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness (in regard to what is good). (Such virtue) will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, “How great are the words of the king!” and also, “How single and pure is the king’s heart!” It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the (happy) life of the multitudes of the people.’

4. ‘Oh! (to retain a place) in the seven-shrined temple¹ of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue.* To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient evidence of one’s government.

¹ It is beyond a doubt that the ancestral temple of the kings of Kâu contained seven shrines or seven small temples, for the occupancy of which, by the spirit-tablets of such and such kings, there were definite rules, as the line of sovereigns increased. It would appear from the text that a similar practice prevailed in the time of the Shang dynasty.

The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'

BOOK VII. THE PAN-KĀNG.

PAN-KĀNG was the seventeenth sovereign in the line of Thang. From Thái Kĩá to him, therefore, there was a space of 321 years, which are a gap in the history of the Shang dynasty, so far as the existing documents of the Shû are concerned. When the collection was complete, there were seven other documents between 'the Common Possession of Pure Virtue' and 'the Pan-kāng,' but the latest of them belonged to the reign of 3û-yí, B.C. 1525-1507.

The reign of Pan-kāng extended from B. C. 1401 to 1374, and is remarkable as that in which the dynasty began to be called Yin, instead of Shang. The Book belongs to the class of 'Announcements,' and is divided into three sections.

The contents centre round the removal of the capital from the north of the Ho to Yin on the south of it. The king saw that the removal was necessary, but had to contend with the unwillingness of the people to adopt such a step, and the opposition of the great families. The first section relates how he endeavoured to vindicate the measure, and contains two addresses, to the people and to those in high places, respectively, designed to secure their cordial co-operation. The second section brings before us the removal in progress, but there continue to be dissatisfactions, which the king endeavours to remove by a long and earnest defence of his course. The third section opens with the removal accomplished. The new city has been founded, and the plan of it laid out. The king makes a fresh appeal to the people and chiefs, to forget all their heart-burnings, and join with him in building up in the new capital a great destiny for the dynasty.

Section 1.

1. Pan-kǎng wished to remove (the capital) to Yin¹, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations. 'Our king, (3û-yî), came, and fixed on this (Kǎng for his capital). He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot (now) help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoise-shell, and obtained the reply—"This is no place for us." When the former kings had any (important) business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven.* In a case like this especially they did not indulge (the wish for) constant repose,—they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time (the capital has been) in five regions². If we do not follow (the example) of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty (here);—how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city;—the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters (of the kingdom).' *

¹ The removal was probably necessitated by an inundation of the Ho. Kǎng had been fixed on by 3û-yî for his capital. The Yin to which Pan-kǎng removed was in the present district of Yen-sze, department Ho-nan, Ho-nan.

² This fact—the frequent change of capital—does not give us a great idea of the stability and resources of the Shang dynasty.

2. Pan-käng, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in (high) places, and took the constantly-recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure (for the present emergency), saying, 'Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people.' The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard (of his palace).

The king spoke to this effect :—'Come, all of you ; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts. Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own ease. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views ; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people), and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views). Now, (however), you keep clamouring, and get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches ;—I do not know what you are wrangling about. (In this movement) I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire ; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

'When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion ; and when the husbandman labours upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the (abundant) harvest. If you can put away your

(selfish) thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching (also) to your own relatives and friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which (through our not removing) are extending far and near; (you are like) idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labour on their acres, so that they cannot get their crop of millets. You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart;—what will it avail you (then) to repent? Look at the poor people;—they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk;—how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report (their words) to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way, (and must suffer the consequences.)

‘*K’ih Zǎn*¹ has said, “In men we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones,

¹ Who *K’ih Zǎn* was is not known. The general opinion is, that he was an ancient historiographer. A *K’au Zǎn* is introduced in a similar way in the Confucian Analects, XVI, 1.

but new." Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labours (of the government);—how should I dare to lay undeserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your (fathers) have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them.* (They all observe) the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

'I have announced to you the difficulties (of the intended movement), being bent on it, like an archer (whose only thought is to hit). Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this (new city), which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength (in furthering the removal), and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me;—the criminal (in this matter) shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country (ought to) come from you all. If it fail of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have (the duties of) your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law:—lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail.'

Section 2.

1. Pan-kǎng arose, and (was about to) cross the Ho with the people, moving (to the new capital). Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were (still) dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence (in the measure). They all attended, and (being charged) to take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, 'Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands.

'Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who (again) upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any (calamitous) time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people's advantage, and therefore they moved (their capitals). Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and acting towards you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that (this movement) should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply on your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes. My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the country. You, (however), have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great

reserve in declaring your minds, (when you might) respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat ;—if you do not cross the stream (at the proper time), you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter ;—though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring ?

‘ You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befall you (from not removing). You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future ;—what prolongation of life can you look for from above ? My measures are forecast to prolong your (lease of) life from Heaven ;—do I force you by the terrors of my power ? My object is to support and nourish you all. I think of my ancestors, (who are now) the spiritual sovereigns ;* when they made your forefathers toil (on similar occasions it was only for their good), and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you.’

2. ‘ Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, (the founder of our dynasty), would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, “ Why do you oppress my people ? ”* If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, “ Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit

your virtue?" When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape.* Of old, my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers toil (only for their good). You are equally the people whom I (wish to) cherish. But your conduct is injurious;—it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will (now) cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death.* Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices (of the kingdom);—and yet they (only think of hoarding up) cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent (their course) to my high sovereign, saying, "Execute great punishments on our descendants." So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities (on those men).'*

3. 'Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose;—do you perpetually respect (my) great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think (only) of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful (to my orders), and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

'Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you (to the new capital), and (there) establish your families for ever.'

Section 3.

1. Pan-käng having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions (of all classes at an assembly); and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, 'Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build (here) a great destiny (for us).

'Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as offenders; and do not you (any more) help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

'Of old, my royal predecessor, (Thang), that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site¹. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were by (your position) dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding place. (And yet) you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and respectful (of my ministers), felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in (this) new city.*

'I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels;— I (only) used the best of them. Nor did any of

¹ It is supposed that this 'hill-site' of Thang was the same as that which Pan-käng had fixed on, but this does not clearly appear in the text.

you presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise-shell;—so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.’*

2. ‘Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy (with my people)! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you;—do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement.

‘I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow;—let none of you but reverence (my will). Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.’

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YÜEH.

AFTER Pan-käng came the reigns of Hsião-hsin and Hsião-yî, of which we have no accounts in the Shû. Hsião-yî was followed by Wû-ting (B. C. 1324–1264), to the commencement of whose reign this Book, in three sections, belongs. His name is not in it, but that he is the king intended appears from the prefatory notice, and the Confucian Analects, XIV, xliii. The Book is the first of the ‘Charges’ of the Shû. They relate the designation by the king of some officer to a particular charge or to some fief, with the address delivered by him on the occasion. Here the charge is to Yüeh, in the first section, on his appointment to be

chief minister. In the other two sections Yüeh is the principal speaker, and not the king. They partake more of the nature of the 'Counsels.' Yüeh had been a recluse, living in obscurity. The king's attention was drawn to him in the manner related in the Book, and he was discovered in Fû-yen, or amidst 'the Craggs of Fû,' from which he was afterwards called Fû Yüeh, as if Fû had been his surname.

The first section tells us how the king met with Yüeh, and appointed him to be his chief minister, and how Yüeh responded to the charge that he received. In the second section, Yüeh counsels the king on a variety of points, and the king responds admiringly. In the third, the king introduces himself as a pupil at the feet of Yüeh, and is lectured on the subject of enlarging his knowledge. In the end the king says that he looks to Yüeh as another Î Yin, to make him another Thang.

Section 1.

1. The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years¹, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.' On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect:—'As it is mine to serve as the

¹ A young king, mourning for his father, had to 'afflict' himself in various ways for twenty-five months, nominally for three years. Among other privations, he had to exchange the comforts of a palace for a rough shed in one of the courtyards. During the time of mourning, the direction of affairs was left to the chief minister,

director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.* He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yüeh, a builder in the wild country of Fû-yen, was found like to it.

2. On this the king raised and made (Yüeh) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel;—I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream;—I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought;—I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of me) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground.

'Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine;—so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'

3. Yüeh replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers,

without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders;—who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?’

Section 2.

1. Yüeh having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, ‘Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing;—let the sage (king) take it as his pattern.* Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

‘It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, (your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

‘Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one’s ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

‘For all affairs let there be adequate preparation;—with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence;* and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult.’*

2. The king said, ‘Excellent! your words, O Yüeh, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct.’ Yüeh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, ‘It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yüeh, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me.’

Section 3.

1. The king said, ‘Come, O Yüeh. I, the little one, first learned with Kan Pan¹. Afterwards I lived

¹ From Part V, xvi, 2, we learn that Kan Pan was a great minister of Wû-ting. It is supposed that he had been minister to Wû-ting’s father, and died during the king’s period of mourning.

concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside the Ho, and lived there¹. From the Ho I went to Po;—and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away;—so shall I attain to practise your instructions.'

Yüeh said, 'O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard.

'In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness;—in such a case (the learner's) improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived.

'Survey the perfect pattern of our first king;—so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.'

2. The king said, 'Oh! Yüeh, that all within the four

¹ We do not know the events of Wü-ting's early life sufficiently to explain his language here. His living concealed among the rude people of the country, and then crossing to the north of the Ho, was owing probably to troubles in the kingdom.

seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Páo-hăng¹, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yáo or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place." If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, "It is my fault." (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven.* Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not Â-hăng engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

'The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!'

Yüeh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge.'

BOOK IX. THE DAY OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY SACRIFICE TO KÂO 3UNG.

KÂO 3UNG was the title given to Wû-ting, after his death, in the ancestral temple. A supplementary sacrifice was offered on the day following the regular and more solemn service. What special idea was connected with it, it would be difficult to say;

¹ Styled Â-hăng in the beginning of 'the Thái-kiâ.' Páo-hăng = 'the Protector and Steelyard.'

but at the close of it, the representatives or personators of the dead in the sacrifice of the preceding day were all feasted.

The title of this short Book leaves it uncertain whether the sacrifice was offered to Wû-ting or by him. The prefatory notice proceeds on the former view. Many critics of great intelligence decide for the latter, which a renewed consideration of the text has induced me to adopt. The king then is 3û-kâng, Wû-ting's son. Something irregular or excessive in his sacrificing to his father was the thing which his monitor 3û Kî wished to censure, taking occasion to do so from the incident mentioned in the first sentence.

On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kâo Bung, there appeared a crowing pheasant¹. 3û Kî said, 'To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected.' He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, 'In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them (accordingly) length of years or the contrary.* It is not Heaven that cuts short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offences, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, "What are these things to us?"

'Oh! your Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all (your ancestors) were the heirs of (the kingdom by the gift of) Heaven;—in attending to the sacrifices (to them), be not so excessive in those to your father.'*

¹ Sze-mâ K'ien, after the prefatory notice, says that the pheasant sat on the ear—one of the handles—of a tripod.

BOOK X.

THE CHIEF OF THE WEST'S CONQUEST OF LÎ.

THE reigns of seven more kings of Yin or Shang have passed, and this Book brings us to the time of Kâu-hsin or Shâu, its last sovereign, B.C. 1154-1123. The House of Kâu begins to come to the front, for 'the Chief of the West' was one of the acknowledged founders of the Kâu dynasty;—whether K'hang, known as king Wăn, or his son Fâ, known as king Wû, is uncertain. K'hang's father, the duke of Kâu in the present department of Făng-hsiang, Shen-hsî, had been appointed Chief of the West, that is, of all the western portion of the kingdom, embracing Yü's provinces of Yung, Liang, and King. The same jurisdiction descended to his son and grandson. The state of Lî, the conquest of which is mentioned, was in the present department of Lû-an, Shan-hsî, within the royal domain, so that the Chief of the West was no longer confining himself to the west, but threatening the king himself.

30 Î, a loyal officer, hears of the conquest of Lî, and hurries away to inform the king and warn him of the danger threatening the dynasty through his evil conduct. The king gives no heed to his remonstrances, and 30 Î retires, sighing over the ruin, which he sees is not to be averted.

The Book is classed, it would be hard to tell why, among the 'Announcements.'

The Chief of the West having subdued Lî, 30 Î was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king.

He said, 'Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin; * the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it.* It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time; * but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food.* Men have no regard to their

heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes (of the kingdom). (Yea), our people now all wish (the dynasty) to perish, saying, "Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not (some one with) its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?"'

The king said, 'Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven (in favour of my House)?' (On this) 卅 一 年 returned (to his own city), and said, 'Your crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favour? * Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?'

BOOK XI. THE COUNT OF WEI.

THE conversation recorded here—called, like the last Book, and with as little reason, an 'Announcement'—is referred to B. C. 1123, the year in which the dynasty of Shang perished.

Wei was a principality in the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Lû-~~h~~äng, department Lû-an, Shan-hsi, the lords of which were counts. The count who appears here was, most probably, an elder brother of the king, and by the same mother, who was, however, only a concubine when the count was born, but raised to be queen before the birth of Kâu-hsin. Saddened with the thought of the impending ruin of the dynasty, the count seeks the counsel of two other high nobles, and asks them to tell him what was to be done. One of them replies to him in still stronger language about the condition and prospects of the kingdom, and concludes by advising the count to make his escape, and declaring that he himself would remain at his post, and share in the unavoidable ruin.

1. The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect:—‘Grand-Master and Junior-Master¹, (the House of) Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters (of the kingdom). The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits, we have destroyed (the effects of) his virtue in these after-times. (The people of) Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people (consequently) rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin;—its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!’

He added, ‘Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course (to be taken), but (only) tell me of the impending ruin;—what is to be done?’

2. The Grand-Master made about the following reply:—‘O son of our (former) king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin.* Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. (The king) has no reverence

¹ For high ministers with these titles under the *K'au* dynasty, see next Part, Book xx. The individuals whom the count of Wei consulted were probably the count of *K'î* and *Pi-kan*, who are classed with him in the Confucian Analects, XVIII, 1.

for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth ; * and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims, they suffer no punishment. (On the other hand), when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred ;—and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity ;—I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant (of another House). (But) I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the course (for you). Formerly I injured you by what I said ; if you do not (now) go away, our (sacrifices) will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly (in our several parts), and each present himself to the former kings¹ (as having done so).* I do not think of making my escape.'

¹ It is understood that the former king, the father of both *K'hi* and *K'au-hsin*, had wished to leave the throne to *K'hi*, and that the Grand-Master had advocated such a measure ;—thereby injuring *K'hi* when it did not take effect, through making *K'au-hsin* jealous of him.

PART V. THE BOOKS OF K'AU.

BOOK I. THE GREAT DECLARATION.

K'au is the dynastic designation under which king Wû and his descendants possessed the throne from B. C. 1122 to 256, a period of 867 years. They traced their lineage up to K'hi, who was Minister of Agriculture under Shun. He was invested with the principality of Thái, the present district of Fû-fang, department of Făng-hsiang, Shen-hsi. Long afterwards Than-fû, claiming to be one of his descendants, appears in B. C. 1326, founding the state of K'au, near mount K'hi, in the same department of Făng-hsiang. This Than-fû was the great-grandfather of king Wû. The family surname was K'i.

When the collection of the Shû was complete, it contained thirty-eight different documents of the K'au dynasty, of which twenty-eight remain, twenty of them being of undisputed genuineness.

This first Book, 'the Great Declaration,' is one of the contested portions; and there is another form of it, that takes the place of this in some editions. It has appeared in the Introduction that the received text of the Shû was formed with care, and that everything of importance in the challenged Books is to be found in quotations from them, while the collection was complete, that have been gathered up by the industry of scholars.

King Wû, having at last taken the field against K'au-hsin, the tyrant of Shang, made three speeches to his officers and men, setting forth the reasons for his enterprise, and urging them to exert themselves with him in the cause of humanity and Heaven. They are brought together, and constitute 'the Great Declaration.'

'In the first Part,' says a Chinese critic, 'king Wû addresses himself to the princes and nobles of inferior rank; in the second, to their hosts; and in the third, to his officers. The ruling idea in the first is the duty of the sovereign,—what he ought to be

and to do; with this it begins and ends. There is not the same continuity of thought in the second, but the will and purpose of Heaven is the principal thing insisted on. The last Part shows the difference between the good sovereign and the bad, and touches on the consent that there is between Heaven and men. There is throughout an unsparing exhibition of the wickedness of *K'au-hsin*.

Section 1.

In the spring of the thirteenth year¹ there was a great assembly at *Mâng-king*². The king said, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states, and all ye my officers, managers of my affairs, hearken clearly to my declaration.

'Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed.* The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, *Shâu*, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below.* Abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders to all their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant

¹ The thirteenth year is reckoned from king *Wû*'s succeeding to his father as 'the Chief of the West.'

² *Mâng-king*, or 'the Ford of *Mâng*,' is still the name of a district in the department of *Ho-nan*, *Ho-nan*.

women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wăn to display its terrors; but (he died) before the work was completed.*

‘On this account, I, Fâ, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the government of Shang; but Shâu has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it.* The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, “The people are mine; the (heavenly) appointment is mine,” never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.*

‘Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?*

‘“Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness.” Shâu has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have (but) three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.*

‘I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wăn; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due ser-

vices to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven.* Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to.* Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever (all within) the four seas. Now is the time!—It should not be lost.'

Section 2.

On (the day) Wû-wû¹, the king halted on the north of the Ho. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration:—'Oh! ye multitudes of the west, hearken all to my words.

'I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shâu, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the time-worn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odour of such a state is felt on high.*

'Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out (this mind of) Heaven. Kieh, the sovereign of Hsiâ, would not follow the

¹ In Book iii we are told that Wû commenced his march to attack Kâu-hsin, on Kwei-*ki*, the 2nd day of the moon. Calculating on to the day Wû-wû, we find that it was the 28th day of the same moon.

example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the kingdom:—Heaven therefore gave its aid to Thang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Hsiâ.* But the crimes of Shâu exceed those of Kieh. He has degraded from office the greatly good man¹; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper². He says that with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm.* The beacon for him to look to was not far off;—it was that king of Hsiâ. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double.* My attack on Shang must succeed.

‘Shâu has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and divided in practice;—I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men³, one in heart and one in practice. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear.* The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay;—I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment (of evil) will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Thang. Rouse ye,

¹ The count of Wei.

² Pî-kan.

³ Confucius tells us, in the *Analects*, VIII, xx, that one of these ten was a woman; but whether the lady was Wû's wife or mother is disputed.

my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared;—better think that he cannot be withstood. (His) people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts;—so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!’

Section 3.

The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, ‘Oh! my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the (several) requirements are quite plain. And now Shâu, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular (virtues), and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people.*

‘He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in the morning¹; he cut out the heart of the worthy man². By the use of his power, killing and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer³. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He

¹ This was in winter. Observing some people then wading through a stream, K’au-hsin caused their legs to be cut through at the shank-bone, that he might see their marrow.

* Pî-kan.

³ The count of K’hi; see Book iv.

has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife¹.—God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin.* Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, "He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy." This solitary fellow Shâu, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. (It is said again), "In planting (a man's) virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away (a man's) wickedness, strive to do it from the roots." Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace.

'Oh! (the virtue of) my deceased father Wăn was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Kâu has received (the allegiance of) many states. If I subdue Shâu, it will not be from my prowess, but from the faultless (virtue of) my deceased father Wăn. If Shâu subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wăn, but because I, the little child, am not good.'

¹ The notorious Tâ-*hi*, the accounts of whose shameless wickedness and atrocious cruelties almost exceed belief.

BOOK II. THE SPEECH AT MŪ.

It is the morning of the day of battle, for which the king has prepared his host by the three speeches of the last Book. Once more he addresses his confederate princes, his officers, and his men. He sets forth more briefly the intolerable wickedness of Shâu, and instructs and warns his troops how they are to behave in the fight.

Mû was in the south of the present district of *Khî*, department Wei-hui, Ho-nan, a tract of open country stretching into the district of *Kî*, and at no great distance from the capital of Shâu.

1. The time was the grey dawn of the day *Kiâ-ze*. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mû, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe, yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, 'Far are ye come, ye men of the western regions!' He added, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states; ye managers of affairs,—the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yung, Shû, Kiang, Mào, Wei, Lû, Phang, and Pho¹, lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears:— I have a speech to make.'

¹ These are the names of eight different tribes or confederations of tribes of the south and west. We are to look for their sites in Sze-khüan, Yün-nan, and Hû-pei. They were, no doubt, an important portion of Wû's army, but only as auxiliaries. It is too much to ascribe, as some have done, the overthrow of Shang to an irruption of barbarous people from the west.

2. The king (then) said, 'The ancients have said, "The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning (indicates) the subversion of the family." Now Shâu, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response (for the favours that he has received);* he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

'Now, I, Fâ, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven.* In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grisly bears,—(here) in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly (to us in submission), but receive them to serve our western land;—my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic (in all these matters), you will bring destruction on yourselves.'

BOOK III.

THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE WAR.

I HAVE divided this Book into three chapters:—one, consisting of brief historical notes of the commencement and close of Wû's expedition; a second, giving the address (or a part of it) delivered by Wû to his nobles and officers on occasion, we may suppose, of their recognition of him as king, and his confirming some of them in their old states or appointments, and giving new ones to others; the third again historical, and relating several incidents of the battle between Wû and Shâu, and going on to subsequent events and important governmental measures of the new dynasty.

Most Chinese critics hold that portions of the Book are lost, and that the paragraphs of it are, besides, erroneously arranged. In what division of the documents of the Shû it should be classified, it is not easy to say. It is more like a 'Canon' than anything else.

1. In the first month, the day *Zăn-khăn* immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was *Kwei-kî*, when the king, in the morning, marched from *Kâu*¹ to attack and punish Shang. In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to *Făng*², when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of mount *Hwâ*,

¹ *Kâu* is, probably, Wû's capital, called *Hão*, about ten miles south of the present district city of *Khang-an*, and not quite so far from his father's capital of *Făng*. The river *Făng* ran between them.

² In *Făng* there was the ancestral temple of the lords of *Kâu*, and thither from the capital of Shang, Wû now repaired for the purpose of sacrificing.

and let loose his oxen in the open country of Tháo-lin¹, showing to all under heaven that he would not use them (again).

On the day Ting-wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of K'áu, when (the princes) of the royal domain, and of the Tien, Hâu, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes.* The third day after was K'ang-hsü, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshipped towards the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war.*

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of the various states, and all the officers, received their appointments from K'áu².

2. The king spoke to the following effect :—‘Oh ! ye host of princes, the first of our kings³ founded his state, and commenced (the enlargement of) its territory. Kung Liú⁴ was able to consolidate the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Thái who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king K'í was diligent for the royal House ; and my deceased father, king Wăn, completed his merit, and grandly received the appoint-

¹ The country about the hill of Mû-niû or Khwâ-fû, in the south-east of the present department of Thung-kâu. Tháo-lin may be translated ‘Peach-forest.’

² The new dynasty of K'áu was now fully inaugurated.

³ By ‘the first of our kings,’ we must understand K'í, Shun’s Minister of Agriculture ; and his state was that of Thái.

⁴ Kung Liú, perhaps ‘duke Liú,’ appears in Pin, the present Pin K'áu of Shen-hsi, about the beginning of the eighteenth century B. C., reviving the fallen fortunes of the House of K'í. History is then silent about the family for more than four centuries, when we find Than-fû, called here ‘king Thái,’ founding the state of K'áu.

ment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land.* The great states feared his strength ; the small states thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

' Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill¹ and the great river¹ by which I passed, saying, "I, Fâ, the principled, king of Kâu by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shâu, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained (the help of) virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with (the will of) God, and make an end of his disorderly ways.* Our flowery and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-coloured and yellow silks, thereby showing (the virtues) of us, the kings of Kâu. Heaven's favours stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great state of Kâu. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid, that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame." ' *

¹ Probably mount Hwâ and the Ho.

3. On the day Wû-wû, the army crossed the ford of Mâng, and on Kwei-hâi it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On *Kiâ-ze*, at early dawn, Shâu led forward his troops, (looking) like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mû. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did (king Wû) once don his armour, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the (existing) rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of *Khi* from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Pi-kan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Yung's village¹. He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower², and distributed the grain of *Kü-khião*³, thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders⁴, assigning the territories to them according to a threefold

¹ Shang Yung must have been some worthy in disgrace with Shâu, and living in the retirement of his village.

² The Stag Tower was the name of a place in the present department of Wei-hui, Ho-nan, where Shâu had accumulated great treasures. He fled to it after his defeat, and burned himself to death; but it would appear he had not succeeded in consuming at the same time all his wealth.

³ *Kü-khião* was in the present district of *Khi-kâu*, department Kwang-phing, *Khi-lí*, where Shâu had collected great stores of grain.

⁴ Dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons.

scale¹. He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able. He attached great importance to the people's being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices.* He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

BOOK IV. THE GREAT PLAN.

THE Great Plan, ordinarily classed among the 'Counsels' or among the 'Instructions' of the Shû, might as well have a place among the 'Canons.' It is a remarkable production, and though it appears among the documents of the K'au dynasty, there is claimed for the substance of it a much greater antiquity. According to the introductory sentences, king Wû, the founder of K'au, obtained it from the count of K'hi in the same year, the thirteenth of his dignity as Chief of the West, that he took the field against the tyrant of Shang. The count of K'hi, it is understood, was the Grand-Master at the court of Shang, who appears in the concluding Book of the last Part. He says there, that, when ruin overtook the House of Shang, he would not be the servant of another dynasty. Accordingly, he refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of king Wû, who had delivered him from the prison in which he had been confined by K'au-hsin, and fled—or purposed perhaps to flee—to Corea. Wû respected and admired his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, and invested him with that territory. He then, it is said, felt constrained to appear at the court of K'au, when the king consulted

¹ Dukes and marquises had the same amount of territory assigned to them, and counts and barons also.

him on the principles of government; and the result was that he communicated to him this Great Plan, with its nine divisions. When we read the Book, we see that it belonged originally to the time of Hsiâ, and that the larger portion of it should be ascribed to the Great Yü, and was as old, indeed, as the reign of Yáo. How it had come into the possession of the count of *K'hi* we cannot tell. Nor does it appear how far the language of it should be ascribed to him. That the larger portion of it had come down from the times of Hsiâ is not improbable. The use of the number nine and other numbers, and the naming of the various divisions of the Plan, are in harmony with Yü's style and practice in his Counsels in the second Part of our Classic, and in the second Part also of the Tribute of Yü. We are told in the introductory sentences, that Heaven or God gave the Plan with its divisions to Yü. To explain the way in which the gift was made, there is a tradition about a mysterious tortoise that appeared in the waters of the Lo, bearing well-defined marks on its back from one to nine, and that thereupon Yü determined the meaning of those marks and of their numbers, and completed the nine divisions of the Plan. Of this legend, however, it is not necessary to speak in connexion with the Shū, which does not mention it; it will come up in connexion with the translation of the Yü King.

The Great Plan means the great model for the government of the nation,—the method by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government.

P. Gaubil says that the Book is a treatise at once of physics, astrology, divination, morals, politics, and religion, and that it has a sufficiently close resemblance to the work of Ocellus the Lucanian. There is a shadowy resemblance between the Great Plan and the curious specimen of Pythagorean doctrine which we have in the treatise on the Universe; but the dissimilarities are still greater and more numerous. More especially are the differences between the Greek mind, speculative, and the Chinese mind, practical, apparent in the two works. Where the Chinese writer loses himself in the sheerest follies of his imagining, he yet gropes about for a rule to be of use in the conduct of human affairs.

The whole of the treatise is divided into three chapters. The first is introductory, and relates how the Great Plan with its

nine divisions was at first made known to Yü, and came at this time to be communicated to king Wü; the second contains the names of the nine divisions of the Plan; and in the third we have a description of the several divisions. 'The whole,' says a Chinese writer, 'exhibits the great model for the government of the nation.' The fifth or middle division on royal perfection is the central one of the whole, about which the Book revolves. The four divisions that precede it show how this royal perfection is to be accomplished, and the four that follow show how it is to be maintained.

1. In the thirteenth year¹, the king went to enquire of the count of *K'hi*, and said to him, 'Oh! count of *K'hi*, Heaven, (working) unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition². I do not know how the unvarying principles (of its method in doing so) should be set forth in due order.'

The count of *K'hi* thereupon replied, 'I have heard that in old time Khwăn dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were allowed to go to ruin.* Khwăn was therefore

¹ See the commencement of Book i.

² Khung Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty says on this:—'The people have been produced by supreme Heaven, and both body and soul are Heaven's gift. Men have thus the material body and the knowing mind, and Heaven further assists them, helping them to harmonize their lives. The right and the wrong of their language, the correctness and errors of their conduct, their enjoyment of clothing and food, the rightness of their various movements;—all these things are to be harmonized by what they are endowed with by Heaven.'

kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yü rose up (and entered on the same undertaking). To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of its method) were set forth in their due order.*

2. '(Of those divisions) the first is called "the five elements;" the second, "reverent attention to the five (personal) matters;" the third, "earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government;" the fourth, "the harmonious use of the five dividers of time;" the fifth, "the establishment and use of royal perfection;" the sixth, "the discriminating use of the three virtues;" the seventh, "the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts;" the eighth, "the thoughtful use of the various verifications;" the ninth, "the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) suffering."'

3. i. 'First, of the five elements¹.—The first is

¹ Gaubil gives here 'les cinq hing,' without translating the Chinese term. English sinologists have got into the habit of rendering it by 'elements,' but it hardly seems possible to determine what the Chinese mean by it. We intend by 'elements' 'the first principles or ingredients of which all things are composed.' The Pythagoreans, by their four elements of earth, water, air, and fire, did not intend so much the nature or essence of material substances, as the forms under which matter is actually presented to us. The character hsing, meaning 'to move,' 'to be in action,' shows that the original conception of the Chinese is of a different nature; and it is said in the Khang-hsi Dictionary, 'The five hsing move and revolve between heaven and earth, without ever ceasing, and hence they are named.' The editors of the latest imperial edition of the Shû say, 'Distributed through the four seasons, they make "the five dividers of time;" exhibited in prognostications, they give rise to divination by the tortoise-shell and the reeds; having lodgment in the human body, they produce "the five personal matters;" moved by good fortune and bad, they

water ; the second is fire ; the third, wood ; the fourth, metal ; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend ; of fire, to blaze and ascend ; of wood, to be crooked and straight ; of metal, to yield and change ; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt ; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter ; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour ; that which yields and changes becomes acrid ; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.'

ii. 'Second, of the five (personal) matters ¹.—The first is the bodily demeanour ; the second, speech ; the third, seeing ; the fourth, hearing ; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness ; of speech, accordance (with reason) ; of seeing, clearness ; of hearing, distinctness ; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity ; accordance (with reason), in orderliness ; the clearness, in wisdom ; the distinctness, in deliberation ; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.'

iii. 'Third, of the eight (objects of) government ².—

produce "the various verifications ;" communicated to organisms, they produce the different natures, hard and soft, good and evil ; working out their results in the changes of those organisms, they necessitate—here benevolence and there meanness, here longevity and there early death :—all these things are from the operation of the five hsing. But if we speak of them in their simplest and most important character, they are what man's life depends on, what the people cannot do without.' After all this, I should still be sorry to be required to say what the five hsing are.

¹ These five 'matters' are represented as being in the human person what the five hsing are in nature. Demeanour is the human correspondence of water, speech that of fire, &c.

² Medhurst calls the eight (objects of) government 'the eight

The first is food ; the second, wealth and articles of convenience ; the third, sacrifices ; the fourth, (the business of) the Minister of Works ; the fifth, (that of) the Minister of Instruction ; the sixth, (that of) the Minister of Crime ; the seventh, the observances to be paid to guests ; the eighth, the army.'

iv. 'Fourth, of the five dividers of time¹.—The first is the year (or the planet Jupiter) ; the second, the moon ; the third, the sun ; the fourth, the stars and planets, and the zodiacal spaces ; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations.'

v. 'Fifth, of royal perfection².—The sovereign, having established (in himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five (sources of) happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it (back) to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men (in office) there will be no bad and selfish combinations ;—let the sovereign

regulators,' and Gaubil calls them '*les huit règles du gouvernement*.' The phrase means the eight things to be attended to in government,—its objects and departments.

¹ 'The five dividers of time' are with Medhurst 'the five arrangers,' and with Gaubil '*les cinq périodes*.' This division of the Great Plan is substantially the same as Yáo's instructions to his astronomers.

² By 'royal perfection' we are to understand the sovereign when he is, or has made himself, all that he ought to be. 'Perfection' is 'the utmost point,' the extreme of excellence, realized in the person of the sovereign, guiding his administrative measures, and serving as an example and attractive influence to all below, both ministers and people.

establish in (himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence.

‘Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves (from evil):—do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil:—let the sovereign receive such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, “Our love is fixed on virtue,” do you then confer favours on them;—those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguished. When men (in office) have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All (such) right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you cannot cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favours (and emoluments) on them, they will (only) involve you in the guilt of employing the evil.

‘Without deflection, without unevenness,
Pursue the royal righteousness.
Without selfish likings,
Pursue the royal way.
Without selfish dislikings,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;—
Broad and long is the royal way.

Avoid partiality, avoid deflection ;—
Level and easy is the royal way.
Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness ;—
Correct and straight is the royal way.
(Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,
(Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.'

He went on to say, 'This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging (rule), and is the (great) lesson ;—yea, it is the lesson of God.* All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practice, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, "The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky."'

vi. 'Sixth, of the three virtues¹.—The first is correctness and straightforwardness ; the second, strong rule ; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness (must sway) ; in violence and disorder, strong rule ; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be (the stimulus of) the strong rule ; for the high(-minded) and distinguished, (the restraint of) the mild rule.

'It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues (of the kingdom). There should be no such thing as a minister's conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such

¹ 'The three virtues' are not personal attributes of the sovereign, but characteristics of his rule, the varied manifestations of the perfection described in the preceding division.

a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the states (of the kingdom); smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses.'

vii. 'Seventh, of the (means for the) examination of doubts¹.—Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the

¹ The practice of divination for the satisfaction of doubts was thus used in China from the earliest times. In the Counsels of Yü, p. 50, that sage proposes to Shun to submit the question of who should be his successor on the throne to divination, and Shun replies that he had already done so. Gaubil says that according to the Great Plan divination was only used in doubtful cases; but if such was the practice of the sages, diviners and soothsayers must have formed, as they do now, a considerable and influential class in society. The old methods of divination have fallen into disuse, and we do not know how far other methods are employed and sanctioned by the government. Those old methods were by means of the tortoise-shell, and the stalks of the *K'hi* plant. 'The tortoise,' says K'ü Hsi, 'after great length of years becomes intelligent; and the *K'hi* plant will yield, when a hundred years old, a hundred stalks from one root, and is also a spiritual and intelligent thing. The two divinations were in reality a questioning of spiritual beings, the plant and the shell being employed, because of their mysterious intelligence, to indicate their intimations. The way of divination by the shell was by the application of fire to scorch it till the indications appeared on it; and that by the stalks of the plant was to manipulate in a prescribed way forty-nine of them, eighteen different times, till the diagrams were formed.'

The outer shell of the tortoise was removed, leaving the inner portion on which were the marks of the lines of the muscles of the creature. This was smeared with a black pigment, and, fire being applied beneath, the pigment was examined, and according as it had been variously dried by the heat, presented the indications mentioned in the text. The *K'hi* plant was probably the *Achillea millefolium*. It is cultivated largely on the mound over the grave of Confucius. I brought from that two bundles of the dried stalks in 1873.

stalks of the Achillea, they are to be charged (on occasion) to execute their duties. (In doing this), they will find (the appearances of) rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connexion, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all (the indications) are seven;—five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and (by means) of these any errors (in the mind) may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the (consenting) words of two of them are to be followed.*

‘When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers, and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be

good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky.*

viii. 'Eighth, of the various verifications¹.—They are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, (even) the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil.*

'There are the favourable verifications²:—namely,

¹ P. Gaubil renders by 'les apparences' the characters which I have translated 'the various verifications,' observing that he could not find any word which would cover the whole extent of the meaning. He says, 'In the present case, the character signifies meteors, phenomena, appearances, but in such sort that these have relation to some other things with which they are connected;—the meteor or phenomenon indicates some good or some evil. It is a kind of correspondency which is supposed, it appears, to exist between the ordinary events of the life of men and the constitution of the air, according to the different seasons;—what is here said supposes—I know not what physical speculation of those times. It is needless to bring to bear on the text the interpretation of the later Chinese, for they are full of false ideas on the subject of physics. It may be also that the count of *Khî* wanted to play the physicist on points which he did not know.' There seems to underlie the words of the count that feeling of the harmony between the natural and spiritual worlds, which occurs at times to most men, and strongly affects minds under deep religious thought or on the wings of poetic rapture, but the way in which he endeavours to give the subject a practical application can only be characterised as grotesque.

² Compare with this what is said above on the second division of the Plan, 'the five (personal) matters.' It is observed here by *Shâi K'ân*, the disciple of *K'ü Hsî*, and whose commentary on the *Shû* has, of all others, the greatest authority:—'To say that on occasion of such and such a personal matter being realized, there will be the favourable verification corresponding to it, or that, on occasion of the failure of such realization, there will be the corresponding

of gravity, which is emblemed by seasonable rain ; of orderliness, emblemed by seasonable sunshine ; of wisdom, emblemed by seasonable heat ; of deliberation, emblemed by seasonable cold ; and of sageness, emblemed by seasonable wind. There are (also) the unfavourable verifications :—namely, of recklessness, emblemed by constant rain ; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine ; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat ; of hastiness, emblemed by constant cold ; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind.’ *

He went on to say, ‘ The king should examine the (character of the whole) year ; the high ministers and officers (that of) the month ; and the inferior officers (that of) the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured ; the measures of government will be wise ; heroic men will stand forth distinguished ; and in the families (of the people) there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured ; the measures of government will be dark and unwise ; heroic men will be kept in

unfavourable verification, would betray a pertinacious obtuseness, and show that the speaker was not a man to be talked with on the mysterious operations of nature. It is not easy to describe the reciprocal meeting of Heaven and men. The hidden springs touched by failure and success, and the minute influences that respond to them :—who can know these but the man that has apprehended all truth ? ’ This is in effect admitting that the statements in the text can be of no practical use. And the same thing is admitted by the latest imperial editors of the Shū on the use which the text goes on to make of the thoughtful use of the verifications by the king and others.

obscurity; and in the families (of the people) there will be an absence of repose.

‘By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.’

ix. ‘Ninth, of the five (sources of) happiness¹.—The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven).* Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second, sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness².’

BOOK V. THE HOUNDS OF LÜ.

Lü was the name of one of the rude tribes of the west, lying beyond the provinces of Kâu. Its situation cannot be more exactly defined. Its people, in compliment to king Wû, and impressed by a sense of his growing power, sent to him some of their hounds, and he having received them, or intimated that he would do so, the Grand-Guardian remonstrated with him, showing that to receive such animals would be contrary to precedent, dangerous to the virtue of the sovereign, and was not the way to deal with outlying tribes and nations. The Grand-Guardian, it is supposed, was the duke of Shão, author of the Announcement which forms the twelfth Book of this Part. The Book is one of the ‘Instructions’ of the Shû.

¹ It is hardly possible to see how this division enters into the scheme of the Great Plan.

² ‘Wickedness’ is, probably, boldness in what is evil, and ‘weakness,’ feebleness of will in what is good.

1. After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the Î¹ and the eight of the Man¹, the western tribe of Lü sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made 'the Hounds of Lü,' by way of instruction to the king.

2. He said, 'Oh ! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries,—in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, (distributing them) to the (princes of the) states of different surnames from their own, (to encourage them) not to neglect their duties. The (more) precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of states, thereby increasing their attachment (to the throne). The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

'Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When (a ruler) treats superior men with such familiarity, he cannot get them to give him all their hearts ; when he so treats inferior men, he cannot get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue ; by finding his amusement in things (of mere pleasure),

¹ By 'the nine Î and eight Man' we are to understand generally the barbarous tribes lying round the China of Kâu. Those tribes are variously enumerated in the ancient books. Generally the Î are assigned to the east, the Zung to the west, the Tî to the north, and the Man to the south.

he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words (also) in their relation to what is right.

‘When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply (all that he needs). (Even) dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not keep. Fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his state. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, (his own) people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

‘Oh! early and late never be but earnest. If you do not attend jealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters;—in raising a mound of nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket (of earth). If you really pursue this course (which I indicate), the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation.’

BOOK VI. THE METAL-BOUND COFFER.

A CERTAIN chest or coffer, that was fastened with bands of metal, and in which important state documents were deposited, plays an important part among the incidents of the Book, which is therefore called ‘the Metal-bound Coffe.’ To what class among the documents of the Shû it should be assigned is doubtful.

King Wû is very ill, and his death seems imminent. His brother, the duke of Kâu, apprehensive of the disasters which such an

event would occasion to their infant dynasty, conceives the idea of dying in his stead, and prays to 'the three kings,' their immediate progenitors, that he might be taken and king Wû left. Having done so, and divined that he was heard, he deposits the prayer in the metal-bound coffer. The king gets well, and the duke is also spared; but five years later, Wû does die, and is succeeded by his son, a boy only thirteen years old. Rumours are spread abroad that the duke has designs on the throne, and he withdraws for a time from the court. At length, in the third year of the young king, Heaven interposes. He has occasion to open the coffer, and the prayer of the duke is found. His devotion to his brother and to the interests of their family is brought to light. The boy-monarch weeps because of the unjust suspicions he had harboured, and welcomes the duke back to court, amid unmistakeable demonstrations of the approval of Heaven.

The whole narrative is a very pleasing episode in the history of the times. It divides itself naturally into two chapters:—the first, ending with the placing the prayer in the coffer; and the second, detailing how it was brought to light, and the consequences of the discovery.

It is in this Book that we first meet in the Shū with the duke of Kâu, a name in Chinese history only second to that of Confucius. He was the legislator and consolidator of the dynasty of Kâu, equally mighty in words and in deeds,—a man of counsel and of action. Confucius regarded his memory with reverence, and spoke of it as a sign of his own failing powers, that the duke of Kâu no longer appeared to him in his dreams. He was the fourth son of king Wăn; his name was Tan, and he had for his appanage the territory of Kâu, where Than-fû, canonized by him as king Thái, first placed the seat of his family in B.C. 1327, and hence he is commonly called 'the duke of Kâu.'

1. Two years after the conquest of Shang¹, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two (other great) dukes² said, 'Let us reverently consult

¹ B.C. 1121.

² These were the duke of Sháo, to whom the preceding Book is ascribed, and Thái-kung, who became the first of the lords of K'hi.

the tortoise-shell about the king;' but the duke of *Kâu* said, 'You must not so distress our former kings¹.' He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south of these, and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade (on each of the three altars), and holding in his hands the lengthened symbol (of his own rank), he addressed the kings *Thái*, *Ki*, and *Wăn*.*

The (grand) historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect:—'A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease;—if you three kings have in heaven the charge of (watching over) him, (Heaven's) great son, let me Tan be a substitute for his person². I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent

¹ He negatives their proposal, having determined to take the whole thing on himself.

² Two things are here plain:—first, that the duke of *Kâu* offered himself to die in the room of his brother; and second, that he thought that his offer might somehow be accepted through the intervention of the great kings, their progenitors. He proceeds to give his reasons for making such an offer, which are sufficiently interesting. It was hardly necessary for Chinese scholars to take the pains they have done to free the duke from the charge of boasting in them.

awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and (all the long line of) our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices.* I will now seek for your determination (in this matter) from the great tortoise-shell. If you grant me (my request), I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by¹.*

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favourable. He opened with a key the place where the (oracular) responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favourable. He said, 'According to the form (of the prognostic) the king will take no injury. I, the little child, have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man.'^{*}

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets (of the prayer) in a metal-bound coffer², and next day the king got better.

2. (Afterwards), upon the death of king Wû, (the duke's) elder brother, he of Kwan, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the king-

¹ I suppose that the divination took place before the altars, and that a different shell was used to ascertain the mind of each king. The oracular responses would be a few lines, kept apart by themselves, and consulted, on occasion, according to certain rules which have not come down to the present day.

² Many scholars think that it was this coffer which contained the oracles of divination mentioned above. It may have been so; but I rather suppose it to have been different, and a special chest in which important archives of the dynasty, to be referred to on great emergencies, were kept.

dom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the (king's) young son. On this the duke said to the two (other great) dukes, 'If I do not take the law (to these men), I shall not be able to make my report to the former kings¹.' *

He resided (accordingly) in the east for two years², when the criminals were taken (and brought to justice). Afterwards he made a poem to present to the king, and called it 'the Owl³.' The king on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of state, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for king Wû. The two (great) dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers (acquainted with the transaction) about the thing, and they replied, 'It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we

¹ Wû died in B. C. 1116, and was succeeded by his son Sung, who is known in history as king K'ang, or 'the Completer.' He was at the time only thirteen years old, and his uncle, the duke of K'au, acted as regent. The jealousy of his elder brother Hsien, 'lord of Kwan,' and two younger brothers, was excited, and they spread the rumour which is referred to, and entered into a conspiracy with the son of the tyrant of Shang, to overthrow the new dynasty.

² These two years were spent in military operations against the revoltors.

³ See the Book of Poetry, Part I, xv, Ode 2.

should not presume to speak about it.' The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, 'We need not (now) go on reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, (now) go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require.'*

The king then went out to the borders (to meet the duke), when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two (great) dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.*

BOOK VII. THE GREAT ANNOUNCEMENT.

THIS 'Great Announcement' was called forth by the emergency referred to in the second chapter of the last Book. The prefatory notice says, 'When king Wû had deceased, the three overseers and the wild tribes of the Hwâi rebelled. The duke of Kâu acted as minister for king K'hang, and having purposed to make an end of the House of Yin (or Shang), he made 'the Great Announcement.' Such was the occasion on which the Book was composed. The young king speaks in it the words and sentiments of the duke of Kâu; and hence the style in which it commences, 'The king speaks to the following effect.'

The young sovereign speaks of the responsibility lying on him to maintain the kingdom gained by the virtues and prowess of his father, and of the senseless movements of the House of Shang to regain its supremacy. He complains of the reluctance of many of the princes and high officers to second him in putting down revolt, and proclaims with painful reiteration the support and assurances of success which he has received from the divining shell. His traitorous uncles, who were confederate with the son of the tyrant of Shang, are only alluded to.

1. The king speaks to the following effect :—‘ Ho ! I make a great announcement to you, (the princes of) the many states, and to you, the managers of my affairs.—We are unpitied, and Heaven sends down calamities on our House, without the least intermission¹.* It greatly occupies my thoughts that I, so very young, have inherited this illimitable patrimony with its destinies and domains. I cannot display wisdom and lead the people to prosperity ; and how much less should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven !* Yes, I who am but a little child am in the position of one who has to go through a deep water ;—I must go and seek where I can cross over. I must diffuse the elegant institutions of my predecessor and display the appointment which he received (from Heaven) ;—so shall I not be forgetful of his great work. Nor shall I dare to restrain the majesty of Heaven in sending down its inflictions (on the criminals)².’ *

2. ‘The Tranquillizing king³ left to me the great precious tortoise-shell, to bring into connexion with me the intelligence of Heaven. I divined by it, and it told me that there would be great trouble in the region of the west⁴, and that the western people would not be still⁴.* Accordingly we have these senseless movements. Small and reduced as Yin

¹ With reference, probably, to the early death of his father, and the revolt that followed quickly upon it.

² The duke had made up his mind that he would deal stern justice even on his own brothers.

³ King Wû.

⁴ The troubles arose in the east, and not in the west. We do not know the facts in the state of the kingdom sufficiently to explain every difficulty in these Books. Perhaps the oracular response had been purposely ambiguous.

now is, (its prince) greatly dares to take in hand its (broken) line. Though Heaven sent down its terrors (on his House), yet knowing of the evils in our kingdom, and that the people are not tranquil, he says, "I will recover (my patrimony);" and so (he wishes to) make our *Kâu* a border territory again.

'One day there was a senseless movement, and the day after, ten men of worth appeared among the people, to help me to go forward to restore tranquillity and perpetuate the plans (of my father)¹. The great business I am engaging in will (thus) have a successful issue. I have divined (also) by the tortoise-shell, and always got a favourable response.* Therefore I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs,—I have obtained a favourable reply to my divinations. I will go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin.'

3. '(But) you the princes of the various states, and you the various officers and managers of my affairs, all retort on me, saying, "The hardships will be great, and that the people are not quiet has its source really in the king's palace and in the mansions of the princes in that (rebellious) state². We little ones, and the old and reverend men as well, think the expedition ill-advised;—why does your Majesty not go contrary to the divinations?" I, in my youth, (also) think continually of these hardships, and say,

¹ Who these 'ten men of worth' were, we do not know, nor the circumstances in which they came forward to help the government.

² Here is an allusion, as plain as the duke could permit himself to make, to the complicity of his brothers in the existing troubles.

Alas! these senseless movements will deplorably afflict the wifeless men and widows! But I am the servant of Heaven, which has assigned me this great task, and laid the hard duty on my person.* I therefore, the young one, do not pity myself; and it would be right in you, the many officers, the directors of departments, and the managers of my affairs, to comfort me, saying, "Do not be distressed with sorrow. We shall surely complete the plans of your Tranquillizing father."

'Yes, I, the little child, dare not disregard the charge of God¹.* Heaven, favourable to the Tranquillizing king, gave such prosperity to our small country of K'áu. The Tranquillizing king divined and acted accordingly, and so he calmly received his (great) appointment. Now when Heaven is (evidently) aiding the people, how much more should we follow the indications of the shell! Oh! the clearly intimated will of Heaven is to be feared:—it is to help my great inheritance!'

4. The king says, 'You, who are the old ministers, are fully able to remember the past; you know how great was the toil of the Tranquillizing king. Where Heaven (now) shuts up (our path) and distresses us, is the place where I must accomplish my work;—I dare not but do my utmost to complete the plans of the Tranquillizing king. It is on this account that I use such efforts to remove the doubts and carry forward the inclinations of the princes of my friendly states. And Heaven assists me with sincere expressions (of sympathy), which I have ascertained among

¹ Probably the charge understood to be conveyed by the result of the divinations spoken of above.

the people ;—how dare I but aim at the completion of the work formerly begun by the Tranquillizer ? Heaven, moreover, is thus toiling and distressing the people ;—it is as if they were suffering from disease ; how dare I allow (the appointment) which my predecessor, the Tranquillizer, received, to be without its happy fulfilment ?' *

The king says, ' Formerly, at the initiation of this expedition, I spoke of its difficulties, and thought of them daily. But when a deceased father, (wishing) to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof ! Or if the father had broken up the ground, and his son be unwilling to sow the seed, how much less will he be willing to reap the crop ! In such a case could the father, (who had himself) been so reverently attentive (to his objects), have been willing to say, " I have a son who will not abandon his patrimony ?"—How dare I therefore but use all my powers to give a happy settlement to the great charge entrusted to the Tranquillizing king ? If among the friends of an elder brother or a deceased father there be those who attack his son, will the elders of the people encourage (the attack), and not (come to the) rescue ?'

5. The king says, ' Oh ! take heart, ye princes of the various states, and ye managers of my affairs. The enlightening of the country was from the wise, even from the ten men¹ who obeyed and knew the

¹ 'The ten men' here can hardly be the 'ten men of worth' above in the second chapter. We must find them rather in the 'ten virtuous men, one in heart and one in practice, capable of good,' mentioned by king Wû, in the second Part of the Great Declaration.

charge of God,* and the real assistance given by Heaven. At that time none of you presumed to change the rules (prescribed by the Tranquillizing king). And now when Heaven is sending down calamity on the country of Kâu, and the authors of these great distresses (make it appear on a grand scale as if) the inmates of a house were mutually to attack one another, you are without any knowledge that the decree of Heaven is not to be changed!*

‘I ever think and say, Heaven in destroying Yin was doing husbandman’s work¹;—how dare I but complete the work on my fields? Heaven will thereby show its favour to my predecessor, the Tranquillizer. How should I be all for the oracle of divination, and presume not to follow (your advice)?* I am following the Tranquillizer, whose purpose embraced all within the limits of the land. How much more must I proceed, when the divinations are all favourable! It is on these accounts that I make this expedition in force to the east. There is no mistake about the decree of Heaven. The indications given by the tortoise-shell are all to the same effect.’*

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO THE COUNT OF WEI.

THE count of Wei was the principal character in the eleventh Book of the last Part, from which it appeared that he was a brother of the tyrant Kâu-hsin. We saw how his friends advised him to withdraw from the court of Shang, and save

¹ That is, thorough work,—clearing the ground of weeds, and not letting their roots remain.

himself from the destruction that was impending over their House. He had done so, and king Wû had probably continued him in the possession of his appanage of Wei, while Wû-kǎng, the son of the tyrant, had been spared, and entrusted with the duty of continuing the sacrifices to the great Thang and the other sovereigns of the House of Shang. Now that Wû-kǎng has been punished with death for his rebellion, the duke of K'áu summons the count of Wei to court, and in the name of king K'hang invests him with the dukedom of Sung, corresponding to the present department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan, there to be the representative of the line of the departed kings of Shang.

The king speaks to the following effect:—‘Ho! eldest son of the king of Yin, examining into antiquity, (I find) that the honouring of the virtuous (belongs to their descendants) who resemble them in worth, and (I appoint) you to continue the line of the kings your ancestors, observing their ceremonies and taking care of their various relics. Come (also) as a guest to our royal House¹, and enjoy the prosperity of our kingdom, for ever and ever without end.

‘Oh! your ancestor, Thang the Successful, was reverent and sage, (with a virtue) vast and deep. The favour and help of great Heaven lighted upon him, and he grandly received its appointment, to soothe the people by his gentleness, and remove the wicked oppressions from which they were suffering.* His achievements affected his age, and his virtue was transmitted to his posterity. And you are the one who pursue and cultivate his plans;—this praise

¹ Under the dynasty of K'áu, the representatives of the two previous dynasties of Shang and Hsiâ were distinguished above the other princes of the kingdom, and denominated ‘guests’ of the sovereign, coming to his court and assisting in the services in his ancestral temple, nearly on a footing of equality with him.

has belonged to you for long. Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties ; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men.* I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings ; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway).* I raise you therefore to the rank of high duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land¹.

‘ Be reverent. Go and diffuse abroad your instructions. Be carefully observant of your robes and (other accompaniments of) your appointment²; follow and observe the proper statutes ;—so as to prove a bulwark to the royal House. Enlarge (the fame of) your meritorious ancestor ; be a law to your people ;—so as for ever to preserve your dignity. (So also) shall you be a help to me, the One man ; future ages will enjoy (the benefit of) your virtue ; all the states will take you for a pattern ;—and thus you will make our dynasty of *Kâu* never weary of you.

‘ Oh ! go, and be prosperous. Do not disregard my charge.’

¹ Sung lay east from Făng and Hào, the capitals of Wăn and Wû, which were in the present department of Hsî-an, Shen-hsî.

² Meaning probably that he was to bear in mind that, however illustrious his descent, he was still a subject of the king of *Kâu*.

BOOK IX.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE PRINCE OF KHANG.

Of the ten sons of king Wăn, the ninth was called Fāng, and is generally spoken of as Khang Shŭ, or 'the uncle, (the prince of) Khang.' We must conclude that Khang was the name of Fāng's appanage, somewhere in the royal domain. This Book contains the charge given to him on his appointment to be marquis of Wei (the Chinese name is quite different from that of the appanage of the count of Wei), the chief city of which was K'ao-ko, that had been the capital of K'au-hsin. It extended westward from the present Khâi K'au, department Tâ-ming, K'ih-lî, to the borders of the departments of Wei-hui and Hwâi-k'ing, Ho-nan.

The Book is called an 'Announcement,' whereas it properly belongs to the class of 'Charges.' Whether the king who speaks in it, and gives the charge be Wû, or his son king K'hang, is a point on which there is much difference of opinion among Chinese critics. The older view that the appointment of Fāng to be marquis of Wei, and ruler of that part of the people who might be expected to cling most tenaciously to the memory of the Shang dynasty, took place after the death of Wû-k'ang, the son of the tyrant, and was made by the duke of K'au, in the name of king K'hang, is on the whole attended with the fewer difficulties.

The first paragraph, which appears within brackets, does not really belong to this Book, but to the thirteenth, where it will be found again. How it got removed from its proper place, and prefixed to the charge to the prince of Khang, is a question on which it is not necessary to enter. The key-note of the whole charge is in what is said, at the commencement of the first of the five chapters into which I have divided it, about king Wăn, that 'he was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments.' The first chapter celebrates the exhibition of these two things given by Wăn, whereby he laid the foundations of the great destiny of his House, and set an example to his descendants. The second inculcates on Fāng how he should illustrate his virtue, as the basis of his good government of the people entrusted to him. The third inculcates on him how he should be careful in the use of

punishments, and sets forth the happy effects of his being so. The fourth insists on the influence of virtue, as being superior in government to that of punishment, and how punishments should all be regulated by the ruler's virtue. The last chapter winds the subject up with a reference to the uncertainty of the appointments of Heaven, and their dependance for permanence on the discharge of the duties connected with them by those on whom they have lighted.

[On the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of *Kâu* commenced the foundations, and proceeded to build the new great city of Lo, of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the *Hâu*, *Tien*, *Nan*, *Shâi*, and *Wei* domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business there was to be done for *Kâu*. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).]

1. The king speaks to this effect :—‘ Head of the princes¹, and my younger brother², little one², *Făng*, it was your greatly distinguished father, the king *Wăn*, who was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to treat with contempt (even) wifeless men and widows. He employed the employable, and revered the reverend; he was terrible to those who needed to be awed :—so getting distinction among the people. It was thus he laid the foundations of (the sway of) our small portion of the kingdom³, and the one

¹ *Făng* had, no doubt, been made chief or leader of all the feudal lords in one of the *Kâu* or provinces of the kingdom.

² The duke of *Kâu*, though speaking in the name of king *Khăng*, yet addresses *Făng* from the standpoint of his own relation to him.

³ Referring to the original principality of *Kâu*.

or two (neighbouring) regions were brought under his improving influence, until throughout our western land all placed in him their reliance. The fame of him ascended up to the high God, and God approved. Heaven accordingly gave a grand charge to king Wăn, to exterminate the great (dynasty of) Yin, and grandly receive its appointment, so that the various countries belonging to it and their peoples were brought to an orderly condition.* Then your unworthy elder brother¹ exerted himself; and thus it is that you Făng, the little one, are here in this eastern region.'

2. The king says, 'Oh! Făng, bear these things in mind. Now (your success in the management of) the people will depend on your reverently following your father Wăn;—do you carry out his virtuous words which you have heard, and clothe yourself with them. (Moreover), where you go, seek out among (the traces of) the former wise kings of Yin what you may use in protecting and regulating their people. (Again), you must in the remote distance study the (ways of) the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart, and know how to instruct (the people). (Further still), you must search out besides what is to be learned of the wise kings of antiquity, and employ it in tranquilizing and protecting the people. (Finally), enlarge (your thoughts) to (the comprehension of all) heavenly (principles), and virtue will be richly displayed in your person, so that you will not render nugatory the king's charge.'

¹ Is it strange that the duke should thus speak of king Wû? Should we not think the better of him for it?

The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, the little one, be respectfully careful, as if you were suffering from a disease. Awful though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere.* The feelings of the people can for the most part be discerned; but it is difficult to preserve (the attachment of) the lower classes. Where you go, employ all your heart. Do not seek repose, nor be fond of ease and pleasure. I have read the saying,—“Dissatisfaction is caused not so much by great things, or by small things, as by (a ruler's) observance of principle or the reverse, and by his energy of conduct or the reverse.” Yes, it is yours, O little one,—it is your business to enlarge the royal (influence), and to protect the people of Yin in harmony with their feelings. Thus also shall you assist the king, consolidating the appointment of Heaven, and renovating the people.’*

3. The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, deal reverently and intelligently in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, they of themselves doing what is contrary to the laws intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which were not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the transgressors confess their guilt without reserve, you must not put them to death.’

The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, there must be the orderly regulation (of this matter). When you show a great discrimination, subduing (men's hearts), the people will admonish one another, and strive to be obedient. (Deal firmly yet tenderly with evil), as if it were a disease in your own person, and the people

will entirely put away their faults. (Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly. It is not you, O Fǎng, who (can presume to) inflict a (severe) punishment or death upon a man;—do not, to please yourself, so punish a man or put him to death.' Moreover, he says, 'It is not you, O Fǎng, who (can presume to inflict a lighter punishment), cutting off a man's nose or ears;—do not, to please yourself, cause a man's nose or ears to be cut off.'

The king says, 'In things beyond (your immediate supervision), have laws set forth which the officers may observe, and these should be the penal laws of Yin which were rightly ordered.' He also says, 'In examining the evidence in (criminal) cases, reflect upon it for five or six days, yea, for ten days or three months. You may then boldly come to a decision in such cases¹.'

The king says, 'In setting forth the business of the laws, the punishments will be determined by (what were) the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, and (especially) the penalty of death, be righteous. And you must not let them be warped to agree with your own inclinations, O Fǎng. Then shall they be entirely accordant with right, and you may say, "They are properly ordered;" yet you must say (at the same time), "Perhaps they are not yet entirely accordant with right." Yes, though you are the little one, who has a heart like you, O Fǎng? My heart and my virtue are also known to you.

¹ This is supposed to refer to a case where guilt would involve death, so that there could be no remedying a wrong decision.

‘All who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death;—these are abhorred by all.’

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more (detestable) are the unfilial and unbrotherly!—as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father’s heart, and the father who can (no longer) love his son, but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws (of our nature) given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wǎn, punishing them severely and not pardoning.

‘Those who are disobedient (to natural principles) are to be thus subjected to the laws;—how much more the officers employed in your state as the instructors of the youth, the heads of the official departments, and the smaller officers charged with their several commissions, when they propagate other lessons, seeking the praise of the people, not thinking (of their duty), nor using (the rules for their offices), but distressing their ruler! These lead on (the people) to wickedness, and are an abomination to me. Shall they be let alone? Do you

speedily, according to what is right, put them to death.

‘And you will be yourself ruler and president ;— if you cannot manage your own household, with your smaller officers, and the heads of departments in the state, but use only terror and violence, you will greatly set aside the royal charge, and be trying to regulate your state contrary to virtue. You must in everything reverence the statutes, and proceed by them to the happy rule of the people. There were the reverence of king Wăn and his caution ;—in proceeding by them to the happy rule of the people, say, “If I could only attain to them—.” So will you make me, the One man, to rejoice.’

4. The king says, ‘O Făng, when I think clearly of the people, I see that they should be led (by example) to happiness and tranquillity. I think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, whereby they tranquillized and regulated the people, and rouse myself to make it my own. Moreover, the people now are sure to follow a leader. If one do not lead them, he cannot be said to exercise a government in their state.’

The king says, ‘O Făng, I cannot dispense with the inspection (of the ancients), and I make this declaration to you about virtue in the use of punishments. Now the people are not quiet ; they have not yet stilled their minds ; notwithstanding my leading of them, they have not come to accord (with my government). I clearly consider that severe as are the inflictions of Heaven on me, I dare not murmur. The crimes (of the people), though they were not great or many, (would all be chargeable on me), and how much more shall this be said

when the report of them goes up so manifestly to heaven!

The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, be reverent! Do not what will cause murmurings; and do not use bad counsels and uncommon ways. With the determination of sincerity, give yourself to imitate the active virtue (of the ancients). Hereby give repose to your mind, examine your virtue, send far forward your plans; and thus by your generous forbearance you will make the people repose in what is good, and I shall not have to blame you or cast you off.'

5. The king says, 'Oh! you, Fǎng, the little one, (Heaven's) appointments are not unchanging.* Think of this, and do not make me deprive you of your dignity. Make illustrious the charge which you have received; exalt (the instructions) which you have heard, and tranquillize and regulate the people accordingly.'

The king speaks to this effect: 'Go, Fǎng. Do not disregard the statutes you should reverence; hearken to what I have told you;—so shall you among the people of Yin enjoy (your dignity), and hand it down to your posterity.'

BOOK X.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT DRUNKENNESS.

THIS Announcement was, like the last, made to Fǎng, the prince of Khang, about the time when he was invested with the principality of Wei. Mention has often been made in previous documents of the Shû of the drunken debauchery of Kieh as the chief cause of the downfall of the dynasty of Hsiâ, and of the same vice in K'au-hsin, the last of the kings of

Shang. The people of Shang had followed the example of their sovereign, and drunkenness, with its attendant immoralities, characterised both the highest and lowest classes of society. One of Fāng's most difficult tasks in his administration would be, to correct this evil habit, and he is called in this Book to the undertaking. He is instructed in the proper use and the allowable uses of spirits; the disastrous consequences of drunkenness are set forth; and he is summoned to roll back the flood of its desolation from his officers and people.

I have divided the Book into two chapters:—the one preliminary, showing the original use and the permissible uses of ardent spirits; the other, showing how drunkenness had proved the ruin of the Shang dynasty, and how they of K'âu, and particularly Fāng in Wei, should turn the lesson to account.

The title might be translated—'The Announcement about Spirits,' but the cursory reader would most readily suppose that the discourse was about Spiritual Beings. The Chinese term K'îu, that is here employed, is often translated by wine, but it denotes, it seems to me, ardent spirits. As Gaubil says, 'We have here to do with *le vin du riz*, the art of which was discovered, according to most writers, in the time of Yü, the founder of the first dynasty. The grape was not introduced to China till that of the first Han.'

[Since the above sentences were in manuscript, the Rev. Dr. Edkins of Pekin has stated at a meeting of the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in a letter to myself (April 24th), that he has lately investigated the question whether the K'îu of the ancient Chinese was spirits or not, and found that distillation was first known in China in the Mongol or Yüan dynasty (A. D. 1280–1367), so that the Arabs must have the credit of the invention; that the process in making K'îu was brewing, or nearly so, but, as the term beer is inadmissible in a translation of the classics, he would prefer to use the term wine; and that K'îu with Sh'áo ('fired,' 'ardent') before it, means spirits, but without Sh'áo, it means wine.

If the whole process of Dr. Edkins' investigation were before me, I should be glad to consider it, and not hesitate to alter my own view, if I saw reason to do so. Meanwhile, what he says makes me glad that I adopted 'the Announcement about Drunkenness' as the title of this chapter. It is drunkenness, by whatever liquor occasioned, that the king of K'âu condemns and denounces.

What we commonly understand by wine is never intended by *Kîu* in the Chinese classics, and therefore I cannot use that term. After searching as extensively as I could do in this country, since I received Dr. Edkins' letter, I have found nothing to make me think that the Chinese term is not properly translated by 'spirits.'

Dr. Williams, in his Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language (Shanghai, 1874), gives this account of *Kîu* :—'Liquor; it includes spirits, wine, beer, and other drinks. The Chinese make no wine, and chiefly distil their liquors, and say that *Tû Khang*, a woman of the *Tî* tribes, first made it.' This account is to a considerable extent correct. The Chinese distil their liquors. I never saw beer or porter of native production among them, though according to Dr. Edkins they had been brewing 'or nearly so' for more than 3000 years. Among his examples of the use of *Kîu*, Williams gives the combinations of 'red *Kîu*' for claret, 'white *Kîu*' for sherry, and 'pf (simply phonetical) *Kîu*' for beer, adding that they 'are all terms of foreign origin.' What he says about the traditional account of the first maker of *Kîu* is not correct. It is said certainly that this was *Tû Khang*, but who he was, or when he lived, I have never been able to discover. Some identify him with *Î-tî*, said by Williams to have been 'a woman of the *Tî* tribes.' The attributing of the invention to *Î-tî* is probably an independent tradition. We find it in the 'Plans of the Warring States' (ch. xiv, art. 10), a work covering about four centuries from the death of Confucius :—'Anciently, the daughter of the *Tî* ordered *Î-tî* to make *Kîu*. She admired it, and presented some to *Yü*, who drank it, and found it pleasant. He then discarded *Î-tî*, and denounced the use of such generous *Kîu*, saying, "In future ages there are sure to be those who by *Kîu* will lose their states." According to this tradition intoxicating *Kîu* was known in the time of *Yü*—in the twenty-third century B. C. The daughter of the *Tî* would be *Yü*'s wife, and *Î-tî* would probably be their cook. It does not appear as the name of a woman, or one from the wild *Tî* tribes.

With regard to the phrase *Shâo Kîu*, said to be the proper term for ardent spirits, and unknown in China till the *Yüan* dynasty, a reference to the *Khang-hsi* Tonic Thesaurus of the language will show instances of its use as early at least as the *Thang* dynasty (A. D. 618–906).]

1. The king speaks to the following effect :—'Do

you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei¹.

‘When your reverent father, the king Wăn, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to (the princes of) the various regions, and to all his (high) officers, with their assistants, and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, “At sacrifices spirits should be employed.”* When Heaven was sending down its favouring decree, and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of states, small and great, (by these terrors), has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits².

¹ There is a place called ‘the village of Mei,’ in the north of the present district of *K’hi*, department Wei-hui, Ho-nan;—a relic of the ancient name of the whole territory. The royal domain of Shang, north from the capital, was all called Mei. Fāng’s principality of Wei must have embraced most of it.

² Kû Hsî says upon the meaning of the expressions ‘Heaven was sending down its favouring decree’ (its order to make *Kiû*, as he understood the language), and ‘when Heaven sends down its terrors,’ in this paragraph :—‘Kang Nan-hsien has brought out the meaning of these two statements much better than any of the critics who went before him, to the following effect :—*Kiû* is a thing intended to be used in offering sacrifices and in entertaining guests;—such employment of it is what Heaven has prescribed. But men by their abuse of *Kiû* come to lose their virtue, and destroy their persons;—such employment of it is what Heaven has annexed its terrors to. The Buddhists, hating the use of things where Heaven sends down its terrors, put away as well the use of them which Heaven has prescribed. It is not so with us of the learned (i.e. the Confucian or orthodox) school;—we only put

‘ King Wăn admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the states, he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness¹.’

He said, ‘ Let my people teach their young men that they are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also hearken wisely to the constant instructions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light (with watchful heed).

‘ (Ye people of) the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them².

‘ Hearken constantly to my instructions, all ye my (high) officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs;—when ye have largely done your

away the use of things to which Heaven has annexed its terrors, and the use of them, of which it approves, remains as a matter of course.’

¹ In sacrificing, the fragrant odour of spirits was supposed to be acceptable to the Beings worshipped. Here the use of spirits seems to be permitted in moderation to the worshippers after the sacrifices. Observe how king Wăn wished to guard the young from acquiring the habit of drinking spirits.

² Here is another permissible use of spirits;—at family feasts, with a view especially to the comfort of the aged.

duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things:—when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice,* and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.’*

2. The king says, ‘O Fǎng, in our western region, the princes of states, and the young (nobles), sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted king Wǎn, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.’

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, I have heard it said, that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom.* From him, Thang the Successful, down to Tt-yí¹, all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure;—how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, (the princes of) the Hâu, Tien,

¹ Tt-yí was the father of Kâu-hsin, the twenty-seventh Shang sovereign. The sovereigns between Thang and him had not all been good, but the duke of Kâu chooses here to say so.

Nan, and Wei (states)¹, with their presiding chiefs ; and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employés, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereign's virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

'I have heard it said likewise, that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was (as if) reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart ; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself, but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes (accumulated) in the capital of Shang ; and though the extinction of the dynasty (was imminent), this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven.* The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures, went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin,

¹ These were the first, second, third, and fifth domains or territorial divisions of the land under K'áu, counting back from the royal domain. It appears here that an arrangement akin to that of K'áu had been made in the time of Shang.

and showed no love for it,—because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment.)’*

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, I make you this long announcement, not (for the pleasure of doing so); but the ancients have said, “Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people.” Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, (and learn) how to secure the repose of our time? I say to you,—Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and (the princes) in the Hâu, the Tien, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates,—your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

‘If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to K’âu, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death (at once);—let them be taught for a time. If they follow these (lessons of mine), I will give them bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As

they cannot change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death.'

The king says, 'O Fǎng, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness.'

BOOK XI. THE TIMBER OF THE ROTTLEA.

'THE wood of the ʒze tree'—the *Rottlera Japonica*, according to Dr. Williams—is mentioned in the Book, and was adopted as the name for it. The ʒze was esteemed a very valuable tree for making articles of furniture and for the carver's art. The title perhaps intimates that the administrator of government ought to go about his duties carefully and skilfully, as the cabinet-maker and carver deal with their materials.

The Book is wanting in unity. Divided into two chapters, the first may be taken as a charge to 'the prince of Khang.' He is admonished of his duty to promote a good understanding between the different classes in his state, and between them all and the sovereign; and that, in order to this, his rule must be gentle, eschewing the use of punishments. The second chapter is of a different character, containing not the charges of a sovereign, but the admonitions or counsels of a minister, loyally cautioning him, and praying for the prosperity of his reign. We might suppose them the response of Fǎng to the previous charge, but the text does not indicate the introduction of a new speaker.

1. The king says, 'O Fǎng, to secure a good understanding between the multitudes of his people and his ministers (on the one hand), and the great families (on the other); and (again) to secure the same between all the subjects under his charge, and the sovereign:—is the part of the ruler of a state.

'If you regularly, in giving out your orders, say, "My instructors whom I am to follow, my Minister of Instruction, my Minister of War, and my Minister

of Works; my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account put any to death oppressively¹—. Let the ruler also set the example of respecting and encouraging (the people), and these will (also) proceed to respect and encourage them. Then let him go on, in dealing with villainy and treachery, with murderers and harbourers of criminals, to exercise clemency (where it can be done), and these will likewise do the same with those who have assaulted others and injured their property. When sovereigns appointed overseers (of states), they did so in order to the government of the people, and said to them, “Do not give way to violence or oppression, but go on to show reverent regard for the friendless, and find helping connexions for (destitute) women².” Deal with all according to this method, and cherish them. And when sovereigns gave their injunctions to the rulers of states, and their managers of affairs, what was their charge? It was that they should lead (the people) to the enjoyment of plenty and peace. Such was the way of the kings from of old. An overseer is to eschew the use of punishments.’

(The king) says, ‘As in the management of a field, when the soil has been all laboriously turned up, they have to proceed by orderly arrangements to make its boundaries and water-courses; as in building a house, after all the toil on its walls, they have to plaster and thatch it; as in working with the wood of the rottlera, when the toil of the coarser and finer operations has been completed, they have

¹ The sentence here is incomplete. Many of the critics confess that the text is unintelligible to them.

² It is difficult to say what the exact meaning here is.

to apply the paint of red and other colours;—(so do you finish for me the work which I have begun in the state of Wei.)’

2. Now let your majesty say, ‘The former kings diligently employed their illustrious virtue, and produced such attachment by their cherishing (of the princes), that from all the states they brought offerings, and came with brotherly affection from all quarters, and likewise showed their virtue illustrious. Do you, O sovereign, use their methods to attach (the princes), and all the states will largely come with offerings. Great Heaven having given this Middle Kingdom with its people and territories to the former kings, do you, our present sovereign, display your virtue, effecting a gentle harmony among the deluded people, leading and urging them on;—so (also) will you comfort the former kings, who received the appointment (from Heaven).’*

‘Yes, make these things your study. I say so simply from my wish that (your dynasty) may continue for myriads of years, and your descendants always be the protectors of the people.’

BOOK XII.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DUKE OF SHÂO.

SHÂO was the name of a territory within the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Hwan-khû, Kiang Kâu, Shan-hsi. It was the appanage of Shih, one of the ablest of the men who lent their aid to the establishment of the dynasty of Kâu. He appears in this Book as the Grand-Guardian at the court of king Khäng, and we have met with him before in

the Hounds of Lü and the Metal-bound Coffer. He is introduced here in connexion with one of the most important enterprises of the duke of Kâu, the building of the city of Lo, not very far from the present city of Lo-yang, in Ho-nan, as a new and central capital of the kingdom. King Wû had conceived the idea of such a city; but it was not carried into effect till the reign of his son, and is commonly assigned to K'hang's seventh year, in B.C. 1109.

Shih belonged to the royal House, and of course had the surname K'î. He is styled the duke of Shão, as being one of the 'three dukes,' or three highest officers of the court, and also the chief of Shão, all the country west of Shen being under him, as all the east of it was under the duke of Kâu. He was invested by Wû with the principality of 'the Northern Yen,' corresponding to the present department of Shun-thien, K'ih-li, which was held by his descendants fully nine hundred years. It was in Lo—while the building of it was proceeding—that he composed this Book, and sent it by the hands of the duke of Kâu to their young sovereign.

The whole may be divided into three chapters. The first contains various information about the arrangements for the building of Lo, first by the duke of Shão, and then by the duke of Kâu; and about the particular occasion when the former recited the counsels which he had composed, that they might be made known to the king. These form the second chapter. First, it sets forth the uncertainty of the favour of Heaven, and urges the king to cultivate the 'virtue of reverence,' in order to secure its permanence, and that he should not neglect his aged and experienced ministers. It speaks next of the importance and difficulty of the royal duties, and enforces the same virtue of reverence by reference to the rise and fall of the previous dynasties. Lastly, it sets forth the importance, at this early period of his reign, of the king's at once setting about the reverence which was thus described. There is a concluding chapter, where the duke gives expression to his loyal and personal feelings for the king, and the purpose to be served by the offerings, which he was then sending to the court.

The burden of the Announcement is 'the virtue of reverence.' Let the king only feel how much depended on his attending reverently to his duties, and all would be well. The people would love and support the dynasty of Kâu, and Heaven would smile upon and sustain it.

1. In the second month, on the day Yt-wei, six days after full moon, the king proceeded in the morning from *Kâu* to Făng¹. (Thence) the Grand-Guardian went before the duke of *Kâu* to survey the locality (of the new capital); and in the third month, on the day Wû-shăn, the third day after the first appearance of the moon on Ping-wû, he came in the morning to Lo. He divined by the tortoise-shell about the (several) localities, and having obtained favourable indications, he set about laying out the plan (of the city).* On Kăng-hsü, the third day after, he led the people of Yin to prepare the various sites on the north of the Lo; and this work was completed on K'ia-yin, the fifth day after.

On Yt-máo, the day following, the duke of *Kâu* came in the morning to Lo, and thoroughly inspected the plan of the new city. On Ting-sze, the third day after, he offered two bulls as victims in the (northern and southern) suburbs²; and on the morrow, Wû-wû, at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city, he sacrificed a bull, a ram, and a boar.* After seven days, on K'ia-ze, in the morning, from his written (specifications) he gave their several orders to the people of Yin, and to the presiding chiefs of the princes from the Hâu, Tien, and Nan domains. When the people of Yin had thus received their orders, they arose and entered with vigour on their work.

(When the work was drawing to a completion),

¹ That is, from Wû's capital of Háo to king Wăn's at Făng.

² By the addition to the text here of 'northern and southern,' I intimate my opinion that the duke of *Kâu* offered two sacrifices, one to Heaven at the altar in the southern suburb, and one to Earth in the northern suburb.

the Grand-Guardian went out with the hereditary princes of the various states to bring their offerings (for the king)¹; and when he entered again, he gave them to the duke of K'âu, saying, 'With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, I present these to his Majesty and your Grace². Announcements for the information of the multitudes of Yin must come from you, with whom is the management of affairs.'

2. 'Oh! God (dwelling in) the great heavens has changed his decree respecting his great son and the great dynasty of Yin. Our king has received that decree. Unbounded is the happiness connected with it, and unbounded is the anxiety:—Oh! how can he be other than reverent?*

'When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favour of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven.* The king, however, who had succeeded to them, the last of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as at last to keep the wise in obscurity and the vicious in office. The poor people in such a case, carrying their children and leading their wives, made their moan to Heaven. They even fled away, but were apprehended again. Oh! Heaven had compassion on the people of the four quarters; its favouring

¹ These 'offerings' were the 'presents of introduction,' which the feudal princes brought with them to court, when they were to have audience of the king. This has led many critics to think that the king was now in Lo, which was not the case.

² The original text here is difficult and remarkable;—intended probably to indicate that the king's majesty was revered in the person of the duke of K'âu, who was regent.

decree lighted on our earnest (founders). Let the king sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence.*

‘Examining the men of antiquity, there was the (founder of the) Hsiâ dynasty. Heaven guided (his mind), allowed his descendants (to succeed him), and protected them.* He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But in process of time the decree in his favour fell to the ground.* So also is it now when we examine the case of Yin. There was the same guiding (of its founder), who corrected (the errors of Hsiâ), and (whose descendants) enjoyed the protection (of Heaven). He (also) acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it.* But now the decree in favour of him has fallen to the ground. Our king has now come to the throne in his youth;—let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of the ancients, and have matured their counsels in the sight of Heaven.

‘Oh! although the king is young, yet he is the great son (of God).* Let him effect a great harmony with the lower people, and that will be the blessing of the present time. Let not the king presume to be remiss in this, but continually regard and stand in awe of the perilous (uncertainty) of the people’s (attachment).

‘Let the king come here as the vice-gerent of God, and undertake (the duties of government) in this centre of the land.* Tan¹ said, “Now that this great city has been built, from henceforth he may

¹ Tan was the name of the duke of Kâu, and his brother duke here refers to him by it, in accordance with the rule that ‘ministers

be the mate of great Heaven, and reverently sacrifice to (the spirits) above and beneath; from henceforth he may from this central spot administer successful government." Thus shall the king enjoy the favouring regard (of Heaven) all-complete, and the government of the people will now be prosperous.*

'Let the king first subdue to himself those who were the managers of affairs under Yin, associating them with the managers of affairs for our *Kâu*. This will regulate their (perverse) natures, and they will make daily advancement. Let the king make reverence the resting-place (of his mind);—he must maintain the virtue of reverence.

'We should by all means survey the dynasties of Hsiâ and Yin. I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Hsiâ was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer."* The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour prematurely fell to the ground. (Similarly), I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Yin was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer."* The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour fell prematurely to the ground. The king has now inherited the decree,—the same decree, I consider, which belonged to those two dynasties. Let him seek to inherit (the virtues

should be called by their names in the presence of the sovereign.' King *Khâng*, indeed, was not now really present in Lo, but he was represented by his uncle, the regent.

of) their meritorious (sovereigns);—(let him do this especially) at this commencement of his duties.

‘Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom (to the king); it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a (long) course of years;—we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all-devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favour. *

‘In the position of king, let him not, because of the excesses of the people in violation of the laws, presume also to rule by the violent infliction of death;—when the people are regulated gently, the merit (of government) is seen. It is for him who is in the position of king to overtop all with his virtue. In this case the people will imitate him throughout the kingdom, and he will become still more illustrious.

‘Let the king and his ministers labour with a mutual sympathy, saying, “We have received the decree of Heaven, and it shall be great as the long-continued years of Hsiâ;—yea, it shall not fail of the long-continued years of Yin.” I wish the king, through (the attachment of) the lower people, to receive the long-abiding decree of Heaven.’*

3. (The duke of Shâo) then did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, and said, ‘I, a small minister, presume, with the king’s (heretofore) hostile people and all their officers,

and with his (loyal) friendly people, to maintain and receive his majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue. That the king should finally obtain the decree all-complete, and that he should become illustrious,—this I do not presume to labour for. I only bring respectfully these offerings to present to his majesty, to be used in his prayers to Heaven for its long-abiding decree.' *

BOOK XIII. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING LO.

THE matters recorded in this Book are all connected, more or less nearly, with Lo, the new capital, the arrangements for the building of which are related at the commencement of the last Book. According to the summary of the contents given by the commentator 3hâi K'ân, 'The arrangements for the building having been made, the duke of K'âu sent a messenger to inform the king of the result of his divinations. The historiographer recorded this as the Announcement about Lo, and at the same time related a dialogue between the king and his minister, and how the king charged the duke to remain at Lo, and conduct the government of it.' Passing over the commencing paragraph, which I have repeated here from the ninth Book, 3hâi divides all the rest into seven chapters. Ch. 1 contains the duke's message concerning his divinations; and the next gives the king's reply. Ch. 3 is occupied with instructions to the king about the measures which he should pursue on taking up his residence at Lo. In ch. 4, the king charges the duke to remain at Lo, and undertake its government. In ch. 5, the duke responds, and accepts the charge, dwelling on the duties which the king and himself would have to perform. Ch. 6 relates the action of the duke in reference to a message and gift from the king intended for his special honour. In ch. 7, the historiographer writes of sacrifices offered by the king in Lo, and a proclamation that he issued, and tells how long the duke continued in his government;—showing how the duke began the city and completed it, and how king K'äng, after offering the sacrifices and inaugurating the government, returned to Hão, and did not, after all, make his capital at Lo.

Many critics make much to do about the want of historical order in the Book, and suppose that portions have been lost, and other portions transposed; but the Book may be explained without resorting to so violent a supposition.

[In the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of *Kâu* commenced the foundations and proceeded to build the new great city of *Lo* of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the *Hâu*, *Tien*, *Nan*, *Zhài*, and *Wei* domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business that was to be done for *Kâu*. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works)¹.]

1. The duke of *Kâu* did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground², saying, 'Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son, my intelligent sovereign. The king appeared as if he would not presume to be present at Heaven's founding here the appointment (of our dynasty), and fixing it, whereupon I followed the (Grand-)Guardian, and made a great survey of this eastern region, hoping to found the place where he should become the intelligent sovereign of the people. On the day *Yt-máo*, I came in the morning to this capital of *Lo*. I (first) divined by the shell concerning (the ground about) the *Lt*-water on the north of the *Ho*. I then divined concerning the east of the *K'ien*-water, and the west of the *K'han*, when the (ground near the) *Lo* was indicated. Again I

¹ See the introductory note to Book ix.

² In sending his message to the king, the duke does obeisance as if he were in the presence of his majesty. The king responds with a similar ceremony.

divined concerning the east of the *Khan*-water, when the (ground near the) Lo was also indicated. I (now) send a messenger with a map, and to present the (result of the) divinations.’*

2. The king did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, ‘The duke did not presume not to acknowledge reverently the favour of Heaven, and has surveyed the locality where our *Kâu* may respond to that favour. Having settled the locality, he has sent his messenger to show me the divinations, favourable and always auspicious. We two must together sustain the responsibility. He has made provision for me (and my successors), for myriads and tens of myriads of years, there reverently to acknowledge the favour of Heaven.* With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, (I receive) his instructive words.’

3. The duke of *Kâu* said¹, ‘Let the king at first employ the ceremonies of Yin, and sacrifice in the new city,* doing everything in an orderly way, but without display. I will marshal all the officers to attend you from *Kâu*, merely saying that probably there will be business to be done (in sacrificing). Let the king instantly issue an order to the effect that the most meritorious (ministers) shall have the first place in the sacrifices; and let him also say in an order, “You, in whose behalf the above order is issued, must give me your assistance with sincere earnestness.” Truly display the record of merits, for

¹ We must suppose that the duke of *Kâu*, after receiving the reply to his message, had himself returned to *Hão*, to urge upon the king the importance of his repairing in person to Lo, and solemnly inaugurating the new city as the capital of the kingdom.

it is you who must in everything teach the officers. My young son, can you indulge partiality? Eschew it, my young son. (If you do not), the consequence hereafter will be like a fire, which, a spark at first, blazes up, and by and by cannot be extinguished. Let your observance of the constant rules of right, and your soothing measures be like mine. Take only the officers that are in *Kâu* with you to the new city, and make them there join their (old) associates, with intelligent vigour establishing their merit, and with a generous largeness (of soul) completing (the public manners);—so shall you obtain an endless fame.'

The duke said, 'Yes, young as you are, be it yours to complete (the work of your predecessors). Cultivate (the spirit of) reverence, and you will know who among the princes (sincerely) present their offerings to you, and who do not. In connexion with those offerings there are many observances. If the observances are not equal to the articles, it must be held that there is no offering. When there is no service of the will in the offerings (of the princes), all the people will then say, "We need not (be troubled about) our offerings," and affairs will be disturbed by errors and usurpations.

'Do you, my young son, manifest everywhere my unwearied diligence, and listen to my instructions to you how to help the people to observe the constant rules of right. If you do not bestir yourself in these things, you will not be of long continuance. If you sincerely and fully carry out the course of your Directing father, and follow exactly my example, there will be no venturing to disregard your orders. Go, and be reverent. Henceforth I will study

husbandry¹. There do you generously rule our people, and there is no distance from which they will not come to you.'

4. The king spoke to this effect², 'O duke, you are the enlightener and sustainer of my youth. You have set forth the great and illustrious virtues, that I, notwithstanding my youth, may display a brilliant merit like that of Wăn and Wû, reverently responding to the favouring decree of Heaven; and harmonize and long preserve the people of all the regions, settling the multitudes (in Lo); and that I may give due honour to the great ceremony (of recording) the most distinguished (for their merits), regulating the order for the first places at the sacrifices, and doing everything in an orderly manner without display.

'But your virtue, O duke, shines brightly above and beneath, and is displayed actively throughout the four quarters. On every hand appears the deep reverence (of your virtue) in securing the establishment of order, so that you fail in nothing of the earnest lessons of Wăn and Wû. It is for me, the youth, (only) to attend reverently, early and late, to the sacrifices.'*

The king said, 'Great, O duke, has been your merit in helping and guiding me;—let it ever continue so.'

¹ By this expression the duke indicates his wish and intention now to retire from public life, and leave the government and especially the affairs of Lo in the king's hands.

² From the words of the king in this chapter, we receive the impression that they were spoken in Lo. He must have gone there with the duke from Hào. He deprecates the duke's intention to retire into private life; intimates his own resolution to return to Hào; and wishes the duke to remain in Lo, accomplishing all that was still necessary to the establishment of their dynasty.

The king said, 'O duke, let me, the little child, return to my sovereignty in *Kâu*, and I charge you, O duke, to remain behind (here). Order has been initiated throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, but the ceremonies to be honoured (by general observance) have not yet been settled, and I cannot look on your service as completed. Commence on a great scale what is to be done by your remaining here, setting an example to my officers and greatly preserving the people whom *Wăn* and *Wû* received;—by your good government you will be a help to the whole kingdom.'

The king said, 'Remain, O duke. I will certainly go. Your services are devoutly acknowledged and reverently rejoiced in. Do not, O duke, occasion me this difficulty. I on my part will not be weary in seeking the tranquillity (of the people);—do not let the example which you have afforded me be intermitted. So shall the kingdom enjoy for generations (the benefit of your virtue).'

5. The duke of *Kâu* did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'You have charged me, O king, to come here. I undertake (the charge), and will protect the people whom your accomplished grandfather, and your glorious and meritorious father, king *Wû*, received by the decree (of Heaven). I will enlarge the reverence which I cherish for you. (But), my son, come (frequently), and inspect this settlement. Pay great honour to (old) statutes, and to the good and wise men of *Yin*. Good government (here) will make you (indeed) the new sovereign of the kingdom, and an example of (royal) respectfulness to all your successors of *Kâu*.'

(The duke) proceeded to say, 'From this time, by the government administered in this central spot, all the states will be conducted to repose; and this will be the completion of your merit, O king.

'I, Tan, with the numerous officers and managers of affairs, will consolidate the achievements of our predecessors, in response to (the hopes of) the people. I will afford an example of sincerity to (future ministers of) *Kâu*, seeking to render complete the pattern intended for the enlightenment of you, my son, and thus to carry fully out the virtue of your accomplished grandfather.'

6. (Afterwards, on the arrival of a message and gifts from the king, the duke said¹), '(The king) has sent messengers to admonish (the people of) Yin, and with a soothing charge to me, along with two flagons of the black-millet herb-flavoured spirits, saying, "Here is a pure sacrificial gift, which with my hands to my head and my head to the ground I offer for you to enjoy its excellence!"* I dare not keep this by me, but offer it in sacrifice to king *Wăn* and king *Wû*.' (In doing so, he prayed), 'May he be obedient to, and observant of your course! Let him not bring on himself any evil or illness! Let him satisfy his descendants for myriads of years with your virtue! Let (the people of) Yin enjoy prolonged (prosperity)!'* (He also said to the messengers), 'The king has sent you to Yin,

¹ We must suppose that the king had returned to *Hão*, and now sends a message to the duke with an extraordinary gift, doing honour to him as if he were a departed spirit, continuing in heaven the guardianship of the dynasty which he had so long efficiently discharged on earth. This gives occasion for the duke to exhibit anew his humility, piety, and loyalty.

and we have received his well-ordered charges, (sufficient to direct us) for myriads of years, but let (the people) ever (be able to) observe the virtue cherished by my son.'

7. On the day Wû-khăn, the king, being in the new city¹, performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering (moreover) one red bull to king Wăn and another to king Wû.* He then ordered a declaration to be prepared, which was done by Yî² in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of Kâu. The king's guests³, on occasion of the killing of the victims and offering the sacrifice, were all present. The king entered the grand apartment, and poured out the libation.* He gave a charge to the duke of Kâu to remain, and Yî, the preparer of the document, made the announcement;—in the twelfth month. (Thus) the duke of Kâu grandly sustained the decree which Wăn and Wû had received through the space of seven years⁴.

¹ The duke had asked the king to come frequently to the new city; he is there now accordingly.

² Yî was the name of the Recorder who officiated on the occasion.

³ All the princes present and assisting at the sacrifices, and especially the representatives of the previous dynasties.

⁴ These seven years are to be calculated from the seventh year of king K'hang, after the duke had served as administrator of the government seven years from the death of king Wû. Many think, however, that the 'seven years' are only those of the duke's regency.

BOOK XIV. THE NUMEROUS OFFICERS.

WE have in this Book another 'Announcement,' addressed to the people of Yin or Shang, and especially to the higher classes among them,—'the numerous officers,'—to reconcile them to their lot as subjects of the new dynasty. From the preceding two Books it appears that many of the people of Yin had been removed to the country about the Lo, before the dukes of Shāo and Kâu commenced the building of the new city. Now that the city was completed, another and larger migration of them, we may suppose, was ordered, and the duke of Kâu took occasion to issue the announcement that is here preserved.

I have divided it into four chapters. The first vindicates the kings of Kâu for superseding the line of Shang, not from ambition, but in obedience to the will of God. The second unfolds the causes why the dynasty of Yin or Shang had been set aside. The third shows how it had been necessary to remove them to Lo, and with what good intention the new capital had been built. The fourth tells how comfort and prosperity were open to their attainment at Lo, while by perseverance in disaffection they would only bring misery and ruin upon themselves.

1. In the third month, at the commencement (of the government) of the duke of Kâu in the new city of Lo, he announced (the royal will) to the officers of the Shang dynasty, saying, 'The king speaks to this effect:—"Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Kâu, received its favouring decree.* We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments which kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished (the work of) God.* Now, ye numerous officers, it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. But Heaven was not with (Yin), for indeed it would not

strengthen its misrule. It (therefore) helped us;—did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? God was not for (Yin), as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven.”* * *

2. ‘I have heard the saying, “God leads men to tranquil security,”* but the sovereign of Hsiâ would not move to such security, whereupon God sent down corrections, indicating his mind to him. (K'ieh), however, would not be warned by God, but proceeded to greater dissoluteness and sloth and excuses for himself. Then Heaven no longer regarded nor heard him, but disallowed his great appointment, and inflicted extreme punishment. Then it charged your founder, Thang the Successful, to set Hsiâ aside, and by means of able men to rule the kingdom. From Thang the Successful down to Tî-yî, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices.* And thus it was that, while Heaven exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose (the favour of) God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven.* But in these times, their successor showed himself greatly ignorant of (the ways of) Heaven, and much less could it be expected of him that he would be regardful of the earnest labours of his fathers for the country. Greatly abandoned to dissolute idleness, he gave no thought to the bright principles of Heaven, and the awfulness of the people.* On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he

did not make his virtue illustrious.* (Indeed), with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.'

'The king speaks to this effect:—"Ye numerous officers of Yin, the case now is this, that the kings of our *K'âu*, from their great goodness, were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them, 'Cut off Yin.' (They proceeded to perform it), and announced the execution of their service to God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims;—ye of the royal House (of Yin) must (now simply) follow us."'*

3. "May I not say that you have been very lawless? I did not (want to) remove you. The thing came from your own city¹. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that there was (there) what was not right."

'The king says, "Ho! I declare to you, ye numerous officers, it is simply on account of these things that I have removed you and settled you here in the west²;—it was not that I, the One man, considered it a part of my virtue to interfere with your tranquillity. The thing was from Heaven; do not offer resistance; I shall not presume to have any subsequent (charge concerning you); do not murmur against me. Ye know that your fathers of the Yin dynasty had their archives and statutes, (showing

¹ That is, your conduct in your own city.

² Lo is often called 'the eastern capital,' as being east from Hào, the capital of king Wû; but it was west from *K'ão-ko*, the capital of Yin.

how) Yin superseded the appointment of Hsiâ. Now, indeed, ye say further, '(The officers of) Hsiâ were chosen and employed in the royal court (of Shang), and had their duties among the mass of its officers.' (But) I, the One man, listen only to the virtuous, and employ them; and it was with this view that I ventured to seek you in your capital of Shang (once sanctioned by) Heaven, (and removed you here to Lo.) I thereby follow (the ancient example), and have pity on you. (Your present non-employment) is no fault of mine;—it is by the decree of Heaven."*

'The king says, "Ye numerous officers, formerly, when I came from Yen¹, I greatly mitigated the penalty and spared the lives of the people of your four states². At the same time I made evident the punishment appointed by Heaven, and removed you to this distant abode, that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured (capital)³, and (learn) their much obedience."

'The king says, "I declare to you, ye numerous officers of Yin, now I have not put you to death, and therefore I reiterate the declaration of my charge⁴. I have now built this great city here in

¹ Yen was the name of a territory, corresponding to the present district of *K'ü-fâu*, in Shan-tung. The wild tribe inhabiting it, had joined with *Wû-k'ang* and the king's uncles a few years before; and the crushing of the Yen had been the last act in the suppression of their rebellion.

² The royal domain of Yin, which had been allotted to *Wû-k'ang* and the king's three uncles.

³ *Hão*. There were, no doubt, at this time many ministers and officers from *Hão* in Lo; but the duke had intended that they should in the mass remove from the old to the new capital.

⁴ The charge which had been delivered on the first removal of many of them to the neighbourhood of Lo.

Lo, considering that there was no (central) place in which to receive my guests from the four quarters, and also that you, ye numerous officers, might here with zealous activity perform the part of ministers to us, with the entire obedience (ye would learn). Ye have still here, I may say, your grounds, and may still rest in your duties and dwellings. If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven's inflictions on your persons. Now you may here dwell in your villages, and perpetuate your families; you may pursue your occupations and enjoy your years in this Lo; your children also will prosper;—(all) from your being removed here."

'The king says—¹; and again he says, "Whatever I may now have spoken is on account of (my anxiety about) your residence here."'

BOOK XV. AGAINST LUXURIOUS EASE.

THE name of this Book is taken from two characters in the first sentence of it, which are the key-note of the whole. It is classified among the 'Instructions' of the Shū, and was addressed to king *K'ang* by the duke of *K'au* soon after he had resigned the administration of the government into his hands.

There are six pauses in the course of the address, which is resumed always with 'The duke of *K'au* said, "Oh."' This suggests a division into seven chapters.

In the first, the duke suggests to the king to find a rule for himself in the laborious toils that devolve on the husbandman. In the second, he refers to the long reigns of three of the Yin sovereigns,

¹ There are probably some sentences lost here.

and the short reigns of others, as illustrating how the blessing of Heaven rests on the diligent monarch. In the third, the example of their own kings, Thái, Kỉ, and Văn, is adduced with the same object. In the fourth, the duke addresses the king directly, and exhorts him to follow the pattern of king Văn, and flee from that of Kâu-hsin. In the fifth, he stimulates him, by reference to ancient precedents, to adopt his counsels, and shows the evil effects that will follow if he refuse to do so. In the sixth, he shows him, by the cases of the good kings of Yin and of king Văn, how he should have regard to the opinions of the common people, and gird himself to diligence. The seventh chapter is a single admonition that the king should lay what had been said to heart.

1. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! the superior man rests in this,—that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil (for their support). I have observed among the lower people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons (often) do not understand this painful toil, but abandon themselves to ease, and to village slang, and become quite disorderly. Or where they do not do so, they (still) throw contempt on their parents, saying, "Those old people have heard nothing and know nothing."'

2. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! I have heard that aforetime Kung Jung, one of the kings of Yin¹, was grave, humble, reverential, and timorously cautious. He measured himself with reference to the decree of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring

¹ Kung Jung was the sacrificial title of Thái-wú, the seventh of the kings of Shang or Yin, who reigned B. C. 1637-1563.

to indulge in useless ease.* It was thus that he enjoyed the throne seventy and five years. If we come to the time of Kâo Jung¹, he toiled at first away from the court, and was among the lower people². When he came to the throne, and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. (Afterwards) he was (still inclined) not to speak; but when he did speak, his words were full of harmonious (wisdom). He did not dare to indulge in useless ease, but admirably and tranquilly presided over the regions of Yin, till throughout them all, small and great, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne fifty and nine years. In the case of 3û-kiâ³, he refused to be king unrighteously, and was at first one of the lower people. When he came to the throne, he knew on what they must depend (for their support), and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the wifeless men and widows. Thus it was that he enjoyed the throne thirty and three years. The kings that arose after these, from their birth enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth, they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labours of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure; and so not one of them had long life. They (reigned) for ten years,

¹ Kâo Jung was the sacrificial title of Wû-ting, the nineteenth sovereign of the Yin line, who reigned B.C. 1324-1266. He has already appeared in the 8th and 9th Books of Part IV.

² Compare Part IV, viii, sect. 3, ch. 1.

³ 3û-kiâ was the twenty-first of the Yin sovereigns, and reigned B.C. 1258-1226.

for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps (only) for three or four.'

3. The duke of *Kâu* said, 'Oh! there likewise were king *Thái* and king *Ki* of our own *Kâu*, who were humble and reverentially cautious. King *Wăn* dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquillization and to that of husbandry. Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the wifeless men and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sun-down, he did not allow himself leisure to eat;—thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King *Wăn* did not dare to go to excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he would receive only the correct amount of contribution. The appointment (of Heaven) came to him in the middle of his life¹, and he enjoyed the throne for fifty years.'*

4. The duke of *Kâu* said, 'Oh! from this time forward, do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate *Wăn*'s avoiding of excess in his sight-seeing, his indulgence in ease, his excursions, his hunting; and from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, "To-day I will indulge in pleasure." This would not be holding out a lesson to the people, nor the way to secure the favour of Heaven. Men will on the contrary be prompt to imitate you and practise evil. Become not like

¹ This can only be understood of *Wăn*'s succeeding to his father as duke of *Kâu* and chief of the West in B.C. 1185. He died in 1135, leaving it to his son *Wû* to overthrow the dynasty of *Shang*.

Shâu the king of Yin, who went quite astray, and became abandoned to drunkenness.'

5. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! I have heard it said that, in the case of the ancients, (their ministers) warned and admonished them, protected and loved them, taught and instructed them; and among the people there was hardly one who would impose on them by extravagant language or deceiving tricks. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), your ministers will imitate you, and so the correct laws of the former kings, both small and great, will be changed and disordered. The people, blaming you, will disobey and rebel in their hearts;—yea, they will curse you with their mouths.'

6. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! those kings of Yin,—Kung Jung, Kâu Jung, and 30-*chia*, with king Wăn of our Kâu,—these four men carried their knowledge into practice. If it was told them, "The lower people murmur against you and revile you," then they paid great and reverent attention to their conduct; and with reference to the faults imputed to them they said, "Our faults are really so," thus not simply shrinking from the cherishing of anger. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), when men with extravagant language and deceptive tricks say to you, "The lower people are murmuring against you and reviling you," you will believe them. Doing this, you will not be always thinking of your princely duties, and will not cultivate a large and generous heart. You will confusedly punish the guiltless, and put the innocent to death. There will be a general murmuring, which will be concentrated upon your person.'

7. The duke of *Kâu* said, 'Oh! let the king, who has succeeded to the throne, make a study of these things.'

BOOK XVI. THE PRINCE SHIH.

THE words 'Prince Shih' occur at the commencement of the Book, and are taken as its title. Shih was the name of the duke of Shão, the author of Book xii. To him the address or announcement here preserved was delivered, and his name is not an inappropriate title for it.

The common view of Chinese critics is that the duke of Shão had announced his purpose to withdraw from office on account of his age, when the duke of *Kâu* persuaded him to remain at his post, and that the reasons which he set before him were recorded in this Book. It may have been so, but the language is far from clearly indicating it. A few expressions, indeed, may be taken as intimating a wish that Shih should continue at court, but some violence has to be put upon them.

I have divided the whole into four chapters, but the two principal ideas in the address are these:—that the favour of Heaven can be permanently secured for a dynasty only by the virtue of its sovereigns; and that that virtue is secured mainly by the counsels and help of virtuous ministers. The ablest sovereigns of Shang are mentioned, and the ministers by whose aid it was, in a great measure, that they became what they were. The cases of Wăn and Wû of their own dynasty, similarly aided by able men, are adduced in the same way; and the speaker adverts to the services which they—the two dukes—had already rendered to their sovereign, and insists that they must go on to the end, and accomplish still greater things.

1. The duke of *Kâu* spoke to the following effect:—'Prince Shih, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment (to the throne), which our House of *Kâu* has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew

it, "The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aid sincerity,"—¹* Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, "The end will issue in our misfortunes." Oh! you have said, O prince, "It depends on ourselves." I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people;*—(the issue) is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence (Heaven) above and (the people) below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in (the retirement of) our families be ignorant of it? The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers.* Now I, Tan, the little child, am not able to make (the king) correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that.' He also said, 'Heaven is not to be trusted. Our course is only to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favouring decree which king Wăn received.'*

2. The duke said, 'Prince Shih, I have heard that aforetime, when Thang the Successful had received the appointment (to the throne), he had with him Í Yin, making (his virtue) like that of great Heaven;* that Thái K'ia had (the same

¹ The text is here defective; or perhaps the speaker purposely left his meaning only half expressed.

Î Yin), the Páo-hăng¹; that Thái-wû² had Î Kih³ and K'ăn Hû³, through whom (his virtue) was made to affect God,* and Wû Hsien³ who regulated the royal House; that 3û-yi³ had Wû Hsien's son; and that Wû-ting had Kan Phan⁴. (These ministers) carried out (their principles), and displayed (their merit), preserving and regulating the dynasty of Yin, so that, while its ceremonies lasted, (those sovereigns), when deceased, were assessors to Heaven⁵,* and its duration extended over many years. Heaven thus determinately maintained its favouring appointment, and Shang was replenished with men. The various heads of great surnames and members of the royal House, holding employments, all held fast their virtue, and showed an anxious solicitude (for the kingdom). The smaller ministers, and the guardian princes in the Hâu and Tien domains, hurried about on their services. Thus did they all exert their virtue and aid their sovereign, so that whatever affairs he, the One man, had in hand, throughout the land, an entire faith was reposed in their justice as in the indications of the shell or the divining stalks.'*

The duke said, 'Prince Shih, Heaven gives length of days to the just and the intelligent; (it was thus

¹ See Part IV, v, sect. 1, ch. 1, where Î Yin is called Â-hăng, nearly=Páo-hăng.

² Thái-wû is the Kung 3ung of last Book. Î Kih would be a son or grandson of Î Yin. Of K'ăn Hû we know only what is stated here.

³ 3û-yi was the eleventh Yin sovereign, reigning B. C. 1525-1507. We know of Wû Hsien only that he was 3û-yi's minister.

⁴ See Part IV, viii, sect. 3, ch. 1.

⁵ That is, they were associated with Heaven in the sacrifices to it.

that those ministers) maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin.* He who came last to the throne granted by Heaven was extinguished by its terrors. Do you think of the distant future, and we shall have the decree (in favour of *Kâu*) made sure, and its good government will be brilliantly exhibited in our newly-founded state.'

3. The duke said, 'Prince Shih, aforetime when God was inflicting calamity (on Yin), he encouraged anew the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, till at last the great favouring decree was concentrated in his person. (But) that king Wăn was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great kingdom which we came to possess, was owing to his having (such ministers) as his brother of Kwo, Hung Yâo, San Í-shăng, Thái Tien, and Nan-kung Kwo.'

He said further, 'But for the ability of those men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from king Wăn on the people. And it also was from the determinate favour of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue, and acting according to their knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten king Wăn, and lead him forward to his high distinction and universal rule, till his fame reached the ears of God, and he received the appointment that had been Yin's.* There were still four of those men who led on king Wû to the possession of the revenues of the kingdom, and afterwards, along with him, in great reverence of the majesty of Heaven, slew all his enemies.* These four men, moreover, made king Wû so illustrious that his glory overspread the kingdom, and (the people) universally and greatly proclaimed his

virtue. Now with me Tan, the little child, it is as if I were floating on a great stream;—with you, O Shih, let me from this time endeavour to cross it. Our young sovereign is (powerless), as if he had not yet ascended the throne. You must by no means lay the whole burden on me; and if you draw yourself up without an effort to supply my deficiencies, no good will flow to the people from our age and experience. We shall not hear the voices of the phoenixes¹, and how much less can it be thought that we shall be able to make (the king's virtue) equal (to Heaven)! ' *

The duke said, 'Oh! consider well these things, O prince. We have received the appointment to which belongs an unlimited amount of blessing, but having great difficulties attached to it. What I announce to you are counsels of a generous largeness.—I cannot allow the successor of our kings to go astray.'

4. The duke said, 'The former king laid bare his heart, and gave full charge to you, constituting you one of the guides and patterns for the people, saying, "Do you with intelligence and energy second and help the king; do you with sincerity support and convey forward the great decree. Think of the virtue of king Wăn, and enter greatly into his boundless anxieties."'

The duke said, 'What I tell you, O prince, are my sincere thoughts. O Shih, the Grand-Protector, if you can but reverently survey with me the decay and great disorders of Yin, and thence consider the

¹ As a token of the goodness of the government and the general prosperity. See Part II, iv, ch. 3.

dread majesty of Heaven (which warns) us!—Am I not to be believed that I must reiterate my words? I simply say, “The establishment (of our dynasty) rests with us two.” Do you agree with me? Then you (also) will say, “It rests with us two.” And the favour of Heaven has come to us so largely :—it should be ours to feel as if we could not sufficiently respond to it. If you can but reverently cultivate your virtue (now), and bring to light our men of eminent ability, then when you resign (your position) to some successor in a time of established security, (I will interpose no objection.)

‘Oh! it is by the earnest service of us two that we have come to the prosperity of the present day. We must both go on, abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of king Wăn, till it has grandly overspread the kingdom, and from the corners of the sea, and the sunrising, there shall not be one who is disobedient to the rule (of *Kâu*).’

The duke said, ‘O prince, have I not spoken in accordance with reason in these many declarations? I am only influenced by anxiety about (the appointment of) Heaven, and about the people.’

The duke said, ‘Oh! you know, O prince, the ways of the people, how at the beginning they can be (all we could desire); but it is the end (that is to be thought of). Act in careful accordance with this fact. Go and reverently exercise the duties of your office.’

BOOK XVII. THE CHARGE TO KUNG OF SHÀI.

SHÀI was the name of the small state or territory, which had been conferred on Tû, the next younger brother of the duke of Kâu. The name still remains in the district of Shang-ghai, department Zû-ning, Ho-nan. Tû was deprived of his state because of his complicity in the rebellion of Wû-kang; but it was subsequently restored to his son Hû by this charge. Hû is here called Kung, that term simply denoting his place in the roll of his brothers or cousins. King K'ang and Hû were cousins,—‘brothers’ according to Chinese usage of terms, and Hû being the younger of the two, was called Shài Kung, ‘the second or younger brother,—of Shài.’

The Book consists of two chapters. The former is of the nature of a preface, giving the details necessary to explain the appointment of Hû. The second contains the king's charge, delivered in his name by the duke of Kâu, directing Hû how to conduct himself, so that he might blot out the memory of his father's misdeeds, and win the praise of the king.

1. When the duke of Kâu was in the place of prime minister and directed all the officers, the (king's) uncles spread abroad an (evil) report, in consequence of which (the duke) put to death the prince of Kwan in Shang¹; confined the prince of Shài in Kwo-lin², with an attendance of seven chariots; and reduced the prince of Hwo³ to be a private man, causing his name to be erased from the registers for three years. The son of the prince

¹ The prince of Kwan—corresponding to the present K'ang Kâu, department Khai-fang, Ho-nan—was the third of the sons of king Wân, and older than the duke of Kâu. The Shang where he was put to death was probably what had been the capital of the Shang kings.

² We do not know where Kwo-lin was.

³ The name of Hwo remains in Hwo Kâu, department Phing-yang, Shan-hsi. The prince of Hwo was the eighth of Wân's sons.

of 3hâi having displayed a reverent virtue, the duke of Kâu made him a high minister, and when his father died, requested a decree from the king, investing him with the country of 3hâi.

2. 'The king speaks to this effect:—"My little child, Hû, you follow the virtue (of our ancestors), and have changed from the conduct (of your father); you are able to take heed to your ways;—I therefore appoint you to be a marquis in the east. Go to your fief, and be reverent!

"In order that you may cover the faults of your father, be loyal, be filial¹. Urge on your steps in your own way, diligent and never idle, and so shall you hand down an example to your descendants. Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather king Wăn, and be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders.

"Great Heaven has no partial affections;—it helps only the virtuous.* The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment;—they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder. Be cautious!

"In giving heed to the beginning think of the end;—the end will then be without distress. If you do not think of the end, it will be full of distress, even of the greatest.

"Exert yourself to achieve your proper merit. Seek to be in harmony with all your neighbours.

¹ Hû's father had not been filial. When he is told to be filial, there underlies the words the idea of the solidarity of the family. His copying the example of his grandfather would be the best service he could render to his father.

Be a fence to the royal House. Live in amity with your brethren. Tranquillize and help the lower people.

“Follow the course of the Mean, and do not by aiming to be intelligent throw old statutes into confusion. Watch over what you see and hear, and do not for one-sided words deviate from the right rule. Then I, the One man, will praise you.”

‘The king says, “Oh! my little child, Hû, go, and do not idly throw away my charge.”’

BOOK XVIII. THE NUMEROUS REGIONS.

THE king has returned to his capital in triumph, having put down rebellion in the east, and specially extinguished the state or tribe of Yen. The third chapter of Book xiv contained a reference to an expedition against Yen. Critics are divided on the point of whether the expedition mentioned in this Book was the same as that, or another; and our sources of information are not sufficient to enable us to pronounce positively in the case. If we may credit what Mencius says, the Records of the Shû do not tell us a tithe of the wars carried on by the duke of Kâu to establish the new dynasty:—‘He smote Yen, and after three years put its ruler to death. He drove Fei-lien to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The states which he extinguished amounted to fifty’ (Mencius, III, ii, ch. 9).

However this point be settled, on the occasion when the announcement in this Book was delivered, a great assembly of princes and nobles—the old officers of Yin or Shang, and chiefs from many regions—was met together. They are all supposed to have been secretly, if not openly, in sympathy with the rebellion which has been trampled out, and to grudge to yield submission to the rule of Kâu. The king, by the duke of Kâu, reasons and expostulates with them. He insists on the leniency with which they had been treated in the past; and whereas they might be saying that Kâu’s overthrow of the Yin dynasty was a usurpation, he shows that it was from the will of Heaven.

The history of the nation is then reviewed, and it is made to appear that king Wû had displaced the kings of Yin or Shang, just as Thang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, had displaced those of Hsiâ. It was their duty therefore to submit to K'âu. If they did not avail themselves of its leniency, they should be dealt with in another way.

Having thus spoken, the duke turns, in the fourth of the five chapters into which I have divided the Book, and addresses the many officers of the states, and especially those of Yin, who had been removed to Lo, speaking to them, as 'the Numerous Officers,' after the style of Book xiv. Finally, he admonishes them all that it is time to begin a new course. If they do well, it will be well with them; if they continue perverse, they will have to blame themselves for the consequences.

1. In the fifth month, on the day Ting-hâi, the king arrived from Yen, and came to (Hâo), the honoured (capital of) K'âu. The duke of K'âu said, 'The king speaks to the following effect: "Ho! I make an announcement to you of the four states, and the numerous (other) regions. Ye who were the officers and people of the prince of Yin, I have dealt very leniently as regards your lives, as ye all know. You kept reckoning greatly on (some) decree of Heaven, and did not keep with perpetual awe before your thoughts (the preservation of) your sacrifices¹.*

"God sent down correction on Hsiâ, but the sovereign (only) increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He showed himself dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leadings of God:—this is what you have heard.* He kept reckoning on the

¹ The extinction of the sacrifices of a state was its utter overthrow. None were left—or if some might be left, none of them were permitted—to continue the sacrifices to its founder and his descendants.

decree of God (in his favour), and did not cultivate the means for the people's support.* By great inflictions of punishment also he increased the disorder of the states of Hsiâ. The first cause (of his evil course) was the internal misrule¹, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he endeavour to find and employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people; but where any of the people of Hsiâ were covetous and fierce, he daily honoured them, and they practised cruel tortures in the cities. Heaven on this sought a (true) lord for the people, and made its distinguished and favouring decree light on Thang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Hsiâ.* Heaven's refusal of its favour (to Hsiâ) was decided. The righteous men of your numerous regions were not permitted to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Hsiâ's (last sovereign) honoured were unable intelligently to maintain the people in the enjoyment (of their lives), but, on the contrary, aided one another in oppressing them, till of the hundred ways of securing (prosperity) they could not promote (one).

“In the case indeed of Thang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your numerous regions that he superseded Hsiâ, and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtue (of a sovereign)², in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him

¹ The vile debaucheries of which Kieh was guilty through his connexion with the notorious Mei-hsf.

² That is, to benevolence or the love of the people.

and were stimulated. From him down to Tt-yi, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments;—thus also exercising a stimulating influence (over the people). When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence; and they did so also when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty. But when the throne came to your (last) sovereign, he could not with (the good will of) your numerous regions continue in the enjoyment of the favouring decree of Heaven.”’*

2. ‘Oh! the king speaks to the following effect:—“I announce and declare to you of the numerous regions, that Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Hsiâ or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your (last) ruler, being in possession of your numerous regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favouring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the (last) sovereign of Hsiâ; his plans of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment (of the kingdom), and Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of the territory (of Shang) put an end (to the line of Hsiâ). In truth, the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his plans of government showed neither purity nor progress, and thus Heaven sent down such ruin on him¹.*’

¹ There must have been something remarkable in the closing period of Kâu-hsin's history, to which the duke alludes in the subsequent specification of five years. We do not know the events of the times sufficiently to say what it was.

“ The wise, through not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. . Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forbore with the descendant (of Thang), to see if he would indeed prove himself the ruler of the people ; but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your numerous regions, making a great impression by its terrors to stir up some one who would look (reverently) to it, but in all your regions there was not one deserving of its favouring regard. But there were the kings of our *Kâu*, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous (government). They could preside over (all services to) spirits and to Heaven.* Heaven thereupon instructed us, and increased our excellence, made choice of us, and gave us the decree of Yin, to rule over your numerous regions.” *

3. “ Why do I now presume to make (these) many declarations ? I have dealt very leniently as regards the lives of you, the people of these four states. Why do you not show a sincere and generous obedience in your numerous regions ? Why do you not aid and co-operate with the kings of our *Kâu*, to secure the enjoyment of Heaven’s favouring decree ? You now still dwell in your dwellings, and cultivate your fields ;—why do you not obey our kings, and consolidate the decree of Heaven ? The paths which you tread are continually those of disquietude ;—have you in your hearts no love for yourselves ? do you refuse so greatly to acquiesce in the ordinance of Heaven ? do you triflingly reject that decree ? do you of yourselves pursue unlawful courses, scheming (by your alleged reasons) for the

approval of upright men? I simply instructed you, and published my announcement¹; with trembling awe I secured and confined (the chief criminals):— I have done so twice and for three times. But if you do not take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives, I will proceed to severe punishments, and put you to death. It is not that we, the sovereigns of Kâu, hold it virtuous to make you untr tranquil, but it is you yourselves who accelerate your crimes (and sufferings).”

4. ‘The king says, “Oh! ho! I tell you, ye many officers of the various regions, and you, ye many officers of Yin, now have ye been hurrying about, doing service to my overseers for five years. There are among you the inferior assistants, the chiefs, and the numerous directors, small and great;—see that ye all attain to the discharge of your duties. Want of harmony (in the life) rises from (the want of it in) one’s (inner) self;—strive to be harmonious. Want of concord in your families (arises from the want of it in your conduct);—strive to be harmonious. When intelligence rules in your cities, then will you be proved to be attentive to your duties. Do not be afraid, I pray you, of the evil ways (of the people); and moreover, by occupying your offices with a reverent harmony, you will find it possible to select from your cities individuals on whose assistance you can calculate. You may thus long continue in this city of Lo², cultivating your fields. Heaven will favour and compassionate you, and we,

¹ Referring probably to ‘the Great Announcement’ in Book vii.

² It would almost seem from this that the announcement was made in Lo; and some critics have argued that Lo was ‘the honoured capital’ in the first sentence.

the sovereigns of *Kâu*, will greatly help you, and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers."

'The king says, "Oh! ye numerous officers, if you cannot exhort one another to pay a sincere regard to my charges, it will further show that you are unable to honour your sovereign; and all the people will (also) say, 'We will not honour him.' Thus will ye be proved slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal charges. Throughout your numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and I will then inflict on you its punishments, removing you far from your country.'"

5. 'The king says, "I do not (wish to) make these many declarations, but it is in a spirit of awe that I lay my commands before you." He further says, "You may now make a (new) beginning. If you cannot reverently realize the harmony (which I enjoin), do not (hereafter) murmur against me.'"

BOOK XIX. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

THE phrase, 'the Establishment of Government,' occurs several times in the course of the Book, and is thence taken to denominate it,—appropriately enough. The subject treated of throughout, is how good government may be established.

Some Chinese critics maintain that the text as it stands is very confused, 'head and tail in disorder, and without connexion,' and various re-arrangements of it have been proposed, for which, however, there is no manuscript authority. Keeping to the received text, and dividing it into six chapters, we may adopt a summary of its contents approved by the editors of the *Shû*, which was published in the Yung-k'ang reign of the

present dynasty.—In government there is nothing more important than the employment of proper men; and when such men are being sought, the first care should be for those to occupy the three highest positions. When these are properly filled, all the other offices will get their right men, and royal government will be established. The appointment of the officers of business, of pastoral oversight, and of the law, is the great theme of the whole Book, and the concluding words of chapter 1 are its pulse,—may be felt throbbing everywhere in all the sentiments. Chapters 2 and 3 illustrate the subject from the history of the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang; and in chapter 4 it is shown how kings Wân and Wû selected their officers, and initiated the happy state which was still continuing. In chapter 5 there is set forth the duty of the king to put away from him men of artful tongues; to employ the good, distinguished by their habits of virtue; to be always well prepared for war; and to be very careful of his conduct in the matter of litigations. Chapter 6 seems to have hardly any connexion with the rest of the Book, and is probably a fragment of one of the lost Books of the Shû, that has got tacked on to this.

The Book belongs to the class of 'Instructions,' and was made, I suppose, after the duke of Kâu had retired from his regency.

I. The duke of Kâu spoke to the following effect:—'With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne.' In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, 'In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents¹, the regular ministers², and the officers of justice;—the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.' The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them.'

¹ We must understand by these the chiefs or presidents who had a certain jurisdiction over several states and their princes.

² The high ministers of Instruction, War, Works, &c.

2. 'Among the ancients who exemplified (this anxiety) there was the founder of the Hsiâ dynasty. When his House was in its greatest strength, he sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties).^{*} (His advisers), when they knew of men thoroughly proved and trustworthy in the practice of the nine virtues¹, would then presume to inform and instruct their sovereign, saying, "With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, O sovereign, we would say, Let (such an one) occupy one of your high offices: Let (such an one) be one of your pastors: Let (such an one) be one of your officers of justice. By such appointments you will fulfil your duty as sovereign. If you judge by the face only, and therefrom deem men well schooled in virtue, and appoint them, then those three positions will all be occupied by unrighteous individuals." The way of Kieh, however, was not to observe this precedent. Those whom he employed were cruel men;—and he left no successor.'

3. 'After this there was Thang the Successful, who, rising to the throne, grandly administered the bright ordinances of God.^{*} He employed, to fill the three (high) positions, those who were equal to them; and those who were called possessors of the three kinds of ability² would display that ability.

¹ See chapter 2 of 'the Counsels of Kâo-yâo' in Part II.

² Some suppose that men are intended here who possessed 'the three virtues' of 'the Great Plan.' I think rather that men are intended who had talents and virtue which would make them eligible to the three highest positions. Thang had his notice fixed on such men, and was prepared to call them to office at the proper time.

He then studied them severely, and greatly imitated them, making the utmost of them in their three positions and with their three kinds of ability. The people in the cities of Shang¹ were thereby all brought to harmony, and those in the four quarters of the kingdom were brought greatly under the influence of the virtue thus displayed. Oh! when the throne came to Shâu, his character was all violence. He preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him in the government of his states; and at the same time, the host of his associates, men who counted idleness a virtue, shared the offices of his court. God then sovereignly punished him, and caused us to possess the great land, enjoy the favouring decree which Shâu had (afore) received, and govern all the people in their myriad realms.' *

4. 'Then subsequently there were king Wăn and king Wû, who knew well the minds of those whom they put in the three positions, and saw clearly the minds of those who had the three grades of ability. Thus they could employ them to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people. In establishing their government, the three things which principally concerned them were to find the men for (high) offices, the officers of justice, and the pastors. (They had also) the guards; the keepers of the robes; their equeries; their heads of small departments; their personal attendants; their various overseers; and their treasurers. They had their governors of the larger and smaller cities assigned in the royal domain to the

¹ That is, within the royal domain.

nobles; their men of arts¹; their overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand historiographers; and their heads of departments;—all good men of constant virtue.

‘(In the external states) there were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Works, with the many officers subordinate to them. Among the wild tribes, such as the Wei, the Lû, and the *Khăng*², in the three Po, and at the dangerous passes, they had wardens.

‘King Wăn was able to make the minds of those in the (three high) positions his own, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not appear himself in the various notifications, in litigations, and in precautionary measures. There were the officers and pastors (to attend to them), whom he (simply) taught to be obedient (to his wishes), and not to be disobedient. (Yea), as to litigations and precautionary measures, he (would seem as if he) did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wû, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not presume to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, but entered into his plans, and employed, as before, those men. Thus it was that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.’

¹ All who employed their arts in the service of the government;—officers of prayer, clerks, archers, charioteers, doctors, diviners, and the practisers of the various mechanical arts, &c.

² Compare what is said in ‘the Speech at Mû,’ ch. 1. The *Khăng* are not mentioned there. It would seem to be the name of a wild tribe. The three Po had all been capitals of the Shang kings, and their people required the special attention of the sovereigns of *Kâu*.

5. 'Oh! young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the (high) officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors;—be it ours clearly to know what courses are natural to these men, and then fully to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the people whom we have received, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us never allow others to come between us and them. (Yea), in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of (these) officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people that we have received.

'Oh! I, Tan, have received these excellent words of others¹, and tell them all to you, young son, the king. From this time forth, O accomplished son (of Wû), accomplished grandson (of Wăn), do not err in regard to the litigations and precautionary measures;—let the proper officers manage them. From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to king Wăn of our Kâu, in establishing government, when they appointed (high) officers, pastors, and officers of the laws, they settled them in their positions, and allowed them to unfold their talents;—thus giving the regulation of affairs into their hands. In the kingdom, never has there been the establishment of government by the employment of artful-tongued men; (with such men), unlesioned in virtue, never can a government be distinguished in the world. From this time forth, in establishing government, make no use of artful-tongued men,

¹ Probably all the other officers or ministers referred to in ch. 1. They are there prepared to speak their views, when the duke of Kâu takes all the discoursing on himself.

but (seek for) good officers, and get them to use all their powers in aiding the government of our country. Now, O accomplished son (of Wû), accomplished grandson (of Wăn), young son, the king, do not err in the matter of litigations;—there are the officers and pastors (to attend to them).

‘Have well arranged (also) your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yü, and traverse all under the sky, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission:—so shall you display the bright glory of king Wăn, and render more illustrious the great achievements of king Wû¹.

‘Oh! from this time forth, may (our) future kings, in establishing the government, be able to employ men of constant virtue!’

6. The duke of *Kâu* spoke to the following effect:—‘O grand historiographer, the duke of *Sû*, the Minister of Crime, dealt reverently with all the criminal matters that came before him, and thereby perpetuated the fortunes of our kingdom. Here was an example of anxious solicitude (for future ministers), whereby they may rank with him in the ordering of the appropriate punishments².’

¹ At the close of his address to prince Shih, Book xvi, the duke of *Kâu* breaks all at once into a warlike mood, as he does here.

² I have said in the introductory note that this chapter does not seem to have any connexion with the rest of the Book. From a passage in the *30 Kwan*, under the eleventh year of duke *Khăng*, we learn that a *Sû Făn-shăng*, or *Făn-shăng* of *Sû*, was Minister of Crime to king Wû. It is probably to him that the duke here alludes.

BOOK XX. THE OFFICERS OF K'AU.

'THE Officers of K'au' contains a general outline of the official system of the K'au dynasty, detailing the names and functions of the principal ministers about the court and others, to whom, moreover, various counsels are addressed by the king who speaks in it,—no doubt, king K'äng. Chinese critics class it with the 'Instructions' of the Shŭ, but it belongs rather to the 'Announcements.'

There is no mention in it of the duke of K'au; and its date must therefore be in some year after he had retired from the regency, and resigned the government into the king's own hands.

The Book has a beginning, middle, and end, more distinctly marked than they are in many of the documents in the Shŭ. The whole is divided into five chapters. The first is introductory, and describes the condition of the kingdom, when the arrangements of the official system were announced. In the second, the king refers to the arrangements of former dynasties. In the third, he sets forth the principal offices of state, the ministers of which had their residence at court, and goes on to the arrangements for the administration of the provinces. The two other chapters contain many excellent advices to the ministers and officers to discharge their duties so that the fortunes of the dynasty might be consolidated, and no dissatisfaction arise among the myriad states.

1. The king of K'au brought the myriad regions (of the kingdom) to tranquillity; he made a tour of inspection through the Hâu and Tien tenures; he punished on all sides the chiefs who had refused to appear at court; thus securing the repose of the millions of the people, and all the (princes in the) six tenures acknowledging his virtue. He then returned to the honoured capital of K'au, and strictly regulated the officers of the administration.

2. The king said, 'It was the grand method of former times to regulate the government while there

was no confusion, and to secure the country while there was no danger.' He said, 'Yáo and Shun, having studied antiquity¹, established a hundred officers. At court, there were the General Regulator and (the President of) the Four Mountains; abroad, there were the pastors of the provinces and the princes of states. Thus the various departments of government went on harmoniously, and the myriad states all enjoyed repose. Under the dynasties of Hsiá and Shang, the number of officers was doubled, and they were able still to secure good government. (Those early) intelligent kings, in establishing their government, cared not so much about the number of the offices as about the men (to occupy them). Now I, the little child, cultivate with reverence my virtue, concerned day and night about my deficiencies; I look up to (those) former dynasties, and seek to conform to them, while I instruct and direct you, my officers.'

3. 'I appoint the Grand-Master, the Grand-Assistant, and the Grand-Guardian. These are the three Kung². They discourse about the principles

¹ It is the same phrase here, which occurs at the beginning of the Canons of Yáo and Shun, and of some other Books. It may be inferred, as P. Gaubil says, that Yáo and Shun had certain sources of knowledge, that is to say, some history of the times anterior to their own.

² That is, 'the three dukes;' but the term is here a name of office, more than of nobility, as is evident from the name of the three K'au, who were next to them. K'au was not used as a term expressing any order of nobility. It would seem to indicate that, while the men holding the office were assistant to the Kung, they yet had a distinct standing of their own. The offices of Grand-Master &c. had existed under the Shang dynasty; see Book xi, Part IV.

of reason¹ and adjust the states, harmonizing (also) and regulating the operations (in nature) of heaven and earth². These offices need not (always) be filled; there must (first) be the men for them.

‘(I appoint) the Junior Master, the Junior Assistant, and the Junior Guardian. These are called the three Kû³. They assist the Kung to diffuse widely the transforming influences, and display brightly with reverence (the powers of) heaven and earth,—assisting me, the One man.

‘(I appoint) the Prime Minister, who presides over the ruling of the (various) regions, has the general management of all the other officers, and secures uniformity within the four seas; the Minister of Instruction, who presides over the education in the states, diffuses a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society, and trains the millions of the people to obedience; the Minister of Religion, who presides over the (sacred) ceremonies of the country, regulates the services rendered to the spirits and manes, and makes a harmony between high and low⁴;* the Minister of War, who presides over the (military) administration of the

¹ Meaning, I suppose, the courses or ways, which it was right for the king, according to reason, to pursue.

² That is, probably, securing the material prosperity of the kingdom, in good seasons, &c.

³ See note 2 on the preceding page.

⁴ The name here for ‘the Minister of Religion’ is the same as that in the Canon of Shun. ‘The spirits and manes’ are ‘the spirits of heaven, earth, and deceased men.’ All festive, funeral, and other ceremonies, as well as those of sacrifices, came under the department of the Minister of Religion, who had therefore to define the order of rank and precedence. This seems to be what is meant by his ‘making a harmony between high and low.’

country, commands the six hosts, and secures the tranquillity of all the regions; the Minister of Crime, who presides over the prohibitions of the country, searches out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punishes oppressors and disturbers of the peace; and the Minister of Works, who presides over the land of the country, settles the four classes of the people, and secures at the proper seasons the produce of the ground¹.

'These six ministers with their different duties lead on their several subordinates, and set an example to the nine pastors of the provinces, enriching and perfecting the condition of the millions of the people. In six years (the lords of) the five tenures appear once at the royal court; and after a second six years, the king makes a tour of inspection in the four seasons, and examines the (various) regulations and measures at the four mountains. The princes appear before him each at the mountain of his quarter; and promotions and degradations are awarded with great intelligence.'

4. The king said, 'Oh! all ye men of virtue, my occupiers of office, pay reverent attention to your charges. Be careful in the commands you issue; for, once issued, they must be carried into effect, and cannot be retracted. Extinguish all selfish aims by your public feeling, and the people will have confidence in you, and be gladly obedient. Study antiquity as a preparation for entering on

¹ Out of these six ministers and their departments have grown the Six Boards of the Chinese Government of the present day:—the Board of Civil Office; the Board of Revenue; the Board of Rites; the Board of War; the Board of Punishment; and the Board of Works.

your offices. In deliberating on affairs, form your determinations by help (of such study), and your measures will be free from error. Make the regular statutes of (our own) dynasty your rule, and do not with artful speeches introduce disorder into your offices. To accumulate doubts is the way to ruin your plans; to be idle and indifferent is the way to ruin your government. Without study, you stand facing a wall, and your management of affairs will be full of trouble.

‘I warn you, my high ministers and officers, that exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence; it is by means of bold decision that future difficulties are avoided. Pride comes, along with rank, unperceived, and extravagance in the same way with emolument. Let reverence and economy be (real) virtues with you, unaccompanied with hypocritical display. Practise them as virtues, and your minds will be at ease, and you will daily become more admirable. Practise them in hypocrisy, and your minds will be toiled, and you will daily become more stupid. In the enjoyment of favour think of peril, and never be without a cautious apprehension;—he who is without such apprehension finds himself amidst what is really to be feared. Push forward the worthy, and show deference to the able; and harmony will prevail among all your officers. When they are not harmonious, the government becomes a mass of confusion. If those whom you advance be able for their offices, the ability is yours; if you advance improper men, you are not equal to your position.’

5. The king said, ‘Oh! ye (charged) with the

threefold business (of government)¹, and ye great officers, reverently attend to your departments, and conduct well the affairs under your government, so as to assist your sovereign, and secure the lasting happiness of the millions of the people;—so shall there be no dissatisfaction throughout the myriad states.'

BOOK XXI. THE KÜN-KHĀN.

KÜN-KHĀN was the successor in 'the eastern capital' of the duke of Kâu, who has now passed off the stage of the Shû, which he occupied so long. Between 'the Officers of Kâu' and this Book, there were, when the Shû was complete, two others, which are both lost. We must greatly deplore the loss of the second of them, for it contained an account of the death of the duke of Kâu, and an announcement made by king K'hang by his bier.

Who Kün-khăn, the charge to whom on entering on his important government is here preserved, really was, we are not informed. Some have supposed that he was a son of the duke of Kâu; but we may be sure, from the analogy of other charges, that if he had been so, the fact would have been alluded to in the text. Kün-khăn might be translated 'the prince Khăn,' like Kün Shih in the title of Book xvi, but we know nothing of any territory with which he was invested.

The following summary of the contents is given by a Chinese critic:—'The whole Book may be divided into three chapters. The first relates Kün-khăn's appointment to the government of the eastern capital. The concluding words, "Be reverent,"

¹ 'The threefold business of government' is the appointment of the men of office, the officers of law, and the pastors, 'the three concerns of those in the three highest positions,' as described in the last Book, ch. 4. The king, probably, intends the Kung, the Kû, and the six ministers, whose duties he has spoken of. The 'great officers' will be all the officers inferior to these in their several departments.

are emphatic, and give the key-note to all that follows. The second chapter enjoins on him to exert himself to illustrate the lessons of the duke of Kâu, and thereby transform the people of Yin. The third requires him to give full development to those lessons, and instances various particulars in which his doing so would appear ;—all illustrative of the command at the commencement, that he should be reverent.'

1. The king spake to the following effect :—
'Kün-khân, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial and respectful. Being filial, and friendly with your brethren, you can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border. Be reverent.'

2. 'Formerly, the duke of Kâu acted as teacher and guardian of the myriads of the people, who cherish (the remembrance of) his virtue. Go and with sedulous care enter upon his charge; act in accordance with his regular ways, and exert yourself to illustrate his lessons ;—so shall the people be regulated. I have heard that he said, "Perfect government has a piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual intelligences.* It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue." Do you make this lesson of the duke of Kâu your rule, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease. Ordinary men, while they have not yet seen a sage, (are full of desire) as if they should never get a sight of him; and after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him. Be cautioned by this! You are the wind; the inferior people are the grass. In revolving the plans of your government, never hesitate to acknowledge the difficulty of the subject. Some things have to be abolished, and some new things to be enacted ;—

going out and coming in, seek the judgment of your people about them, and, when there is a general agreement, exert your own powers of reflection. When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your sovereign in the palace. Thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, "This plan or this view is all due to our sovereign." Oh! if all ministers were to act thus, how excellent would they be, and how distinguished!

3. The king said, '*Kün-khăn*, do you give their full development to the great lessons of the duke of *Kâu*. Do not make use of your power to exercise oppression; do not make use of the laws to practise extortion. Be gentle, but with strictness of rule. Promote harmony by the display of an easy forbearance.

'When any of the people of Yin are amenable to punishment, if I say "Punish," do not you therefore punish; and if I say "Spare," do not you therefore spare. Seek the due middle course. Those who are disobedient to your government, and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish, remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing. Those who are inured to villainy and treachery, those who violate the regular duties of society, and those who introduce disorder into the public manners:—those three classes you will not spare, though their particular offences be but small.

'Do not cherish anger against the obstinate, and dislike them. Seek not every quality in one individual. You must have patience, and you will be successful; have forbearance, and your virtue will

be great. Mark those who discharge their duties well, and also mark those who do not do so, (and distinguish them from one another.) Advance the good, to induce those who may not be so to follow (their example).

'The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things,* so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love. Do you but reverently observe the statutes, and they will be found in (the way of) virtue; they will thus all be changed, and truly advance to a great degree of excellence. Then shall I, the One man, receive much happiness, and your excellent services will be famous through long ages!'

BOOK XXII. THE TESTAMENTARY CHARGE.

THIS Book brings us to the closing act of the life of king *K'hang*, whose reign, according to the current chronology, lasted thirty-seven years, ending in B.C. 1079. From the appointment of *Kün-khân* to his death, the king's history is almost a blank. The only events chronicled by *Sze-mâ K'ien* are a coinage of round money with a square hole in the centre,—the prototype of the present cash; and an enactment about the width and length in which pieces of silk and cloth were to be manufactured.

King *K'hang*, feeling that his end is near, calls his principal ministers and other officers around his bed, and commits his son *K'ao* to their care and guidance. The record of all these things and the dying charge form a chapter that ends with the statement of the king's death. The rest of the Book forms a second chapter, in which we have a detailed account of the ceremonies connected with the publication of the charge, and the accession of *K'ao* to the throne. It is an interesting account of the ways of that distant time on such occasions.

1. In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed. On the day *K'ia-*

ize, he washed his hands and face; his attendants put on him his cap and robes¹; (and he sat up), leaning on a gem-adorned bench². He then called together the Grand-Guardian Shih, the earls of Zui and Thung, the duke of Pî, the marquis of Wei, the duke of Mão, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the heads of the various departments, and the superintendents of affairs³.

The king said, 'Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence, and maintains its hold. I am afraid I may not find (another opportunity) to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I (now) lay my charge upon you with special instructions. The former rulers, our kings Wăn and Wû, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their

¹ The king's caps or crowns and robes were many, and for each there was the appropriate occasion. His attendants, no doubt, now dressed king *K'häng* as the rules of court fashions required.

² In those days they sat on the ground upon mats; and for the old or infirm benches or stools were placed, in front of them, to lean forward on. The king had five kinds of stools variously adorned. That with gems was the most honourable.

³ The Grand-Guardian Shih, or the duke of Shão, and the other five dignitaries were, no doubt, the six ministers of the 20th Book. Zui is referred to the present district of *K'áo-yî*, department Hsî-an; and Thung to *Hwâ Kâu*, department Thung-kâu;—both in Shen-hsî. The earl of Zui, it is supposed, was Minister of Instruction, and he of Thung Minister of Religion. Pî corresponded to the present district of *K'hang-an*, department Hsî-an. The duke of Pî was Minister of War, called Duke or Kung, as Grand-Master. It is not known where Mão was. The lord of it was Minister of Works, and Grand-Assistant. The marquis of Wei,—see on Book ix. He was now, it is supposed, Minister of Crime.

instructions. (The people) accorded a practical submission, without any opposition, and the influence (of their example and instructions) extended to Yin, and the great appointment (of Heaven) was secured*. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread (decree) of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wăn and Wú, not daring blindly to transgress them.*

‘Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of these my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son Kào, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the states, small and great, and encourage them (to well-doing). I think how a man has to govern himself in dignity and with decorum;—do not you allow Kào to proceed heedlessly on the impulse of improper motives.’ Immediately on receiving this charge, (the ministers and others) withdrew. The tent¹ was then carried out into

¹ The tent had been prepared when the king sent for his ministers and officers to give them his last charge, and set up outside his chamber in the hall where he was accustomed to hold ‘the audience of government.’ He had walked or been carried to it, and then returned to his apartment when he had expressed his last wishes, while the tent—the curtains and canopy—was carried out into the courtyard.

The palace was much more long or deep than wide, consisting of five series of buildings continued one after another, so that, if all the gates were thrown open, one could walk in a direct line from the first gate to the last. The different parts of it were separated by courts that embraced a large space of ground, and were partly open overhead. The gates leading to the different parts had their particular names, and were all fronting

the court; and on the next day, (being) *Yi-khâu*, the king died.

2. The Grand-Guardian then ordered *Kung Hwan*¹ and *Nan-Kung Mão*¹ to instruct *Lü Kí*, the marquis of *Khí*², with two shield-and-spearmen, and a hundred guards, to meet the prince *Káo* outside the south gate³, and conduct him to (one of) the side-apartments (near to that where the king lay), there to be as chief mourner⁴.

On the day *Ting-mão*, (two days after the king's death), he ordered (the charge) to be recorded on

the south. Outside the second was held 'the outer levee,' where the king received the princes and officers generally. Outside the fifth was held 'the audience of government,' when he met his ministers to consult with them on the business of the state. Inside this gate were the buildings which formed the private apartments, in the hall leading to which was held 'the inner audience,' and where the sovereign feasted those whom he designed specially to honour. Such is the general idea of the ancient palace given by *Kü Hsí*. The gateways included a large space, covered by a roof, supported on pillars.

¹ We know nothing more of these officers but what is here related.

² The marquis of *Khí* was the son of *Thái-kung*, a friend and minister of king *Wán*, who had been enfeoffed by king *Wû* with the state of *Khí*, embracing the present department of *Khing-kâu*, in *Shan-tung*, and other territory. His place at court was that of master of the guards.

³ All the gates might be called 'south gates.' It is not certain whether that intended here was the outer gate of all, or the last, immediately in front of the hall, where the king had given his charge. Whichever it was, the meeting *Káo* in the way described was a public declaration that he had been appointed successor to the throne.

⁴ 'The mourning shed,' spoken of in Part IV, viii, ch. 1, had not yet been set up, and the apartment here indicated—on the east of the hall of audience—was the proper one for the prince to occupy in the mean time.

tablets, and the forms (to be observed in publishing it). Seven days after, on Kwei-yü, as chief (of the west) and premier, he ordered the (proper) officers to prepare the wood (for all the requirements of the funeral)¹.

The salvage men² set out the screens³, ornamented with figures of axes, and the tents. Between the window (and the door), facing the south, they placed the (three)fold mat of fine bamboo splints, with its striped border of white and black silk, and the usual bench adorned with different-coloured gems. In the side-space on the west, which faced the east, they placed the threefold rush mat, with its variegated border, and the usual bench adorned with beautiful shells. In the side-space on the east, which faced the west, they placed the threefold mat of fine grass, with its border of painted silk, and the usual bench carved, and adorned with gems. Before the western side-chamber, and facing the south, they placed the threefold mat of fine bamboo, with its dark mixed border, and the usual lacquered bench⁴.

¹ On the seventh day after his death the king had been shrouded and put into his coffin. But there were still the shell or outer coffin, &c., to be provided.

² These 'salvage men' were, I suppose, natives of the wild Tí tribes, employed to perform the more servile offices about the court. Some of them, we know, were enrolled among the guards.

³ The screens were ornamented with figures of axe-heads, and placed behind the king, under the canopy that overshadowed him.

⁴ All these arrangements seem to have been made in the hall where king K'äng had delivered his charge. He had been accustomed to receive his guests at all the places where the tents, screens, and mats were now set. It was presumed he would be present in spirit at the ceremony of proclaiming his son, and

(They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade), and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces,—all in the side-space on the west; the large piece of jade, the pieces contributed by the wild tribes of the east, the heavenly sounding-stone, and the river-Plan,—all in the side-space on the east; the dancing habits of Yin, the large tortoise-shell, and the large drum,—all in the western apartment; the spear of Tûi, the bow of Ho, and the bamboo arrows of *Khui*,—all in the eastern apartment¹.

The grand carriage was by the guests' steps, facing (the south); the next was by the eastern (or host's) steps, facing (the south). The front carriage was placed before the left lobby, and the one that followed it before the right lobby².

making known to him his dying charge; and as they could not tell at what particular spot the spirit would be, they made all the places ready for it.

¹ The western and eastern apartments were two rooms, east and west of the hall, forming part of the private apartments, behind the side rooms, and of large dimensions. The various articles enumerated were precious relics, and had been favourites with king *Khâng*. They were now displayed to keep up the illusion of the king's still being present in spirit. 'They were set forth,' it is said, 'at the ancestral sacrifices to show that the king could preserve them, and at the ceremony of announcing a testamentary charge to show that he could transmit them.' About the articles themselves it is not necessary to append particular notes. They perished thousands of years ago, and the accounts of them by the best scholars are little more than conjectural.

² The royal carriages were of five kinds, and four of them at least were now set forth inside the last gate, that everything might again be done, as when the king was alive. On the west side of the hall were the guests' steps (or staircase), by which visitors

Two men in brownish leather caps, and holding three-cornered halberts, stood inside the gate leading to the private apartments. Four men in caps of spotted deer-skin, holding spears with blades upturned from the base of the point, stood, one on each side of the steps east and west, and near to the platform of the hall. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the east (end). One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe of a different pattern, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the west end. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance, stood at the front and east of the hall, close by the steps. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance of a different pattern, stood in the corresponding place on the west. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a pointed weapon, stood by the steps on the north side of the hall.

The king, in a linen cap and the variously figured skirt, ascended by the guests' steps, followed by the high ministers, (great) officers, and princes of states, in linen caps and dark-coloured skirts¹. Arrived in the hall, they all took their (proper) places. The Grand-Guardian, the Grand-Historiographer, and the Minister of Religion were all in

ascended, and on the east were those used by the host himself. If one of the royal carriages was absent on this occasion, it must have been that used in war, as not being appropriate at such a time.

¹ All was now ready for the grand ceremony, and the performers, in their appropriate mourning and sacrificial array, take their places in the hall. *K'iao* is here for the first time styled 'king;' but still he goes up by the guests' steps, not presuming to ascend by the others, while his father's corpse was in the hall.

linen caps and red skirts. The Grand-Guardian bore the great mace. The Minister of Religion bore the cup and the mace-cover. These two ascended by the steps on the east¹. The Grand-Historiographer bore the testamentary charge. He ascended by the guests' steps (on the west), and advanced to the king with the tablets containing the charge, and said, 'Our royal sovereign, leaning on the gem-adorned bench, declared his last charge, and commanded you to continue (the observance of) the lessons, and to take the rule of the kingdom of *Káu*, complying with the great laws, and securing the harmony of all under the sky, so as to respond to and display the bright instructions of *Wăn* and *Wû*.'

The king twice bowed (low), and then arose, and replied, 'I am utterly insignificant and but a child, how should I be able to govern the four quarters (of the kingdom) with a corresponding reverent awe of the dread majesty of Heaven!'^{*} He then received the cup and the mace-cover. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced with a cup of spirits (to the east of the coffin); thrice he sacrificed (to the spirit of his father);^{*} and thrice he put the cup down. The Minister of Religion said, 'It is accepted'².^{*}

¹ The Grand-Guardian and the Minister of Religion ascended by the eastern steps, because the authority of king *K'hang* was in their persons, to be conveyed by the present ceremony to his son. 'The great mace' was one of the emblems of the royal sovereignty, and 'the cup' also must have been one that only the king could use. 'The mace-cover' was an instrument by which the genuineness of the symbols of their rank conferred on the different princes was tested.

² According to *Khung Ying-tâ*, when the king received the record of the charge, he was standing at the top of the eastern steps, a little eastwards, with his face to the north. The Historiographer stood by king *K'hang*'s coffin, on the south-west of it, with his face

The Grand-Guardian received the cup, descended the steps, and washed his hands¹. He then took another cup, (placed it on) a half-mace which he carried, and repeated the sacrifice².* He then gave the cup to one of the attendants of the Minister of Religion, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian took a cup again, and poured out the spirits in sacrifice.* He then just tasted the spirits, returned to his place, gave the cup to the attendant, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian descended from the hall, after which the various (sacrificial) articles were removed, and the princes all went out at the temple gate³ and waited.

to the east. There he read the charge, after which the king bowed twice, and the Minister of Religion, on the south-west of the king, presented the cup and mace-cover. The king took them, and, having given the cover in charge to an attendant, advanced with the cup to the place between the pillars where the sacrificial spirits were placed. Having filled a cup, he advanced to the east of the coffin, and stood with his face to the west; then going to the spot where his father's spirit was supposed to be, he sacrificed, pouring out the spirits on the ground, and then he put the cup on the bench appropriated for it. This he repeated three times. At the conclusion the Minister of Religion conveyed to him a message from the spirit of his father, that his offering was accepted.

¹ Preparatory, that is, to his offering a sacrifice.

² That is, probably, repeated the sacrifice to the spirit of king *Khâng*, as if to inform him that his charge had been communicated to his son. The half-mace was used as a handle for the sacrificial cup. This ceremony appears to have been gone through twice. The Grand-Guardian's bowing was to the spirit of king *Khâng*, and the new king returned the obeisance for his father.

³ Meaning the fifth or last gate of the palace. The private apartments had for the time, through the presence of the coffin and by the sacrifices, been converted into a sort of ancestral temple.

BOOK XXIII.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF KING KHANG.

KHANG was the honorary sacrificial title conferred on K'ao, the son and successor of king K'hang. His reign lasted from B.C. 1078 to 1053. Khang, as an honorary title, has various meanings. In the text it probably denotes—'Who caused the people to be tranquil and happy.'

Immediately on his accession to the throne, as described in the last Book, king Khang made the Announcement which is here recorded. Indeed the two Books would almost seem to form only one, and as such they appeared in the Shû of Fû, as related in the Introduction.

The princes, with whose departure from the inner hall of the palace the last Book concludes, are introduced again to the king in the court between the fourth and fifth gates, and do homage to him after their fashion, cautioning also and advising him about the discharge of his high duties. He responds with the declaration which has given name to the Book, referring to his predecessors, and asking the assistance of all his hearers, that his reign may be a not unworthy sequel of theirs. With this the proceedings terminate, and the king resumes his mourning dress which he had put off for the occasion. The whole thus falls into three chapters.

1. The king came forth and stood (in the space) within the fourth gate of the palace, when the Grand-Guardian led in the princes of the western regions by the left (half) of the gate, and the duke of Pi those of the eastern regions by the right (half)¹. They then all caused their teams of light bay horses, with their manes and tails dyed red, to be exhibited;—and, (as the king's) guests, lifted up their rank-symbols, and (the other) presents (they had brought)²,

¹ See note on these ministers, p. 235.

² These presents were in addition to the teams of horses exhibited in the courtyard;—silks and lighter productions of their various territories.

saying, 'We your servants, defenders (of the throne), venture to bring the productions of our territories, and lay them here.' (With these words) they all did obeisance twice, laying their heads on the ground. The king, as the righteous successor to the virtue of those who had gone before him, returned their obeisance.

The Grand-Guardian and the earl of Zui, with all the rest, then advanced and bowed to each other, after which they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground, and said, 'O Son of Heaven, we venture respectfully to declare our sentiments. Great Heaven altered its decree which the great House of Yin had received, and Wăn and Wû of our Kâu grandly received the same, and carried it out, manifesting their kindly government in the western regions. His recently ascended majesty,* rewarding and punishing exactly in accordance with what was right, fully established their achievements, and transmitted this happy state to his successors. Do you, O king, now be reverent. Maintain your armies in great order, and do not allow the rarely equalled appointment of our high ancestors to come to harm.'*

2. The king spoke to the following effect:—'Ye princes of the various states, chiefs of the Hâu, Tien, Nan, and Wei domains, I, K'ao, the One man, make an announcement in return (for your advice). The former rulers, Wăn and Wû, were greatly just and enriched (the people). They did not occupy themselves to find out people's crimes. Pushing to the utmost and maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious all under heaven. Then they had officers brave as bears and

grisly bears, and ministers of no double heart, who (helped them) to maintain and regulate the royal House. Thus (did they receive) the true favouring decree from God, and thus did great Heaven approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters (of the land).^{*} Then they appointed and set up principalities, and established bulwarks (to the throne), for the sake of us, their successors. Now do ye, my uncles¹, I pray you, consider with one another, and carry out the service which the dukes, your predecessors, rendered to my predecessors. Though your persons be distant, let your hearts be in the royal House. Enter thus into my anxieties, and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not be put to shame.'

3. The dukes and all the others, having heard this charge, bowed to one another, and hastily withdrew. The king put off his cap, and assumed again his mourning dress.

BOOK XXIV. THE CHARGE TO THE DUKE OF PĪ.

THE king who delivers the charge in this Book was Khang, and the only events of his reign of twenty-six years of which we have any account in the Shû and in Sze-mâ K'ien are it and the preceding announcement.

Book xxi relates the appointment of K'ün-khân, by king K'hang, to the charge which was now, on his death, entrusted to the duke of PĪ, who is mentioned at the commencement of 'the Testamentary Charge.' By the labours of the duke of K'âu and K'ün-khân a considerable change had been effected in the character of the people of Yin, who had been transferred to the new capital and its neighbourhood; and king Khang now

¹ Meaning the various princes, and especially those bearing the same surname as himself.

appoints the duke of Pî to enter into and complete their work.

After an introductory paragraph, the charge, in three chapters, occupies all the rest of the Book. The first of them speaks of what had been accomplished, and the admirable qualities of the duke which fitted him to accomplish what remained to be done. The second speaks of the special measures which were called for by the original character and the altered character of the people. The third dwells on the importance of the charge, and stimulates the duke, by various considerations, to address himself to fulfil it effectually.

1. In the sixth month of his twelfth year, the day of the new moon's appearance was Kǎng-wû, and on Zǎn-shǎn, the third day after, the king walked in the morning from the honoured capital of Kâu to Fǎng¹, and there, with reference to the multitudes of Kǎng-kâu², gave charge to the duke of Pî³ to protect and regulate the eastern border.

2. The king spoke to the following effect :—
'Oh! Grand-Master, it was when Wǎn and Wû had diffused their great virtue all under heaven, that they therefore received the appointment which Yin had enjoyed.* The duke of Kâu acted as assistant to my royal predecessors, and tranquillized and established their kingdom. Cautiously did he deal with the refractory people of Yin, and removed them to the city of Lo, that they might be quietly near the royal House, and be transformed by its

¹ That is, he went from Hào, founded by king Wû, to Fǎng the capital of Wǎn. The king wished to give his charge in the temple of king Wǎn, because the duke of Pî had been one of his ministers.

² Kǎng-kâu was a name of the new or 'lower' capital of Lo, perhaps as giving 'completion,' or full establishment to the dynasty.

³ The duke of Pî had succeeded the duke of Kâu, in the office of Grand-Master, under king Kǎng.

lessons. Six and thirty years have elapsed¹; the generation has been changed; and manners have altered. Through the four quarters of the land there is no occasion for anxiety, and I, the One man, enjoy repose.

‘The prevailing ways now tend to advancement and now to degeneracy, and measures of government must be varied according to the manners (of the time). If you (now) do not manifest your approval of what is good, the people will not be led to stimulate themselves in it. But your virtue, O duke, is strenuous, and you are cautiously attentive to the smallest things. You have been helpful to and brightened four reigns²; with deportment all correct leading on the inferior officers, so that there is not one who does not reverently take your words as a law. Your admirable merits were many (and great) in the times of my predecessors; I, the little child, have but to let my robes hang down, and fold my hands, while I look up for the complete effect (of your measures).’

3. The king said, ‘Oh! Grand-Master, I now reverently charge you with the duties of the duke of *Káu*. Go! Signalize the good, separating the bad from them; give tokens of your approbation in their neighbourhoods³, making it ill for the evil by such distinction of the good, and thus establishing the influence and reputation (of their virtue). When the people will not obey your lessons and statutes,

¹ Probably, from the death of the duke of *Káu*.

² Those of *Wán*, *Wú*, *K’áng*, and the existing reign of *Khang*.

³ Setting up, that is, some conspicuous monument, with an inscription testifying his approbation. All over China, at the present day, such testimonials are met with.

mark off the boundaries of their hamlets, making them fear (to do evil), and desire (to do good). Define anew the borders and frontiers, and be careful to strengthen the guard-posts through the territory, in order to secure tranquillity (within) the four seas. In measures of government to be consistent and constant, and in proclamations a combination of completeness and brevity, are valuable. There should not be the love of what is extraordinary. Among the customs of Shang was the flattery of superiors; sharp-tonguedness was the sign of worth. The remains of these manners are not yet obliterated. Do you, O duke, bear this in mind. I have heard the saying, "Families which have for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe the rules of propriety. They become dissolute, and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in positive opposition to the way of Heaven. They ruin the formative principles of good; encourage extravagance and display; and tend to carry all (future ages) on the same stream with them." Now the officers of Yin had long relied on the favour which they enjoyed. In the confidence of their prideful extravagance they extinguished their (sense of) righteousness. They displayed before men the beauty of their robes, proud, licentious, arrogant, and boastful;—the natural issue was that they should end in being thoroughly bad. Although their lost minds have (in a measure) been recovered, it is difficult to keep them under proper restraint. If with their property and wealth they can be brought under the influence of instruction, they may enjoy lengthened years, virtue, and righteousness!—these are the great lessons. If you do not follow

in dealing with them these lessons of antiquity, wherein will you instruct them?’

4. The king said, ‘Oh! Grand-Master, the security or the danger of the kingdom depends on those officers of Yin. If you are not (too) stern with them nor (too) mild, their virtue will be truly cultivated. The duke of *Kâu* exercised the necessary caution at the beginning (of the undertaking); *Kün-khân* displayed the harmony proper to the middle of it; and you, O duke, can bring it at last to a successful issue. You three princes will have been one in aim, and will have equally pursued the proper way. The penetrating power of your principles, and the good character of your measures of government, will exert an enriching influence on the character of the people, so that the wild tribes, with their coats buttoning on the left¹, will all find their proper support in them, and I, the little child, will long enjoy much happiness. Thus, O duke, there in *Khăng-kâu* will you establish for ever the power (of *Kâu*), and you will have an inexhaustible fame. Your descendants will follow your perfect pattern, governing accordingly.

‘Oh! do not say, “I am unequal to this;” but exert your mind to the utmost. Do not say, “The people are few;” but attend carefully to your business. Reverently follow the accomplished achievements of the former kings, and complete the excellence of the government of your predecessors.’

¹ Confucius once praised Kwan Kung, a great minister of *Khî*, in the seventh century B.C., for his services against the wild tribes of his time, saying, that but for him they in China would be wearing their hair dishevelled, and buttoning the lappets of their coats on the left side. See *Analects*, XIV, xviii. The long robes and jackets of the Chinese generally stretch over on the right side of the chest, and are there buttoned.

BOOK XXV. THE KÜN-YÂ.

ACCORDING to the note in the Preface to the Shŭ, the charge delivered in this Book to Kün-yâ, or possibly 'the prince Yâ,' was by king Mû; and its dictum is not challenged by any Chinese critic. The reign of king Khâo, who succeeded to Khang, is thus passed over in the documents of the Shŭ. Mû was the son and successor of Khâo, and reigned from B.C. 1001 to 947.

Kün-yâ's surname is not known. He is here appointed to be Minister of Instruction, and as it is intimated that his father and grandfather had been in the same office, it is conjectured that he was the grandson of the earl of Zui, who was Minister of Instruction at the beginning of the reign of king Khang.

The Book is short, speaking of the duties of the office, and stimulating Yâ to the discharge of them by considerations drawn from the merits of his forefathers, and the services which he would render to the dynasty and his sovereign.

1. The king spoke to the following effect:—
 'Oh! Kün-yâ, your grandfather and your father, one after the other, with a true loyalty and honesty, laboured in the service of the royal House, accomplishing a merit that was recorded on the grand banner¹. I, the little child, have become charged by inheritance with the line of government transmitted from Wăn and Wû, from Khăng and Khang; I also keep thinking of their ministers who aided them in the good government of the kingdom; the trembling anxiety of my mind makes me feel as if I were treading on a tiger's tail, or walking upon spring ice. I now give you charge to assist me;

¹ The grand banner was borne aloft when the king went to sacrifice. There were figures of the sun and moon on it, and dragons lying along its breadth, one over the other, head above tail. The names of meritorious ministers were inscribed on it during their lifetime, preparatory to their sharing in the sacrifices of the ancestral temple after their death.

be as my limbs to me, as my heart and backbone. Continue their old service, and do not disgrace your grandfather and father.

‘Diffuse widely (the knowledge of) the five invariable relations (of society), and reverently seek to produce a harmonious observance of the duties belonging to them among the people. If you are correct in your own person, none will dare to be but correct. The minds of the people cannot attain to the right mean (of duty);—they must be guided by your attaining to it. In the heat and rains of summer, the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it is with them in the great cold of winter. How great are their hardships! Think of their hardships in order to seek to promote their ease; and the people will be tranquil. Oh! how great and splendid were the plans of king Wăn! How greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wû! All in principle correct, and deficient in nothing, they are for the help and guidance of us their descendants. Do you with reverence and wisdom carry out your instructions, enabling me to honour and follow the example of my (immediate) predecessors, and to respond to and display the bright decree conferred on Wăn and Wû;—so shall you be the mate of your by-gone fathers.’

2. The king spoke to the following effect:—
‘Kün-yä, do you take for your rule the lessons afforded by the courses of your excellent fathers. The good or the bad order of the people depends on this. You will thus follow the practice of your grandfather and father, and make the good government of your sovereign illustrious.’

BOOK XXVI. THE CHARGE TO *K'hiung*.

THE charge recorded here, like that in the last Book, is assigned to king Mû. It was delivered on the appointment of a *K'hiung* or Po-*k'hiung* (that is, the eldest *K'hiung*, the eldest brother in his family) to be High Chamberlain. Of this *K'hiung* we know nothing more than we learn from the Shŭ. He was no high dignitary of state. That the charge to him found a place in the Shŭ, we are told, shows how important it was thought that men in the lowest positions, yet coming into contact with the sovereign, should possess correct principles and an earnest desire for his progress in intelligence and virtue.

King Mû represents himself as conscious of his own incompetencies, and impressed with a sense of the high duties devolving on him. His predecessors, much superior to himself, were yet greatly indebted to the aid of the officers about them ;—how much more must this be the case with him !

He proceeds to appoint *K'hiung* to be the High Chamberlain, telling him how he should guide correctly all the other servants about the royal person, so that none but good influences should be near to act upon the king ;—telling him also the manner of men whom he should employ, and the care he should exercise in the selection of them.

The king spoke to the following effect :—‘ Po-*k'hiung*, I come short in virtue, and have succeeded to the former kings, to occupy the great throne. I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position). I rise at midnight, and think how I can avoid falling into errors. Formerly Wăn and Wû were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage, while their ministers, small and great, all cherished loyalty and goodness. Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers were all men of correctness ; morning and evening waiting on their sovereign’s wishes, or supplying his deficiencies. (Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting

down, were thus made reverent. Their every warning or command was good. The people yielded a reverent obedience, and the myriad regions were all happy. But I, the One man, am destitute of goodness, and really depend on the officers who have places about me to help my deficiencies, applying the line to my faults, and exhibiting my errors, thus correcting my bad heart, and enabling me to be the successor of my meritorious predecessors.

‘Now I appoint you to be High Chamberlain, to see that all the officers in your department and my personal attendants are upright and correct, that they strive to promote the virtue of their sovereign, and together supply my deficiencies. Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not employ men of artful speech and insinuating looks, men whose likes and dislikes are ruled by mine, one-sided men and flatterers; but employ good men. When these household officers are correct, the sovereign will be correct; when they are flatterers, the sovereign will consider himself a sage. His virtue or his want of it equally depends on them. Cultivate no intimacy with flatterers, nor get them to do duty for me as my ears and eyes;—they will lead their sovereign to disregard the statutes of the former kings. If you choose the men not for their personal goodness, but for the sake of their bribes, their offices will be made of no effect, your great want of reverence for your sovereign will be apparent, and I will hold you guilty.’

The king said, ‘Oh! be reverent! Ever help your sovereign to follow the regular laws of duty (which he should exemplify).’

BOOK XXVII.

THE MARQUIS OF LÜ ON PUNISHMENTS.

THE charge or charges recorded in this Book were given in the hundredth year of the king's age. The king, it is again understood, was Mû; and the hundredth year of his age would be B. C. 952. The title of the Book in Chinese is simply 'Lü's Punishments,' and I conclude that Lü, or the marquis of Lü, was a high minister who prepared, by the king's orders, a code of punishments for the regulation of the kingdom, in connexion with the undertaking, or the completion, of which the king delivered to his princes and judges the sentiments that are here preserved.

The common view is that Lü is the name of a principality, the marquis of which was Mû's Minister of Crime. Where it was is not well known, and as the Book is quoted in the *Lî Kî* several times under the title of 'Fû on Punishments,' it is supposed that Lü and Fû (a small marquisate in the present Ho-nan) were the same.

The whole Book is divided into seven chapters. The first is merely a brief introduction, the historiographer's account of the circumstances in which king Mû delivered his lessons. Each of the other chapters begins with the words, 'The king said.' The first two of them are an historical resumé of the lessons of antiquity on the subject of punishments, and an inculcation on the princes and officers of justice to give heed to them, and learn from them. The next two tell the princes of the diligence and carefulness to be employed in the use of punishments, and how they can make punishments a blessing. The fourth chapter treats principally of the commutation or redemption of punishments, and has been very strongly condemned by critics and moralists. They express their surprise that such a document should be in the Shû, and, holding that the collection was made by Confucius, venture to ask what the sage meant by admitting it. There is, in fact, no evidence that the redemption of punishments on the scale here laid down, existed in China before Mû's time. It has entered, however, into the penal code of every subsequent dynasty. Great official corruption and depravation of the general morality would seem to be inseparable from such a system. The fifth chapter returns again to the

reverence with which punishments should be employed; and the sixth and last is addressed to future generations, and directs them to the ancient models, in order that punishments may never be but a blessing to the kingdom.

A Chinese critic says that throughout the Book 'virtue' and 'exact adaptation' are the terms that carry the weight of the meaning. Virtue must underlie the use of punishments, of which their exact adaptation will be the manifestation.

1. In reference to the charge to (the marquis of) Lü:—When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with (the people of) the four quarters.

2. The king said, 'According to the teachings of ancient times, *K'ih Yü* was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors¹.

'Among the people of Miáo, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression², calling them the laws. They

¹ *K'ih Yü*, as has been observed in the Introduction, p. 27, is the most ancient name mentioned in the *Shü*, and carries us back, according to the Chinese chronologists, nearly to the beginning of the twenty-seventh century B. C. P. Gaubil translates the characters which appear in the English text here as 'According to the teachings of ancient times' by 'Selon les anciens documents,' which is more than the Chinese text says.—It is remarkable that at the commencement of Chinese history, Chinese tradition placed a period of innocence, a season when order and virtue ruled in men's affairs.

² I do not think it is intended to say here that 'the five punishments' were invented by the chiefs of the Miáo; but only that

slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favour of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were (in danger of) being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their (cruel) punishments.*

‘The great Tî¹ compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and (finally) extinguished the people of Miáo, so that they should not con-

these used them excessively and barbarously. From two passages in the Canon of Shun, we conclude that that monarch was acquainted with ‘the five great inflictions or punishments,’ and gave instructions to his minister Káo-yáo as to their use.

¹ Here is the name—Hwang Tî—by which the sovereigns of China have been styled from B.C. 221, since the emperor of K’in, on his extinction of the feudal states, enacted that it should be borne by himself and his descendants. I have spoken of the meaning of Tî and of the title Hwang Tî in the note on the translation of the Shū appended to the Preface. There can be no doubt that it was Shun whom king Mû intended by the name. A few sentences further on, the mention of Po-î and Yü leads us to the time subsequent to Yáo, and there does not appear to be any change of subject in the paragraph. We get from this Book a higher idea of the power of the Miáo than from the Books of Part II.

tinue to future generations. Then he commissioned *Khung* and *Lî*¹ to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased¹. From the princes down to the

¹ *Khung* and *Lî* are nowhere met with in the previous parts of the *Shû*, nor in any other reliable documents of history, as officers of *Shun*. *Zhâi K'ân* and others would identify them with the *Hsi* and *Ho* of the Canon of *Yâo*, and hold those to have been descended from a *Khung* and a *Lî*, supposed to belong to the time of *Shâo Hâo* in the twenty-sixth century B.C.

Whoever they were, the duty with which they were charged was remarkable. In the *Narratives of the States* (a book of the *K'au* dynasty), we find a conversation on it, during the lifetime of Confucius, between king *K'iao* of *K'û* (B.C. 515-489) and one of his ministers, called *Kwan Yî-fû*. 'What is meant,' asked the king, 'by what is said in one of the Books of *K'au* about *Khung* and *Lî*, that they really brought it about that there was no intercourse between heaven and earth? If they had not done so, would people have been able to 'ascend to heaven?'' The minister replied that that was not the meaning at all, and gave his own view of it at great length, to the following effect.—Anciently, the people attended to the discharge of their duties to one another, and left the worship of spiritual beings—the seeking intercourse with them, and invoking and effecting their descent on earth—to the officers who were appointed for that purpose. In this way things proceeded with great regularity. The people minded their own affairs, and the spirits minded theirs. Tranquillity and prosperity were the consequence. But in the time of *Shâo Hâo*, through the lawlessness of *K'î-lî*, a change took place. The people intruded into the functions of the regulators of the spirits and their worship. They abandoned their duties to their fellow men, and tried to bring down spirits from above. The spirits themselves, no longer kept in check and subjected to rule, made their appearance irregularly and disastrously. All was confusion and calamity, when *Kwan Hsü* (B.C. 2510-2433) took the case in hand. He appointed *Khung*, the Minister of the South, to the superintendency of heavenly things, to prescribe the laws for the spirits, and *Lî*, the Minister of Fire, to the superintendency of earthly things, to prescribe the rules for the people. In this way both spirits and people were

inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence (the spread of) the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked. The great Tî with an unprejudiced mind carried his enquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Mião. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely (ministers)¹ to labour with compassionate anxiety in the people's behalf. Po-f delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yü reduced to order the water and the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Kî spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and (the people) extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime² exercised among them the restraint of

brought back to their former regular courses, and there was no unhallowed interference of the one with the other. This was the work described in the text. But subsequently the chief of San-miào showed himself a Kîu-lî redivivus, till Yáo called forth the descendants of K'ung and Lî, who had not forgotten the virtue and functions of their fathers, and made them take the case in hand again.

According to Yî-fû's statements K'ung's functions were those of the Minister of Religion, and Lî's those of the Minister of Instruction; but Hsî and Ho were simply Ministers of Astronomy and the Calendar, and their descendants continue to appear as such in the Shû to the reign of Kung Khang, long after we know that men of other families were appointed to the important ministries of K'ung and Lî.

¹ Those immediately mentioned,—Po-f, Yü, and Kî. See the Canon of Shun and other Books of Part II.

² Káo-yáo.

punishment in exact adaptation to each offence, and taught them to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters (of the land), all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, (if anything more were wanted), the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law (fearlessly) against the powerful, and (faithfully) against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives (of men). In their low sphere they yet corresponded (to Heaven) and enjoyed (its favour).’ *

3. The king said, ‘Ah! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven?’ * To whom ought you now to look as your pattern? Is it not to Po-ti, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Miáo, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on

Miao, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?'*

4. The king said, 'Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons¹, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent;—do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments.* Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned;—do you (deal with them so as to) accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man. Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues². Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependance; the repose of such a state will be perpetual.'

5. The king said, 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories³, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people;—what should you be most concerned

¹ Meaning all the princes of the same surname as himself. As he was a hundred years old, there might well be among them those who were really his sons and grandsons.

² 'The three virtues' are those of the Great Plan; those of 'correctness and straightforwardness,' of 'strong government,' and of 'mild government.'

³ Meaning all the princes;—of the king's own and other surnames.

about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?

‘When both parties are present, (with their documents and witnesses) all complete, let the judges listen to the fivefold statements that may be made¹. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error².

‘In (settling) the five cases of error there are evils (to be guarded against);—being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime (before the judges). Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to (every difficulty).

‘When there are doubts as to the infliction of any of the five punishments, that infliction should be forborne. When there are doubts as to the

¹ That is, the statements, with the evidence on both sides, whether incriminating or exculpating. They are called fivefold, as the case might have to be dealt with by one or other of ‘the five punishments.’

² That is, the offences of inadvertence. What should ensue on the adjudication of any case to be so ranked does not appear. It would be very leniently dealt with, and perhaps pardoned. In ‘the Counsels of Yü,’ Káo-yáo says to Shun, ‘You pardon inadvertent offences however great.’

infliction of any of the five fines, it should be forborne. Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to overcome (every difficulty). When you have examined and many things are clear, yet form a judgment from studying the appearance of the parties. If you find nothing out on examination, do not listen (to the case any more). In everything stand in awe of the dread majesty of Heaven.*

‘When, in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces (of copper); but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this;—with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3000 ounces;—with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration¹, the fine must be 3600 ounces;—with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6000 ounces;—with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1000; and the same number of those that would otherwise incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3000 crimes. (In the case of others not exactly defined), you must class them with the (next) higher or (next) lower offences, not

¹ Or solitary confinement in the case of a female.

admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal (to every difficulty).

‘Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one of the lower punishments, but there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned (in the same way) by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should (also) be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this (seeming) irregularity, there are certain relations of things (to be considered), and the essential principle (to be observed).

‘The chastisement of fines is short of death, yet it will produce extreme distress. They are not (therefore) persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct;—whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete.

If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments (must be recorded).'

6. The king said, 'Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, (know all) that I speak in much fear. I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its representatives here below.* Be intelligent and pure in hearing (each) side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides;—do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain (so) got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgments:—you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven.* It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government.'

7. The king said, 'Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit (the dignities and offices of) the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiassed nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men (of antiquity) by their use of punishments obtained boundless fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!'

BOOK XXVIII.

THE CHARGE TO THE MARQUIS WÂN.

THE king to whom this charge is ascribed was Phing (B. C. 770-719).

Between him and Mû there was thus a period of fully two centuries, of which no documents are, or ever were, in the collection of the Shû. The time was occupied by seven reigns, the last of which was that of Nieh, known as king Yü, a worthless ruler, and besotted in his attachment to a female favourite, called Pão-sze. For her sake he degraded his queen, and sent their son, Î-khiû, to the court of the lord of Shăn, her father, 'to learn good manners.' The lord of Shăn called in the assistance of some barbarian tribes, by which the capital was sacked, and the king slain; and with him ended the sway of 'the Western Kâu.' Several of the feudal princes went to the assistance of the royal House, drove away the barbarians, brought back Î-khiû from Shăn, and hailed him as king. He is known as king Phing, 'the Tranquillizer.' His first measure was to transfer the capital from the ruins of Hào to Lo, thus fulfilling at length, but under disastrous circumstances, the wishes of the duke of Kâu; and from this time (B. C. 770) dates the history of 'the Eastern Kâu.'

Among king Phing's early measures was the rewarding the feudal lords to whom he owed his throne. The marquis of K'in was one of them. His name was K'hiû, and that of Î-ho, by which he is called in the text, is taken as his 'style,' or designation assumed by him on his marriage. Wân, 'the Accomplished,' was his sacrificial title. The lords of K'in were descended from king Wû's son, Yü, who was appointed marquis of Thang, corresponding to the present department of Thái-yüan, in Shan-hsi. The name of Thang was afterwards changed into K'in. The state became in course of time one of the largest and most powerful in the kingdom.

The charge in this Book is understood to be in connexion with Wân's appointment to be president or chief of several of the other princes. The king begins by celebrating the virtues and happy times of kings Wân and Wû, and the services rendered by the worthy ministers of subsequent reigns. He contrasts with this the misery and distraction of his own times, deploring his want of wise counsellors and helpers, and praising the

marquis for the services which he had rendered. He then concludes with the special charge by which he would reward the prince's merit in the past, and stimulate him to greater exertions in the future.

1. The king spoke to the following effect:—
'Uncle Î-ho, how illustrious were Wăn and Wû! Carefully did they make their virtue brilliant, till it rose brightly on high, and the fame of it was widely diffused here below. Therefore God caused his favouring decree to light upon king Wăn.* There were ministers also (thereafter), who aided and illustriously served their sovereigns, following and carrying out their plans, great and small, so that my fathers sat tranquilly on the throne.

'Oh! an object of pity am I, who am (but as) a little child. Just as I have succeeded to the throne, Heaven has severely chastised me.* Through the interruption of the (royal) bounties that ceased to descend to the inferior people, the invading barbarous tribes of the west have greatly (injured) our kingdom. Moreover, among the managers of my affairs there are none of age and experience and distinguished ability in their offices. I am (thus) unequal (to the difficulties of my position), and say to myself, "My grand-uncles and uncles, you ought to compassionate my case." Oh! if there were those who could establish their merit in behalf of me, the One man, I might long enjoy repose upon the throne.

'Uncle Î-ho, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wăn and Wû, collecting (the scattered powers), and continuing (the all but broken line of) your sovereign. Your filial piety goes back

to your accomplished ancestor, (and is equal to his.) You have done much to repair my (losses), and defend me in my difficulties, and of you, being such, I am full of admiration.'

2. The king said, 'Uncle Í-ho, return home, survey your multitudes, and tranquillize your state. I reward you with a jar of spirits, distilled from the black millet, and flavoured with odoriferous herbs¹, with a red bow, and a hundred red arrows²; with a black bow, and a hundred black arrows; and with four horses. Go, my uncle. Show kindness to those that are far off, and help those who are near at hand; cherish and secure the repose of the inferior people; do not idly seek your ease; exercise an inspection and (benign) compassion in your capital (and all your borders);—thus completing your illustrious virtue.'

BOOK XXIX. THE SPEECH AT PÍ.

THE Speech at Pí carries us back from the time of Phing to that of king K'häng. In the Preface to the Shû it is attributed to Po-k'in, the son of the duke of K'âu; and there is a general acquiescence of tradition and critics in this view. We may account for its position out of the chronological order from

¹ Compare king K'häng's gift to the duke of K'âu, in the Announcement concerning Lo, ch. 6.

² The conferring on a prince of a bow and arrows, invested him with the power of punishing throughout the states within his jurisdiction all who were disobedient to the royal commands, but not of taking life without first reporting to the court. The gift was also a tribute to the merit of the receiver. See the Book of Poetry, II, iii, ode 1.

the Book's being the record not of any royal doings, but of the words of the ruler of a state.

The speech has reference to some military operations against the wild tribes on the Hwâi river and in other parts of the province of Hsü; and we have seen that they were in insurrection many times during the reign of K'hang. We thus cannot tell exactly the year in which the speech was delivered. Po-khin presided over his state of Lû for the long period of fifty-three years, and died B. C. 1063.

The name of Pî is retained in the district still so called of the department of Í-kâu. At first it was an independent territory, but attached to Lû, and under the jurisdiction of its marquises, by one of whom it had been incorporated with Lû before the time of Confucius.

Po-khin appears at the head of his host, approaching the scene of active operations. Having commanded silence, he issues his orders, first, that the soldiers shall have their weapons in good order; next, that the people of the country shall take care of the oxen and horses of the army; further, that the troops on no account leave their ranks or go astray; and finally, he names the day when he will commence operations against the enemy, and commands all the requisite preparations to be made.

The duke said, 'Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the Hwâi and of Hsü, which have risen up together.

'Have in good repair your buff coats and helmets; have the laces of your shields well secured;—presume not to have any of them but in perfect order. Prepare your bows and arrows; temper your lances and spears; sharpen your pointed and edged weapons;—presume not to have any of them but in good condition.

'We must now largely let the oxen and horses loose, and not keep them in enclosures;—(ye people), do you close your traps and fill up your pitfalls, and do not presume to injure any of the animals (so let loose). If any of them be injured,

you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘When the horses or cattle are seeking one another, or when your followers, male or female, abscond, presume not to leave the ranks to pursue them. But let them be carefully returned. I will reward you (among the people) who return them according to their value. But if you leave your places to pursue them, or if you who find them do not restore them, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘And let none of you presume to commit any robbery or detain any creature that comes in your way, to jump over enclosures and walls to steal (people’s) horses or oxen, or to decoy away their servants or female attendants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘On the day *Kíá-hsü* I will take action against the hordes of *Hsü*;—prepare the roasted grain and other provisions, and presume not to have any deficiency. If you have, you shall suffer the severest punishment. Ye men of *Lû*, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond¹,

¹ Outside the capital city was an environing territory called the *Kíáo*, and beyond the *Kíáo* was the *Sui*. The *Kíáo* of the royal domain was divided again into six *Hsiang*, which furnished the six royal hosts, while the *Sui* beyond furnished subsidiary hosts. The *Kíáo* and *Sui* of a large state furnished three hosts, and if need were, subsidiary battalions. The language of the text is equivalent, I conceive, simply to ‘ye men of the army of *Lû*’; but, as P. Gaubil observes, it is difficult at the present day to get correct ideas of what is meant by the designations, and to account for the mention of three *Kíáo* and three *Sui*.

be ready with your posts and planks. On *Kiâ-hsü* I will commence my intrenchments;—dare not but be provided with a supply of these. (If you be not so provided), you shall be subjected to various punishments, short only of death. Ye men of *Lû*, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with the forage, and do not dare to let it be other than abundant. (If you do), you shall suffer the severest punishment.'

BOOK XXX.

THE SPEECH OF (THE MARQUIS OF) *KHIN*.

THE state of *Khin*, at the time to which this speech belongs, was one of the most powerful in the kingdom, and already giving promise of what it would grow to. Ultimately, one of its princes overthrew the dynasty of *Kâu*, and brought feudal China to an end. Its earliest capital was in the present district of *Khâng-shui*, *Khin Kâu*, *Kan-sû*.

Khin and *Kin* were engaged together in B. C. 631 in besieging the capital of *Käng*, and threatened to extinguish that state. The marquis of *Khin*, however, was suddenly induced to withdraw his troops, leaving three of his officers in friendly relations with the court of *Käng*, and under engagement to defend the state from aggression. These men played the part of spies in the interest of *Khin*, and in B. C. 629, one of them, called *Khi-jze*, sent word that he was in charge of one of the gates, and if an army were sent to surprise the capital, *Käng* might be added to the territories of *Khin*. The marquis—known in history as duke *Mû*—laid the matter before his counsellors. The most experienced of them—*Pâi-lî Hsî* and *Khien-shû*—were against taking advantage of the proposed treachery; but the marquis listened rather to the promptings of ambition; and the next year he sent a large force, under his three ablest commanders, hoping to find *Käng* unprepared for any resistance. The attempt, however, failed; and the army, on its way back to

K'hin, was attacked by the forces of *K'in*, and sustained a terrible defeat. It was nearly annihilated, and the three commanders were taken prisoners.

The marquis of *K'in* was intending to put these captives to death, but finally sent them to *K'hin*, that duke Mû might himself sacrifice them to his anger for their want of success. Mû, however, did no such thing. He went from his capital to meet the disgraced generals, and comforted them, saying that the blame of their defeat was due to himself, who had refused to listen to the advice of his wise counsellors. Then also, it is said, he made the speech here preserved for the benefit of all his ministers, describing the good and bad minister, and the different issues of listening to them, and deploring how he had himself foolishly rejected the advice of his aged counsellors, and followed that of new men ;—a thing which he would never do again.

The duke¹ said, 'Ah ! my officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. (It is this which) the ancients have said, " Thus it is with all people,—they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course,—this is difficult." The sorrow of my heart is, that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, (so that I might pursue a different course.)

' There were my old counsellors².—I said, " They will not accommodate themselves to me," and I hated them. There were my new counsellors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them³. So indeed it was with me ; but hereafter I will

¹ The prince of *K'hin* was only a marquis ; but the historiographers or recorders of a state always gave their ruler the higher title. This shows that this speech is taken from the chronicles of *K'hin*.

² Pâi-lî Hsi and *K'hien-shû*.

³ *K'hi-jze* and others.

take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer!—his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him (as my counsellor). That dashing brave officer!—his shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

‘I have deeply thought and concluded.—Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them:—such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits.

‘But if (the minister), when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he oppose them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them:—such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?

‘The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man.’

THE SHIH KING

OR

BOOK OF POETRY:

ALL THE PIECES AND STANZAS IN IT ILLUSTRATING
THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF
THE WRITERS AND THEIR TIMES.

THE SHIH KING

OR

BOOK OF POETRY.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE NAME AND CONTENTS OF THE CLASSIC.

1. Among the Chinese classical books next after the Shû in point of antiquity comes the Shih or Book of Poetry.

The character Shû¹, as formed by the combination of The meaning of the character Shih. two others, one of which signified 'a pencil,' and the other 'to speak,' supplied, we saw, in its structure, an indication of its primary significance, and furnished a clue to its different applications. The character Shih² was made on a different principle,—that of phonetical formation, in the peculiar sense of these words when applied to a large class of Chinese terms. The significative portion of it is the character for 'speech,' but the other half is merely phonetical, enabling us to approximate to its pronunciation or name. The meaning of the compound has to be learned from its usage. Its most common significations are 'poetry,' 'a poem, or poems,' and 'a collection of poems.' This last is its meaning when we speak of the Shih or the Shih King.

The earliest Chinese utterance that we have on the subject of poetry is that in the Shû by the ancient Shun, when he said to his Minister of Music, 'Poetry is the expression of earnest thought, and singing is the prolonged

¹書

²詩

utterance of that expression.' To the same effect is the language of a Preface to the Shih, sometimes ascribed to Confucius, and certainly older than our Christian era:— 'Poetry is the product of earnest thought. Thought cherished in the mind becomes earnest; then expressed in words, it becomes poetry. The feelings move inwardly, and are embodied in words. When words are insufficient for them, recourse is had to sighs and exclamations. When sighs and exclamations are insufficient for them, recourse is had to the prolonged utterance of song. When this again is insufficient, unconsciously the hands begin to move and the feet to dance. . . . To set forth correctly the successes and failures (of government), to affect Heaven and Earth, and to move spiritual beings, there is no readier instrument than poetry.'

Rhyme, it may be added here, is a necessary accompaniment of poetry in the estimation of the Chinese. Only in a very few pieces of the Shih is it neglected.

2. The Shih King contains 305 pieces and the titles of The contents of the Shih. six others. The most recent of them are assigned to the reign of king Ting of the Kâu dynasty, B. C. 606 to 586, and the oldest, forming a group of only five, to the period of the Shang dynasty which preceded that of Kâu, B. C. 1766 to 1123. Of those five, the latest piece should be referred to the twelfth century B. C., and the most ancient may have been composed five centuries earlier. All the other pieces in the Shih have to be distributed over the time between Ting and king Wăn, the founder of the line of Kâu. The distribution, however, is not equal nor continuous. There were some reigns of which we do not have a single poetical fragment.

The whole collection is divided into four parts, called the Kwo Făng, the Hsiăo Yă, the Tâ Yă, and the Sung.

The Kwo Făng, in fifteen Books, contains 160 pieces, nearly all of them short, and descriptive of manners and events in several of the feudal states of Kâu. The title has been translated by The Manners of the Different States, 'Les Mœurs des Royaumes,' and, which I prefer, by Lessons from the States.

The Hsiáo Yâ, or Lesser Yâ, in eight Books, contains seventy-four pieces and the titles of six others, sung at gatherings of the feudal princes, and their appearances at the royal court. They were produced in the royal territory, and are descriptive of the manners and ways of the government in successive reigns. It is difficult to find an English word that shall fitly represent the Chinese Yâ as here used. In his Latin translation of the Shih, P. Lacharme translated Hsiáo Yâ by '*Quod rectum est, sed inferiore ordine,*' adding in a note :—'*Siáo Yâ, latine Parvum Rectum, quia in hac Parte mores describuntur, recti illi quidem, qui tamen nonnihil a recto deflectunt.*' But the manners described are not less correct or incorrect, as the case may be, than those of the states in the former Part or of the kingdom in the next. I prefer to call this Part '*Minor Odes of the Kingdom,*' without attempting to translate the term Yâ.

The Tâ Yâ or Greater Yâ, in three Books, contains thirty-one pieces, sung on great occasions at the royal court and in the presence of the king. P. Lacharme called it '*Magnum Rectum (Quod rectum est superiore ordine).*' But there is the same objection here to the use of the word '*correct*' as in the case of the pieces of the previous Part. I use the name '*Major Odes of the Kingdom.*' The greater length and dignity of most of the pieces justify the distinction of the two Parts into Minor and Major.

The Sung, also in three Books, contains forty pieces, thirty-one of which belong to the sacrificial services at the royal court of Kâu; four, to those of the marquises of Lû; and five to the corresponding sacrifices of the kings of Shang. P. Lacharme denominated them correctly '*Parentales Cantus.*' In the Preface to the Shih, to which I have made reference above, it is said, '*The Sung are pieces in admiration of the embodied manifestation of complete virtue, announcing to the spiritual Intelligences their achievement thereof.*' Kû Hsi's account of the Sung was—'*Songs for the Music of the Ancestral Temple;*' and that of Kiang Yung of the present dynasty—'*Songs for the Music at Sacrifices.*' I have united these two definitions, and call the Part—'*Odes of the Temple and the Altar.*' There is

a difference between the pieces of Lû and the other two collections in this Part, to which I will call attention in giving the translation of them.

From the above account of the contents of the Shih, it will be seen that only the pieces in the last of its four Parts are professedly of a religious character. Many of those, however, in the other Parts, especially the second and third, describe religious services, and give expression to religious ideas in the minds of their authors.

3. Some of the pieces in the Shih are ballads, some are songs, some are hymns, and of others the nature can hardly be indicated by any English denomination. They have often been spoken of by the general name of odes, understanding by that term lyric poems that were set to music.

My reason for touching here on this point is the earliest account of the Shih, as a collection either already formed or in the process of formation, that we find in Chinese literature. In the Official Book of Kâu, generally supposed to be a work of the twelfth or eleventh century B. C., among the duties of the Grand Music-Master there is 'the teaching,' (that is, to the musical performers,) 'the six classes of poems:—the Fǎng; the Fû; the Pî; the Hsing; the Yâ; and the Sung.' That the collection of the Shih, as it now is, existed so early as the date assigned to the Official Book could not be; but we find the same account of it given in the so-called Confucian Preface. The Fǎng, the Yâ, and the Sung are the four Parts of the classic described in the preceding paragraph, the Yâ embracing both the Minor and Major Odes of the Kingdom. But what were the Fû, the Pî, and the Hsing? We might suppose that they were the names of three other distinct Parts or Books. But they were not so. Pieces so discriminated are found in all the four Parts, though there are more of them in the first two than in the others.

The Fû may be described as Narrative pieces, in which the writers tell what they have to say in a simple, straightforward manner, without any hidden meaning reserved in

the mind. The metaphor and other figures of speech enter into their composition as freely as in descriptive poems in any other language.

The *Pi* are Metaphorical pieces, in which the poet has under his language a different meaning from what it expresses,—a meaning which there should be nothing in that language to indicate. Such a piece may be compared to the *Æsopic fable*; but, while it is the object of the fable to inculcate the virtues of morality and prudence, an historical interpretation has to be sought for the metaphorical pieces of the *Shih*. Generally, moreover, the moral of the fable is subjoined to it, which is never done in the case of these pieces.

The *Hsing* have been called Allusive pieces. They are very remarkable, and more numerous than the metaphorical. They often commence with a couple of lines which are repeated without change, or with slight rhythmical changes, in all the stanzas. In other pieces different stanzas have allusive lines peculiar to themselves. Those lines are descriptive, for the most part, of some object or circumstance in the animal or vegetable world, and after them the poet proceeds to his proper subject. Generally, the allusive lines convey a meaning harmonizing with those which follow, where an English poet would begin the verses with *Like* or *As*. They are really metaphorical, but the difference between an allusive and a metaphorical piece is this,—that in the former the writer proceeds to state the theme which his mind is occupied with, while no such intimation is given in the latter. Occasionally, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to discover the metaphorical idea in the allusive lines, and then we can only deal with them as a sort of refrain.

In leaving this subject, it is only necessary to say further that the allusive, the metaphorical, and the narrative elements sometimes all occur in the same piece.

CHAPTER II.

THE SHIH BEFORE CONFUCIUS, AND WHAT, IF ANY,
WERE HIS LABOURS UPON IT.

1. Sze-mâ *K'hien*, in his memoir of Confucius, says:—
 'The old poems amounted to more than 3000. Confucius removed those which were only repetitions of others, and selected those which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness. Ascending as high as Hsieh and Hâu-kî, and descending through the prosperous eras of Yin and Kâu to the times of decadence under kings Yü and Lî, he selected in all 305 pieces, which he sang over to his lute, to bring them into accordance with the musical style of the Sháo, the Wû, the Yâ, and the Fǎng.'

In the History of the Classical Books in the Records of the Sui Dynasty (A. D. 589 to 618), it is said:—'When royal benign rule ceased, and poems were no more collected, Kih, the Grand Music-Master of Lû, arranged in order those that were existing, and made a copy of them. Then Confucius expurgated them; and going up to the Shang dynasty, and coming down to the state of Lû, he compiled altogether 300 pieces.'

Kû Hsi, whose own standard work on the Shih appeared in A. D. 1178, declined to express himself positively on the expurgation of the odes, but summed up his view of what Confucius did for them in the following words:—

Opinion of *Kû Hsi*. 'Royal methods had ceased, and poems were no more collected. Those which were extant were full of errors, and wanting in arrangement. When Confucius returned from Wei to Lû, he brought with him the odes that he had gotten in other states, and digested them, along with those that were to be found in Lû, into a collection of 300 pieces.'

I have not been able to find evidence sustaining these

representations, and must adopt the view that, before the birth of Confucius, the Book of Poetry existed, substantially the same as it was at his death, and that while he may have somewhat altered the arrangement of its Books and pieces, the service which he rendered to it was not that of compilation, but the impulse to study it which he communicated to his disciples.

2. If we place *K'ien's* composition of the memoir of Confucius in B. C. 100, nearly four hundred years will have elapsed between the death of the sage and any statement to the effect that he expurgated previously existing poems, or compiled the collection that we now have; and no writer in the interval affirmed or implied any such things. The further statement in the Sui Records about the Music-Master of Lû is also without any earlier confirmation. But independently of these considerations, there is ample evidence to prove, first, that the poems current before Confucius were not by any means so numerous as *K'ien* says, and, secondly, that the collection of 300 pieces or thereabouts, digested under the same divisions as in the present classic, existed before the sage's time.

3. i. It would not be surprising, if, floating about and current among the people of China in the sixth century before our era, there had been more than 3000 pieces of poetry. The marvel is that such was not the case. But in the Narratives of the States, a work of the *K'au* dynasty, and ascribed by many to 30 *K'hiu-ming*, there occur quotations from thirty-one poems, made by statesmen and others, all anterior to Confucius; and of those poems there are not more than two which are not in the present classic. Even of those two, one is an ode of it quoted under another name. Further, in the 30 *Kwan*, certainly the work of *K'hiu-ming*, we have quotations from not fewer than 219 poems, of which only thirteen are not found in the classic. Thus of 250 poems current in China before the supposed compilation of the *Shih*, 236 are found in it, and only fourteen are absent. To use the words of *K'ao Yî*, a scholar of the present dynasty, 'If the poems existing in

Confucius' time had been more than 3000, the quotations of poems now lost in these two works should have been ten times as numerous as the quotations from the 305 pieces said to have been preserved by him, whereas they are only between a twenty-first and twenty-second part of the existing pieces. This is sufficient to show that *K'ien's* statement is not worthy of credit.'

ii. Of the existence of the Book of Poetry before Confucius, digested in four Parts, and much in the same order as at present, there may be advanced the following proofs:—

First. There is the passage in the Official Book of *K'âu*, quoted and discussed in the last paragraph of the preceding chapter. We have in it a distinct reference to poems, many centuries before the sage, arranged and classified in the same way as those of the existing *Shih*. Our *Shih*, no doubt, was then in the process of formation.

Second. In the ninth piece of the sixth decade of the *Shih*, Part II, an ode assigned to the time of king *Yü*, B.C. 781 to 771, we have the words,

‘They sing the *Yâ* and the *Nan*,
Dancing to their flutes without error.’

So early, therefore, as the eighth century B.C. there was a collection of poems, of which some bore the name of the *Nan*, which there is much reason to suppose were the *K'âu Nan* and the *Shão Nan*, forming the first two Books of the first Part of the present *Shih*; and of which others bore the name of the *Yâ*, being, probably, the earlier pieces that now compose a large portion of the second and third Parts.

Third. In the narratives of 30 *K'hiu-ming*, under the twenty-ninth year of duke *Hsiang*, B.C. 544, when Confucius was only seven or eight years old, we have an account of a visit to the court of *Lü* by an envoy from *Wü*, an eminent statesman of the time, and a man of great learning. We are told that as he wished to hear the music of *K'âu*, which he could do better in *Lü* than in any other state, they sang to him the odes of the *K'âu Nan* and the *Shão Nan*; those of *Phei*, *Yung*, and *Wei*; of the Royal Domain; of *Käng*; of *K'hi*; of *Pin*; of *K'kin*; of *Wei*; of

Thang; of *K'ăn*; of *Kwei*; and of *3/4ào*. They sang to him also the odes of the Minor *Yâ* and the Greater *Yâ*; and they sang finally the pieces of the *Sung*. We have thus, existing in the boyhood of Confucius, what we may call the present Book of Poetry, with its *Făng*, its *Yâ*, and its *Sung*. The only difference discernible is slight,—in the order in which the Books of the *Făng* followed one another.

Fourth. We may appeal in this matter to the words of Confucius himself. Twice in the *Analects* he speaks of the *Shih* as a collection consisting of 300 pieces¹. That work not being made on any principle of chronological order, we cannot positively assign those sayings to any particular years of Confucius' life; but it is, I may say, the unanimous opinion of Chinese critics that they were spoken before the time to which *K'ien* and *K'û Hsi* refer his special labour on the Book of Poetry.

To my own mind the evidence that has been adduced is decisive on the points which I specified. The *Shih*, arranged very much as we now have it, was current in China before the time of Confucius, and its pieces were in the mouths of statesmen and scholars, constantly quoted by them on festive and other occasions. Poems not included in it there doubtless were, but they were comparatively few. Confucius may have made a copy for the use of himself and his disciples; but it does not appear that he rejected any pieces which had been previously received into the collection, or admitted any which had not previously found a place in it.

4. The question now arises of what Confucius did for the *Shih*, if, indeed, he did anything at all. The only thing from which we can hazard an opinion on the point we have from himself. In the *Analects*, IX, xiv, he tells us:—‘I returned from Wei to *Lû*, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in

What Confucius
did for the
Shih.

¹ In stating that the odes were 300, Confucius probably preferred to use the round number. There are, as I said in the former chapter, altogether 305 pieces, which is the number given by *Sze-mâ K'ien*. There are also the titles of six others. It is contended by *K'û Hsi* and many other scholars that these titles were only the names of tunes. More likely is the view that the text of the pieces so styled was lost after Confucius' death.

the Yâ and the Sung received their proper places.' The return from Wei to Lû took place only five years before the sage's death. He ceased from that time to take an active part in political affairs, and solaced himself with music, the study of the ancient literature of his nation, the writing of 'the Spring and Autumn,' and familiar intercourse with those of his disciples who still kept around him. He reformed the music,—that to which the pieces of the Shih were sung; but wherein the reformation consisted we cannot tell. And he gave to the pieces of the Yâ and the Sung their proper places. The present order of the Books in the Făng, slightly differing from what was common in his boyhood, may have now been determined by him. More than this we cannot say.

While we cannot discover, therefore, any peculiar and important labours of Confucius on the Shih, and we have it now, as will be shown in the next chapter, substantially as he found it already compiled to his hand, the subsequent preservation of it may reasonably be attributed to the admiration which he expressed for it, and the enthusiasm for it with which he sought to inspire his disciples. It was one of the themes on which he delighted to converse with them¹. He taught that it is from the poems that the mind receives its best stimulus². A man ignorant of them was, in his opinion, like one who stands with his face towards a wall, limited in his view, and unable to advance³. Of the two things that his son could specify as enjoined on him by the sage, the first was that he should learn the odes⁴. In this way Confucius, probably, contributed largely to the subsequent preservation of the Shih,—the preservation of the tablets on which the odes were inscribed, and the preservation of it in the memory of all who venerated his authority, and looked up to him as their master.

¹ Analects, VII, xvii.

² Analects, XVII, x.

³ Analects, VIII, viii, XVII, ix.

⁴ Analects, XVI, xiii.

CHAPTER III.

THE SHIH FROM THE TIME OF CONFUCIUS TILL
THE GENERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE
PRESENT TEXT.

1. Of the attention paid to the study of the Shih from the death of Confucius to the rise of the *K'in* dynasty, we have abundant evidence in the writings of his grandson 3ze-sze, of Mencius, and of Hsün *K'ing*. One of the acknowledged distinctions of Mencius is his acquaintance with the odes, his quotations from which are very numerous; and Hsün *K'ing* survived the extinction of the *K'au* dynasty, and lived on into the times of *K'in*.

From Con-
fucius to the
rise of the
K'in dynasty.

2. The Shih shared in the calamity which all the other classical works, excepting the *Yi*, suffered, when the tyrant of *K'in* issued his edict for their destruction. But I have shown, in the Introduction to the *Shû*, p. 7, that that edict was in force for less than a quarter of a century. The odes were all, or very nearly all¹, recovered; and the reason assigned for this is, that their preservation depended on the memory of scholars more than on their inscription on tablets of bamboo and on silk.

The Shih was
all recovered
after the fires
of *K'in*.

3. Three different texts of the Shih made their appearance early in the Han dynasty, known as the Shih of *Lû*, of *K'hi*, and of Han; that is, the Book of Poetry was recovered from three different quarters. Liû Hin's Catalogue of the Books in the Imperial Library of Han (B. C. 6 to 1) commences, on the Shih King, with a collection of the three texts, in twenty-eight chapters.

Three different
texts.

¹ All, in fact, unless we except the six pieces of Part II, of which we have only the titles. It is contended by Kû Hsi and others that the text of these had been lost before the time of Confucius. It may have been lost, however, after the sage's death; see note on p. 283.

i. Immediately after the mention of the general collection in the Catalogue come the titles of two works of commentary on the text of Lû. The former of them was by a Shăn Phei of whom we have some account in the Literary Biographies of Han. He was a native of Lû, and had received his own knowledge of the odes from a scholar of *Khî*, called Fâu *Khiu-po*. He was resorted to by many disciples, whom he taught to repeat the odes. When the first emperor of the Han dynasty was passing through Lû, Shăn followed him to the capital of that state, and had an interview with him. Subsequently the emperor Wû (B.C. 140 to 87), in the beginning of his reign, sent for him to court when he was more than eighty years old; and he appears to have survived a considerable number of years beyond that advanced age. The names of ten of his disciples are given, all of them men of eminence, and among them Khung An-kwo. Rather later, the most noted adherent of the school of Lû was Wei Hsien, who arrived at the dignity of prime minister (from B.C. 71 to 67), and published the Shih of Lû in Stanzas and Lines. Up and down in the Books of Han and Wei are to be found quotations of the odes, that must have been taken from the professors of the Lû recension; but neither the text nor the writings on it long survived. They are said to have perished during the *Kin* dynasty (A.D. 265 to 419). When the Catalogue of the Sui Library was made, none of them were existing.

ii. The Han Catalogue mentions five different works on the Shih of *Khî*. This text was from a Yüan Kû, a native of *Khî*, about whom we learn, from the same collection of Literary Biographies, that he was one of the great scholars of the court in the time of the emperor King (B.C. 156 to 141),—a favourite with him, and specially distinguished for his knowledge of the odes and his advocacy of orthodox Confucian doctrine. He died in the succeeding reign of Wû, more than ninety years old; and we are told that all the scholars of *Khî* who got a name in those days for their acquaintance with the Shih sprang from his school. Among his disciples was the well-

known name of Hsiâ-hâu Shih-*ch'ang*, who communicated his acquisitions to Hâu *3hang*, a native of the present Shan-tung province, and author of two of the works in the Han Catalogue. Hâu had three disciples of note, and by them the Shih of *K'hi* was transmitted to others, whose names, with quotations from their writings, are scattered through the Books of Han. Neither text nor commentaries, however, had a better fate than the Shih of Lû. There is no mention of them in the Catalogue of Sui. They are said to have perished even before the rise of the *K'in* dynasty.

iii. The text of Han was somewhat more fortunate. Hin's Catalogue contains the names of four works, all by Han Ying, whose surname is thus perpetuated
 The text of Han Ying. in the text of the Shih that emanated from him. He was a native, we are told, of Yen, and a great scholar in the time of the emperor Wăn (B.C. 179 to 155), and on into the reigns of *King* and Wû. 'He laboured,' it is said, 'to unfold the meaning of the odes, and published an Explanation of the Text, and Illustrations of the Poems, containing several myriads of characters. His text was somewhat different from the texts of Lû and *K'hi*, but substantially of the same meaning.' Of course, Han founded a school; but while almost all the writings of his followers soon perished, both the works just mentioned continued on through the various dynasties to the time of Sung. The Sui Catalogue contains the titles of his Text and two works on it; the Thang, those of his Text and his Illustrations; but when we come to the Catalogue of Sung, published under the Yüan dynasty, we find only the Illustrations, in ten books or chapters; and Âu-yang Hsiû (A.D. 1017 to 1072) tells us that in his time this was all of Han that remained. It continues entire, or nearly so, to the present day.

4. But while those three different recensions of the Shih all disappeared, with the exception of a single treatise of Han Ying, their unhappy fate was owing not more to the convulsions by which the empire was often rent, and the consequent destruction of literary monuments such as we

have witnessed in China in our own day, than to the
 A fourth text; appearance of a fourth text, which displaced
 that of Máo. them by its superior correctness, and the
 ability with which it was advocated and commented on.
 This was what is called the Text of Máo. It came into the
 field rather later than the others; but the Han Catalogue
 contains the Shih of Máo, in twenty-nine chapters, and
 a Commentary on it in thirty-nine. According to Kǎng
 Hsüan, the author of this was a native of Lû, known as
 Máo Hǎng or 'the Greater Máo,' who had been a disciple,
 we are told by Lü Teh-ming, of Hsün K'ing. The work
 is lost. He had communicated his knowledge of the Shih,
 however, to another Máo,—Máo Kang, 'the Lesser Mao,'
 who was a great scholar, at the court of king Hsien of
 Ho-kien, a son of the emperor King. King Hsien was one
 of the most diligent labourers in the recovery of the ancient
 books, and presented the text and work of Hǎng at the
 court of his father,—probably in B.C. 129. Máo Kang pub-
 lished Explanations of the Shih, in twenty-nine chapters,
 —a work which we still possess; but it was not till the
 reign of Phing (A.D. 1 to 5) that Máo's recension was re-
 ceived into the Imperial College, and took its place along
 with those of Lû, K'hi, and Han Ying.

The Chinese critics have carefully traced the line of
 scholars who had charge of Máo's Text and Explanations
 down to the reign of Phing. The names of the men and
 their works are all given. By the end of the first quarter
 of our first century we find the most famous scholars
 addicting themselves to Máo's text. The well-known Kiá
 Khwei (A.D. 30 to 101) published a work on the Meaning
 and Difficulties of Máo's Shih, having previously compiled
 a digest of the differences between its text and those of
 the other three recensions, at the command of the emperor
 Ming (A.D. 58 to 75). The equally celebrated Mã Yung
 (A.D. 79 to 166) followed with another commentary;—and
 we arrive at Kǎng Hsüan or Kǎng Khang-khǎng (A.D.
 127 to 200), who wrote a Supplementary Commentary
 to the Shih of Máo, and a Chronological Introduction to
 the Shih. The former of these two works complete, and

portions of the latter, are still extant. After the time of *K'ang* the other three texts were little heard of, while the name of the commentators on *Máo's* text speedily becomes legion. It was inscribed, moreover, on the stone tablets of the emperor *Ling* (A.D. 168 to 189). The grave of *Máo K'ang* is still shown near the village of *Jun-fû*, in the departmental district of *Ho-kien*, *Kih-li*.

5. Returning now to what I said in the second paragraph, it will be granted that the appearance of three different and independent texts, soon after the rise of the

The different
texts guarantee
the genuineness
of the recovered
Shih.

Han dynasty, affords the most satisfactory evidence of the recovery of the Book of Poetry as it had continued from the time of *Confucius*. Unfortunately, only fragments of those texts remain now; but they were, while they were current, diligently compared with one another, and with the fourth text of *Máo*, which subsequently got the field to itself. When a collection is made of their peculiar readings, so far as it can now be done, it is clear that their variations from one another and from *Máo's* text arose from the alleged fact that the preservation of the odes was owing to their being transmitted by recitation. The rhyme helped the memory to retain them, and while wood, bamboo, and silk had all been consumed by the flames of *K'in*, when the time of repression ceased, scholars would be eager to rehearse their stores. It was inevitable, and more so in China than in a country possessing an alphabet, that the same sounds when taken down by different writers should be represented by different characters.

On the whole, the evidence given above is as full as could be desired in such a case, and leaves no reason for us to hesitate in accepting the present received text of the *Shih* as a very close approximation to that which was current in the time of *Confucius*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FORMATION OF THE COLLECTION OF THE SHIH;
HOW IT CAME TO BE SO SMALL AND INCOMPLETE;
THE INTERPRETATION AND AUTHORS OF THE PIECES;
ONE POINT OF TIME CERTAINLY INDICATED IN IT;
AND THE CONFUCIAN PREFACE.

1. It has been shown above, in the second chapter, that the Shih existed as a collection of poetical pieces before the time of Confucius¹. In order to complete this Introduction to it, it is desirable to give some account of the various subjects indicated in the heading of the present chapter.

How were the odes collected in the first place? In his Account of a Conversation concerning 'a Right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind' (Edinburgh, 1704), p. 10, Sir Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, tells us the opinion of 'a very wise man,' that 'if a man were permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he need not care who should make its laws.' A writer in the Spectator, no. 502, refers to a similar opinion as having been entertained in England earlier than the time of Fletcher. 'I have heard,' he says, 'that a minister of state in the reign of Elizabeth had all manner of books and ballads brought to him, of what kind soever, and took great notice how they took with the people; upon which he would, and certainly might, very well judge of their present dispositions, and of the most proper way of applying them according to his own purposes².'

¹ As in the case of the Shû, Confucius generally speaks of 'the Shih,' never using the name of 'the Shih King.' In the Analects, IX, xiv, however, he mentions also the Yâ and the Sung; and in XVII, x, he specifies the Kâu Nan and the Shão Nan, the first two books of the Kwo Făng. Mencius similarly speaks of 'the Shih;' and in III, i, ch. 4, he specifies 'the Sung of Lû,' Book ii of Part IV. In VI, ii, ch. 3, he gives his views of the Hsião Phan, the third ode of decade 5, Part II, and of the Khâi Fung, the seventh ode of Book iii of Part I.

² This passage from the Spectator is adduced by Sir John Davis in his treatise on the Poetry of the Chinese, p. 35.

In harmony with the views thus expressed is the theory of the Chinese scholars, that it was the duty of the ancient kings to make themselves acquainted with all the poems current in the different states, and to judge from them of the rule exercised by the several princes, so that they might minister praise or blame, reward or punishment accordingly.

The theory of the Chinese scholars about a collection of poems for governmental purposes.

The rudiments of this theory may be found in the *Shû*, in the Canon of Shun; but the one classical passage which is appealed to in support of it is in the Record of Rites, III, ii, parr. 13, 14:—'Every fifth year, the Son of Heaven made a progress through the kingdom, when the Grand Music-Master was commanded to lay before him the poems of the different states, as an exhibition of the manners and government of the people.' Unfortunately, this Book of the *Lî K'î*, the Royal Ordinances, was compiled only in the reign of the emperor Wăn of the Han dynasty (B. C. 179 to 155). The scholars entrusted with the work did their best, we may suppose, with the materials at their command. They made much use, it is evident, of Mencius, and of the *Î Lî*. The *K'âu Lî*, or the Official Book of *K'âu*, had not then been recovered. But neither in Mencius nor in the *Î Lî* do we meet with any authority for the statement before us. The *Shû* mentions that Shun every fifth year made a tour of inspection; but there were then no odes for him to examine, for to him and his minister K'ão-yáo is attributed the first rudimentary attempt at the poetic art. Of the progresses of the Hsiâ and Yin sovereigns we have no information; and those of the kings of *K'âu* were made, we know, only once in twelve years. The statement in the Royal Ordinances, therefore, was probably based only on tradition.

Notwithstanding the difficulties that beset this passage of the *Lî K'î*, I am not disposed to reject it altogether. It derives a certain amount of confirmation from the passage quoted from the Official Book of *K'âu* on p. 278, showing that in the *K'âu* dynasty there was a collection of poems, under the divisions of the Fǎng, the Yá, and the Sung,

which it was the business of the Grand Music-Master to teach the musicians of the court. It may be accepted then, that the duke of *Kâu*, in legislating for his dynasty, enacted that the poems produced in the different feudal states should be collected on occasion of the royal progresses, and lodged thereafter among the archives of the bureau of music at the royal court. The same thing, we may presume *à fortiori*, would be done, at certain other stated times, with those produced within the royal domain itself.

But the feudal states were modelled after the pattern of the royal state. They also had their music-masters, their

The music-master of the king would get the odes of each state from its music-master.

musicians, and their historiographers. The kings in their progresses did not visit each particular state, so that the Grand Music-Master could have the opportunity to collect the odes in it for himself. They met, at well-

known points, the marquises, earls, barons, &c., of the different quarters of the kingdom; there gave audience to them; adjudicated on their merits, and issued to them their orders. We are obliged to suppose that the princes were attended to the places of rendezvous by their music-masters, carrying with them the poetical compositions gathered in their several regions, to present them to their superior of the royal court. We can understand how, by means of the above arrangement, the poems of the whole kingdom were accumulated and arranged among the archives of the capital. Was there any provision for dis-

How the collected poems were disseminated throughout the states.

seminating thence the poems of one state among all the others? There is sufficient evidence that such dissemination was effected in some way. Throughout the Narratives of the States, and the details of *30 K'hiu-ming* on the history of the Spring and Autumn, the officers of the states generally are presented to us as familiar not only with the odes of their particular states, but with those of other states as well. They appear equally well acquainted with all the Parts and Books of our present *Shih*; and we saw how the whole of it was sung over to *K'î K'â* of *Wû*, when he visited the court of *Lâ* in the boyhood of Confucius. There was,

probably, a regular communication from the royal court to the courts of the various states of the poetical pieces that for one reason or another were thought worthy of preservation. This is nowhere expressly stated, but it may be contended for by analogy from the accounts which I have given, in the Introduction to the *Shû*, pp. 4, 5, of the duties of the royal historiographers or recorders.

2. But if the poems produced in the different states were thus collected in the capital, and thence again disseminated throughout the kingdom, we might conclude that the collection would have been far more extensive and complete than

How the *Shih*
is so small and
incomplete.

we have it now. The smallness of it is to be accounted for by the disorder into which the kingdom fell after the lapse of a few reigns from king *Wû*. Royal progresses ceased when royal government fell into decay, and then the odes were no more collected¹. We have no account of any progress of the kings during the *Khûn K'hiû* period. But before that period there is a long gap of nearly 150 years between kings *K'hang* and *Î*, covering the reigns of *Khang*, *K'áo*, *Mû*, and *Kung*, if we except two doubtful pieces among the Sacrificial Odes of *K'áu*. The reign of *Hsiáo*, who succeeded to *Î*, is similarly uncommemorated; and the latest odes are of the time of *Ting*, when 100 years of the *Khûn K'hiû* period had still to run their course. Many odes must have been made and collected during the 140 and more years after king *K'hang*. The probability is that they perished during the feeble reigns of *Î* and the three monarchs who followed him. Then came the long and vigorous reign of *Hsüan* (B. C. 827 to 782), when we may suppose that the ancient custom of collecting the poems was revived. After him all was in the main decadence and confusion. It was probably in the latter part of his reign that *K'ang-khâo*, an ancestor of Confucius, obtained from the Grand Music-Master at the court of *K'áu* twelve of the sacrificial odes of the previous dynasty, as will be related under the Sacrificial Odes of *Shang*, with which he returned to *Sung*,

¹ See Mencius, IV, ii, ch. 21.

which was held by representatives of the line of Shang. They were used there in sacrificing to the old Shang kings; yet seven of the twelve were lost before the time of the sage.

The general conclusion to which we come is, that the existing Shih is the fragment of various collections made during the early reigns of the kings of K'au, and added to at intervals, especially on the occurrence of a prosperous rule, in accordance with the regulation that has been preserved in the *Lî K'î*. How it is that we have in Part I odes of comparatively few of the states into which the kingdom was divided, and that the odes of those states extend only over a short period of their history:—for these things we cannot account further than by saying that such were the ravages of time and the results of disorder. We can only accept the collection as it is, and be thankful for it. How long before Confucius the collection was closed we cannot tell.

3. The conclusions which I have thus sought to establish concerning the formation of the Shih as a collection have an important bearing on the interpretation of many of the pieces. The remark of Sze-mâ K'ien that 'Confucius selected those pieces which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness' is as erroneous as the other, that he selected 305 pieces out of more than 3000. The sage merely studied and taught the pieces which he found existing, and the collection necessarily contained odes illustrative of bad government as well as of good, of licentiousness as well as of a pure morality. Nothing has been such a stumbling-block in the way of the reception of K'û Hsi's interpretation of the pieces as the readiness with which he attributes a licentious meaning to many of those in the seventh Book of Part I. But the reason why the kings had the odes of the different states collected and presented to them was, 'that they might judge from them of the manners of the people,' and so come to a decision regarding the government and morals of their rulers. A student and translator of the odes has simply to allow them

Bearing of these
views on the
interpretation of
particular
pieces.

selected those pieces which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness' is as erroneous as the other, that he selected 305 pieces out of more than

to speak for themselves, and has no more reason to be surprised by references to vice in some of them than by the language of virtue in many others. Confucius said, indeed, in his own enigmatical way, that the single sentence, 'Thought without depravity,' covered the whole 300 pieces¹; and it may very well be allowed that they were collected and preserved for the promotion of good government and virtuous manners. The merit attaching to them is that they give us faithful pictures of what was good and what was bad in the political state of the country, and in the social, moral, and religious habits of the people.

The pieces were of course made by individuals who possessed the gift, or thought that they possessed the gift,

The writers of
the odes.

of poetical composition. Who they were we could tell only on the authority of the pieces themselves, or of credible historical accounts, contemporaneous with them or nearly so. It is not worth our while to question the opinion of the Chinese critics who attribute very many of them to the duke of Kâu, to whom we owe so much of the fifth Part of the Shû. There is, however, independent testimony only to his composition of a single ode,—the second of the fifteenth Book in Part I². Some of the other pieces in that Part, of which the historical interpretation may be considered as sufficiently fixed, are written in the first person; but the author may be personating his subject.

In Part II, the seventh ode of decade 2 was made by a Kiâ-fû, a noble of the royal court, but we know nothing more about him; the sixth of decade 6, by a eunuch styled Măng-jze; and the sixth of decade 7, from a concurrence of external testimonies, should be ascribed to duke Wû of Wei, B. C. 812 to 758.

In the third decade of Part III, the second piece was composed by the same duke Wû; the third by an earl of Zui in the royal domain; the fourth must have been made by one of king Hsüan's ministers, to express the king's

¹ Analects, II, ii.

² See the Shû, V, vi, par. 2.

feelings under the drought that was exhausting the kingdom; and the fifth and sixth claim to be the work of Yin K'î-fû, one of Hsüan's principal officers.

4. The ninth ode of the fourth Book, Part II, gives us a note of time that enables us to fix the year of its composition in a manner entirely satisfactory, and proves also the correctness, back to that date, of the ordinary Chinese chronology. The piece is one of a group which their contents lead us to refer to the reign of king Yü, the son of Hsüan, B.C. 781 to 771. When we examine the chronology of his period, it is said that in his sixth year, B.C. 776, there was an eclipse of the sun. Now the ode commences:—

'At the conjunction (of the sun and moon) in the tenth month, on the first day of the moon, which was Hsin-mão, the sun was eclipsed.'

This eclipse is verified by calculation as having taken place in B.C. 776, on August 29th, the very day and month assigned to it in the poem.

5. In the Preface which appeared along with Máo's text of the Shih, the occasion and authorship of many of the odes are given; but I do not allow much weight to its testimony. It is now divided into the Great Preface and the Little Preface; but Máo himself made no such distinction between its parts. It will be sufficient for me to give a condensed account of the views of K'ü Hsi on the subject:—

'Opinions of scholars are much divided as to the authorship of the Preface. Some ascribe it to Confucius; some to (his disciple) 3ze-hsiâ; and some to the historiographers of the states. In the absence of clear testimony it is impossible to decide the point, but the notice about Wei Hung (first century) in the Literary Biographies of Han¹ would seem to make it clear that the Preface was

¹ The account is this: 'Hung became the disciple of Hsieh Man-ming, who was famous for his knowledge of Máo's Shih; and he afterwards made the Preface to it, remarkable for the accuracy with which it gives the meaning of the pieces in the Fāng and the Yâ, and which is now current in the world.'

his work. We must take into account, however, on the other hand, the statement of *Kǎng Khang - khang*, that the Preface existed as a separate document when Máo appeared with his text, and that he broke it up, prefixing to each ode the portion belonging to it. The natural conclusion is, that the Preface had come down from a remote period, and that Hung merely added to it, and rounded it off. In accordance with this, scholars generally hold that the first sentences in the introductory notices formed the original Preface, which Máo distributed, and that the following portions were subsequently added.

‘This view may appear reasonable; but when we examine those first sentences themselves, we find that some of them do not agree with the obvious meaning of the odes to which they are prefixed, and give only rash and baseless expositions. Evidently, from the first, the Preface was made up of private speculations and conjectures on the subject-matter of the odes, and constituted a document by itself, separately appended to the text. Then on its first appearance there were current the explanations of the odes that were given in connexion with the texts of *Lû*, *K’i*, and *Han Ying*, so that readers could know that it was the work of later hands, and not give entire credit to it. But when Máo no longer published the Preface as a separate document, but each ode appeared with the introductory notice as a portion of the text, this seemed to give it the authority of the text itself. Then after the other texts disappeared and Máo’s had the field to itself, this means of testing the accuracy of its prefatory notices no longer existed. They appeared as if they were the production of the poets themselves, and the odes seemed to be made from them as so many themes. Scholars handed down a faith in them from one to another, and no one ventured to express a doubt of their authority. The text was twisted and chiseled to bring it into accordance with them, and no one would undertake to say plainly that they were the work of the scholars of the Han dynasty.’

There is no western sinologist, I apprehend, who will

not cordially concur with me in the principle of *K'ü Hsi* that we must find the meaning of the poems in the poems themselves, instead of accepting the interpretation of them given by we know not whom, and to follow which would reduce many of them to absurd enigmas.

THE SHIH KING.

ODES OF THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR.

It was stated in the Introduction, p. 278, that the poems in the fourth Part of the Shih are the only ones that are professedly religious; and there are some even of them, it will be seen, which have little claim on internal grounds to be so considered. I commence with them my selections from the Shih for the Sacred Books of the Religions of the East. I will give them all, excepting the first two of the Praise Odes of Lû, the reason for omitting which will be found, when I come to that division of the Part.

The Odes of the Temple and the Altar are, most of them, connected with the ancestral worship of the sovereigns of the Shang and K'âu dynasties, and of the marquises of Lû. Of the ancestral

The ancestral
worship of
the common
people.

worship of the common people we have almost no information in the Shih. It was binding, however, on all, and two utterances of Confucius may be given in illustration of this. In the eighteenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, telling how the duke of K'âu, the legislator of the dynasty so called, had 'completed the virtuous course of Wăn and Wû, carrying up the title of king to Wăn's father and grandfather, and sacrificing to the dukes before them with the royal ceremonies,' he adds, 'And this rule he extended to the feudal princes, the great officers, the other officers, and the common people. In the mourning and other duties rendered to a deceased father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.' Again, his summary in the tenth chapter of the Hsiâo King, of the duties

of filial piety, is the following :—‘A filial son, in serving his parents, in his ordinary intercourse with them, should show the utmost respect; in supplying them with food, the greatest delight; when they are ill, the utmost solicitude; when mourning for their death, the deepest grief; and when sacrificing to them, the profoundest solemnity. When these things are all complete, he is able to serve his parents.’

Of the ceremonies in the royal worship of ancestors, and perhaps on some other occasions, we have much information in the pieces of this Part, and in many others in the second and third Parts. They were preceded by fasting and various purifications

The royal
worship of
ancestors.

on the part of the king and the parties who were to assist in the performance of them. There was a great concourse of the feudal princes, and much importance was attached to the presence among them of the representatives of former dynasties; but the duties of the occasion devolved mainly on the princes of the same surname as the royal House. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, especially in the *Kâu* period, to attract the Spirits, and their presence was invoked by a functionary who took his place inside the principal gate. The principal victim, a red bull in the temple of *Kâu*, was killed by the king himself, using for the purpose a knife to the handle of which small bells were attached. With this he laid bare the hair, to show that the animal was of the required colour, inflicted the wound of death, and cut away the fat, which was burned along with southernwood to increase the incense and fragrance. Other victims were numerous, and the fifth ode of the second decade, Part II, describes all engaged in the service as greatly exhausted with what they had to do, flaying the carcasses, boiling the flesh, roasting it, broiling it, arranging it on trays and stands, and setting it forth. Ladies from the palace are present to give their assistance; music peals; the cup goes round. The description is that of a feast as much as of a sacrifice; and in fact, those great seasonal occasions were what we might call grand family reunions, where the dead and the living met, eating and drinking together, where the living worshipped the dead, and the dead blessed the living.

This characteristic of these ceremonies appeared most strikingly in the custom which required that the departed ancestors should be represented by living relatives of the same surname, chosen according to certain rules that are not mentioned in the *Shih*. These took for the time the place of the dead, received the

honours which were due to them, and were supposed to be possessed by their spirits. They ate and drank as those whom they personated would have done; accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants; communicated their will to the principal in the service, and pronounced on him and on his line their benediction, being assisted in this point by a mediating priest, as we may call him for want of a more exact term. On the next day, after a summary repetition of the ceremonies of the sacrifice, those personators of the dead were specially feasted, and, as it is expressed in the second decade of Part III, ode 4, 'their happiness and dignity were made complete.' We have an allusion to this strange custom in Mencius (VI, i, ch. 5), showing how a junior member of a family, when chosen to represent one of his ancestors, was for the time exalted above his elders, and received the demonstrations of reverence due to the ancestor.

When the sacrifice to ancestors was finished, the king feasted his uncles and younger brothers or cousins, that is, all the princes and nobles of the same surname with himself, in another apartment. The musicians who had discoursed with instrument and voice during the worship and entertainment of the ancestors, followed the convivial party 'to give their soothing aid at the second blessing.' The viands that had been provided, we have seen, in great abundance, were brought in from the temple, and set forth anew. The guests ate to the full and drank to the full, and at the conclusion they all did obeisance, while one of them declared the satisfaction of the Spirits, and assured the king of their favour to him and his posterity, so long as they did not neglect those observances. During the feast the king showed particular respect to those among his relatives who were aged, filled their cups again and again, and desired 'that their old age might be blessed, and their bright happiness ever increased.'

The above sketch of the seasonal sacrifices to ancestors shows that they were intimately related to the duty of filial piety, and were designed mainly to maintain the unity of the family connexion. There was implied in them a belief in the continued existence of the spirits of the departed; and by means of them the ancestors of the kings were raised to the position of the Tutelary spirits of the dynasty; and the ancestors of each family became its Tutelary spirits. Several of the pieces in Part IV are appropriate, it will be observed, to sacrifices offered to some

one monarch. They would be used on particular occasions connected with his achievements in the past, or when it was supposed that his help would be valuable in contemplated enterprises. With regard to all the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, Confucius gives the following account of the purposes which they were intended to serve, hardly adverting to their religious significance, in the nineteenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean :—‘ By means of them they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By arranging those present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the apportioning of duties at them, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given to the lowest to do. At the (concluding) feast places were given according to the hair, and thus was marked the distinction of years.’

The Shih does not speak of the worship which was paid to God, unless it be incidentally. There were two grand occasions on which it was rendered by the sovereign,—the summer and winter solstices. These two sacrifices were offered on different altars, that in winter being often described as offered to Heaven, and that in summer to Earth; but we have the testimony of Confucius, in the nineteenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that the object of them both was to serve Shang-Ti. Of the ceremonies on these two occasions, however, I do not speak here, as there is nothing said about them in the Shih. But there were other sacrifices to God, at stated periods in the course of the year, of at least two of which we have some intimation in the pieces of this fourth Part. The last in the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of Kâu is addressed to Hâu Kî as having proved himself the correlate of Heaven, in teaching men to cultivate the grain which God had appointed for the nourishment of all. This was appropriate to a sacrifice in spring, offered to God to seek His blessing on the agricultural labours of the year, Hâu Kî, as the ancestor of the House of Kâu, being associated with Him in it. The seventh piece of the same decade again was appropriate to a sacrifice to God in autumn, in the Hall of Light, at a great audience to the feudal princes, when king Wăn was associated with Him as being the founder of the dynasty of Kâu.

With these preliminary observations to assist the reader in understanding the pieces in this Part, I proceed to give—

I. THE SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG.

THESE odes of Shang constitute the last Book in the ordinary editions of the Shih. I put them here in the first place, because they are the oldest pieces in the collection. There are only five of them.

The sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang occupied the throne from B.C. 1766 to 1123. They traced their lineage to Hsieh, who appears in the Shû as Minister of Instruction to Shun. By Yâo or by Shun, Hsieh was invested with the principality of Shang, corresponding to the small department which is so named in Shen-hsi. Fourteenth in descent from him came Thien-yî, better known as K'ang Thang, or Thang the Successful, who dethroned the last descendant of the line of Hsiâ, and became the founder of a new dynasty. We meet with him first at a considerable distance from the ancestral fief (which, however, gave name to the dynasty), having as his capital the southern Po, which seems correctly referred to the present district of Shang-k'hiu, in the department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. Among the twenty-seven sovereigns who followed Thang, there were three especially distinguished:—Thái K'ia, his grandson and successor (B.C. 1753 to 1721), who received the title of Thái Jung; Thái Mâu (B.C. 1637 to 1563), canonized as Kung Jung; and Wû-ting (B.C. 1324 to 1266), known as K'ao Jung. The shrines of these three sovereigns and that of Thang retained their places in the ancestral temple ever after they were first set up, and if all the sacrificial odes of the dynasty had been preserved, most of them would have been in praise of one or other of the four. But it so happened that at least all the odes of which Thái Jung was the subject were lost; and of the others we have only the small portion that has been mentioned above.

Of how it is that we have even these, we have the following account in the Narratives of the States, compiled, probably, by a contemporary of Confucius. The count of Wei was made duke of Sung by king Wû of K'au, as related in the Shû, V, viii, there to continue the sacrifices of the House of Shang; but the government of Sung fell subsequently into disorder, and the memorials of the dynasty were lost. In the time of duke T'ai (B.C. 799 to 766), one of his ministers, K'ang-khâu, an ancestor of Confucius, received from the Grand Music-Master at the court of K'au twelve

of the sacrificial odes of Shang with which he returned to Sung, where they were used in sacrificing to the old Shang kings. It is supposed that seven of these were lost subsequently, before the collection of the Shih was formed.

ODE 1. THE NÂ¹.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO THANG, THE FOUNDER OF THE SHANG DYNASTY, DWELLING ESPECIALLY ON THE MUSIC AND THE REVERENCE WITH WHICH THE SACRIFICE WAS PERFORMED.

We cannot tell by which of the kings of Shang the sacrifice here referred to was first performed. He is simply spoken of as 'a descendant of Thang.' The ode seems to have been composed by some one, probably a member of the royal House, who had taken part in the service.

How admirable! how complete! Here are set our hand-drums and drums. The drums resound harmonious and loud, To delight our meritorious ancestor².

The descendant of Thang invites him with this music, That he may soothe us with the realization of our thoughts³. Deep is the sound of our hand-

¹ The piece is called the Nâ, because a character so named is an important part of the first line. So generally the pieces in the Shih receive their names from a character or phrase occurring in them. This point will not be again touched on.

² The 'meritorious ancestor' is Thang. The sacrifices of the Shang dynasty commenced with music; those of the Kâu with libations of fragrant spirits;—in both cases with the same object, to attract the spirit, or spirits, sacrificed to, and secure their presence at the service. K'ăn Hào (Ming dynasty) says, 'The departed spirits hover between heaven and earth, and sound goes forth, filling the region of the air. Hence in sacrificing, the people of Yin began with a performance of music.'

³ The *Lí Kî*, XXIV, i, parr. 2, 3, tells us, that the sacrificer, as preliminary to the service, had to fast for some days, and to think of the person of his ancestor,—where he had stood and sat, how he had smiled and spoken, what had been his cherished aims,

drums and drums; Shrilly sound the flutes; All harmonious and blending together, According to the notes of the sonorous gem. Oh! majestic is the descendant of Thang; Very admirable is his music.

The large bells and drums fill the ear; The various dances are grandly performed¹. We have the admirable visitors², Who are pleased and delighted.

From of old, before our time, The former men set us the example;—How to be mild and humble from morning to night, And to be reverent in discharging the service.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn³, (Thus) offered by the descendant of Thang!

ODE 2. THE LIEH 30.

PROBABLY LIKE THE LAST ODE, APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO THANG, DWELLING ON THE SPIRITS, THE SOUP, AND THE GRAVITY OF THE SERVICE, AND ON THE ASSISTING PRINCES.

Neither can we tell by which of the kings of Shang this ode was first used. *K'ü Hsi* says that the object of the sacrifice was Thang. The Preface assigns it to *Thái Mậu*, the *K'ung Jung*, or second of the three 'honoured ones.' But there is not a

pleasures, and delights; and on the third day he would have a complete image of him in his mind's eye. Then on the day of sacrifice, when he entered the temple, he would seem to see him in his shrine, and to hear him, as he went about in the discharge of the service. This line seems to indicate the realization of all this.

¹ Dancing thus entered into the service as an accompaniment of the music. Two terms are employed; one denoting the movements appropriate to a dance of war, the other those appropriate to a dance of peace.

² The visitors would be the representatives of the lines of *Hsiâ*, *Shun*, and *Yáo*.

³ Two of the seasonal sacrifices are thus specified, by synecdoche, for all the four.

word in praise of *Kung Jung*, and the 'meritorious ancestor' of the first line is not to be got over. Still more clearly than in the case of the former ode does this appear to have been made by some one who had taken part in the service, for in line 4 he addresses the sacrificing king as 'you.'

Ah! ah! our meritorious ancestor! Permanent are the blessings coming from him, Repeatedly conferred without end;—They have come to you in this place.

The clear spirits are in our vessels, And there is granted to us the realization of our thoughts. There are also the well-tempered soups, Prepared beforehand, with the ingredients rightly proportioned. By these offerings we invite his presence, without a word, Without (unseemly) contention (among the worshippers). He will bless us with the eyebrows of longevity, With the grey hair and wrinkled face in unlimited degree.

With the naves of their wheels bound with leather, and their ornamented yokes, With the eight bells at their horses' bits all tinkling, (The princes) come to assist at the offerings¹. We have received the appointment in all its greatness, And from Heaven is our prosperity sent down, Fruitful years of great abundance. (Our ancestor) will come and enjoy (our offerings), And confer on us happiness without limit.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn, (Thus) offered by the descendant of Thang!

¹ These lines are descriptive of the feudal princes, who were present and assisted at the sacrificial service. The chariot of each was drawn by four horses yoked abreast, two insides and two outsides, on each side of the bits of which small bells were attached.

ODE 3. THE HSÜAN NIÃO.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE OF SHANG;—
INTENDED SPECIALLY TO DO HONOUR TO THE KING WŪ-TING.

If this ode were not intended to do honour to Wŭ-ting, the K'ao Jung of Shang, we cannot account for the repeated mention of him in it. K'ü Hsü, however, in his note on it, says nothing about Wŭ-ting, but simply that the piece belonged to the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, tracing back the line of the kings of Shang to its origin, and to its attaining the sovereignty of the kingdom. Not at all unlikely is the view of K'ang Hsüan, that the sacrifice was in the third year after the death of Wŭ-ting, and offered to him in the temple of Hsieh, the ancestor of the Shang dynasty.

Heaven commissioned the swallow, To descend
and give birth to (the father of our) Shang¹. (His
descendants) dwelt in the land of Yin, and became
great. (Then) long ago God appointed the martial
Thang, To regulate the boundaries throughout the
four quarters (of the kingdom).

(In those) quarters he appointed the princes,
And grandly possessed the nine regions². The

¹ The father of Shang is Hsieh, who has already been mentioned. The mother of Hsieh was a daughter of the House of the ancient state of Sung, and a concubine of the ancient ruler Khü (B. C. 2435). According to Mâu, she accompanied Khü, at the time of the vernal equinox, when the swallow made its appearance, to sacrifice and pray to the first match-maker, and the result was the birth of Hsieh. Sze-má K'ien and K'ang make Hsieh's birth more marvellous:—The lady was bathing in some open place, when a swallow made its appearance, and dropt an egg, which she took and swallowed; and from this came Hsieh. The editors of the imperial edition of the Shih, of the present dynasty, say we need not believe the legends;—the important point is to believe that the birth of Hsieh was specially ordered by Heaven.

² 'The nine regions' are the nine provinces into which Yü divided the kingdom.

first sovereign of Shang¹ Received the appointment without any element of instability in it, And it is (now) held by the descendant of Wû-ting².

The descendant of Wû-ting Is a martial sovereign, equal to every emergency. Ten princes, (who came) with their dragon-emblazoned banners, Bear the large dishes of millet.

The royal domain of a thousand li Is where the people rest; But the boundaries that reach to the four seas commence there.

From the four seas³ they come (to our sacrifices); They come in multitudes. K'ing has the Ho for its outer border⁴. That Yin⁵ should have received the appointment (of Heaven) was entirely right;—(Its sovereign) sustains all its dignities.

ODE 4. THE K'ANG FA.

CELEBRATING HsIEH, THE ANCESTOR OF THE HOUSE OF SHANG;
HSIANG-THŪ, HIS GRANDSON; THANG, THE FOUNDER OF THE DYNASTY;
AND I-YIN, THANG'S CHIEF MINISTER AND ADVISER.

It does not appear on occasion of what sacrifice this piece was made. The most probable view is that of Mào, that it was the

¹ That is, Thang.

² If this ode were used, as K'ang supposes, in the third year after Wû-ting's death, this 'descendant' would be his son 3û-k'ang, B. C. 1265 to 1259.

³ This expression, which occurs also in the Shû, indicates that the early Chinese believed that their country extended to the sea, east, west, north, and south.

⁴ K'ü Hsî says he did not understand this line; but there is ground in the 3o Kwan for our believing that K'ing was the name of a hill in the region where the capital of Shang was.

⁵ We saw in the Shû that the name Shang gave place to Yin after the time of Pan-k'ang, B. C. 1401 to 1374. Wû-ting's reign was subsequent to that of Pan-k'ang.

'great Tî sacrifice,' when the principal object of honour would be the ancient Khû, the father of Hsieh, with Hsieh as his correlate, and all the kings of the dynasty, with the earlier lords of Shang, and their famous ministers and advisers, would have their places at the service. I think this is the oldest of the odes of Shang.

Profoundly wise were (the lords of) Shang, And long had there appeared the omens (of their dignity).

When the waters of the deluge spread vast abroad, Yü arranged and divided the regions of the land, And assigned to the exterior great states their boundaries, With their borders extending all over (the kingdom). (Even) then the chief of Sung was beginning to be great, And God raised up the son (of his daughter), and founded (the line of) Shang¹.

The dark king exercised an effective sway². Charged with a small state, he commanded success; Charged with a large state, he commanded success³. He followed his rules of conduct without error; Wherever he inspected (the people), they responded (to his instructions)⁴. (Then came) Hsiang-thû all ardent⁵, And all within the four seas, beyond (the middle regions), acknowledged his restraints.

¹ This line refers to the birth of Hsieh, as described in the previous ode, and his being made lord of Shang.

² It would be hard to say why Hsieh is here called 'the dark king.' There may be an allusion to the legend about the connexion of the swallow,—'the dark bird,'—with his birth. He never was 'a king;' but his descendants here represented him as such.

³ All that is meant here is, that the territory of Shang was enlarged under Hsieh.

⁴ There is a reference here to Hsieh's appointment by Shun to be Minister of Instruction.

⁵ Hsiang-thû appears in the genealogical lists as grandson of Hsieh. We know nothing of him but what is related here.

The favour of God did not leave (Shang), And in Thang was found the fit object for its display. Thang was not born too late, And his wisdom and reverence daily advanced :—Brilliant was the influence of his character (on Heaven) for long. God he revered, And God appointed him to be the model for the nine regions.

He received the rank-tokens of the states, small and large, Which depended on him like the pendants of a banner :—So did he receive the blessing of Heaven. He was neither violent nor remiss, Neither hard nor soft. Gently he spread his instructions abroad, And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him.

He received the tribute of the states, small and large, And he supported them as a strong steed (does its burden) :—So did he receive the favour of Heaven. He displayed everywhere his valour, Unshaken, unmoved, Unterrified, unscared :—All dignities were united in him.

The martial king displayed his banner, And with reverence grasped his axe. It was like (the case of) a blazing fire which no one can repress. The root, with its three shoots, Could make no progress, no growth¹. The nine regions were effectually secured by Thang. Having smitten (the princes of) Wei and Kû, He dealt with (him of) Kün-wû and with K'ieh of Hsiâ.

Formerly, in the middle of the period (before

¹ By 'the root' we are to understand Thang's chief opponent, K'ieh, the last king of Hsiâ. K'ieh's three great helpers were 'the three shoots,'—the princes of Wei, Kû, and Kün-wû; but the exact sites of their principalities cannot be made out.

Thang), There was a time of shaking and peril¹.
But truly did Heaven (then) deal with him as a son,
And sent him down a high minister, Namely,
Â-hăng², Who gave his assistance to the king of
Shang.

ODE 5. THE YIN WŪ.

CELEBRATING THE WAR OF WŪ-TING AGAINST K'ING-K'ĤŪ, ITS SUCCESS,
AND THE GENERAL HAPPINESS AND VIRTUE OF HIS REIGN;—MADE,
PROBABLY, WHEN A SPECIAL AND PERMANENT TEMPLE WAS BUILT
FOR HIM AS THE 'HIGH AND HONOURED' KING OF SHANG.

The concluding lines indicate that the temple was made on the occasion which I thus assign to it. After Wū-ting's death, his spirit-tablet would be shrined in the ancestral temple, and he would have his share in the seasonal sacrifices; but several reigns would elapse before there was any necessity to make any other arrangement, so that his tablet should not be removed, and his share in the sacrifices not be discontinued. Hence the composition of the piece has been referred to the time of Tî-yî, the last but one of the kings of Shang.

Rapid was the warlike energy of (our king of)
Yin, And vigorously did he attack K'ing-K'ĤŪ³.

¹ We do not know anything of this time of decadence in the fortunes of Shang between Hsieh and Thang.

² Â-hăng is Î Yin, who plays so remarkable a part in the Shû, IV, Books iv, v, and vi.

³ K'ing, or K'ĤŪ, or K'ing-K'ĤŪ, as the two names are combined here, was a large and powerful half-savage state, having its capital in the present Wû-pei. So far as evidence goes, we should say, but for this ode, that the name of K'ĤŪ was not in use till long after the Shang dynasty. The name K'ing appears several times in 'the Spring and Autumn' in the annals of duke K'wang (B.C. 693 to 662), and then it gives place to the name K'ĤŪ in the first year of duke Hsî (B.C. 659), and subsequently disappears itself altogether. In consequence of this some critics make this piece out to have been composed under the K'au dynasty. The point cannot be fully cleared up; but on the whole I accept the words of the ode as sufficient proof against the silence of other documents.

Boldly he entered its dangerous passes, And brought the multitudes of *K'ing* together, Till the country was reduced under complete restraint:—Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of Thang!

'Ye people,' (he said), 'of *K'ing-K'ü*, Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom. Formerly, in the time of Thang the Successful, Even from the *K'iang* of *Ti*¹, They dared not but come with their offerings; (Their chiefs) dared not but come to seek acknowledgment²:—Such is the regular rule of Shang.'

Heaven had given their appointments (to the princes), But where their capitals had been assigned within the sphere of the labours of *Yü*, For the business of every year they appeared before our king³, (Saying), 'Do not punish nor reprove us; We have not been remiss in our husbandry.'

When Heaven by its will is inspecting (the kingdom), The lower people are to be feared. (Our king) showed no partiality (in rewarding), no excess (in punishing); He dared not to allow himself in indolence:—So was his appointment (established)

¹ The *Ti K'iang*, or *K'iang* of *Ti*, still existed in the time of the Han dynasty, occupying portions of the present Kan-sü.

² The chiefs of the wild tribes, lying beyond the nine provinces of the kingdom, were required to present themselves once in their lifetime at the royal court. The rule, in normal periods, was for each chief to appear immediately after he had succeeded to the headship of his tribe.

³ The feudal lords had to appear at court every year. They did so, we may suppose, at the court of *Wü-ting*, the more so because of his subjugation of *K'ing-K'ü*.

over the states, And he made his happiness grandly secure.

The capital of Shang was full of order, The model for all parts of the kingdom. Glorious was (the king's) fame; Brilliant his energy. Long lived he and enjoyed tranquillity, And so he preserves us, his descendants.

We ascended the hill of *K'ing*¹, Where the pines and cypresses grew symmetrical. We cut them down and conveyed them here; We reverently hewed them square. Long are the projecting beams of pine; Large are the many pillars. The temple was completed,—the tranquil abode (of the martial king of Yin).

II. THE SACRIFICIAL ODES OF KÂU.

IN this division we have thirty-one sacrificial odes of Kâu, arranged in three decades, the third of which, however, contains eleven pieces. They belong mostly to the time of king Wăn, the founder of the Kâu dynasty, and to the reigns of his son and grandson, kings Wû and K'ăng. The decades are named from the name of the first piece in each.

The First Decade, or that of *K'ing Miào*.

ODE 1. THE *KHING* MIÃO.

CELEBRATING THE REVERENTIAL MANNER IN WHICH A SACRIFICE TO KING WĂN WAS PERFORMED, AND FURTHER PRAISING HIM.

Chinese critics agree in assigning this piece to the sacrifice mentioned in the Shû, in the end of the thirteenth Book of Part V, when, the building of Lo being finished, king K'ăng came to

¹ See on the last line but two of ode 3.

the new city, and offered a red bull to Wăn, and the same to Wû. It seems to me to have been sung in honour of Wăn, after the service was completed. This determination of the occasion of the piece being accepted, we should refer it to B. C. 1108.

Oh! solemn is the ancestral temple in its pure stillness. Reverent and harmonious were the distinguished assistants¹; Great was the number of the officers²:—(All) assiduous followers of the virtue of (king Wăn). In response to him in heaven, Grandly they hurried about in the temple. Distinguished is he and honoured, And will never be wearied of among men.

ODE 2. THE WEI THIEN KIH MING.

CELEBRATING THE VIRTUE OF KING WĂN AS COMPARABLE TO THAT OF HEAVEN, AND LOOKING TO HIM FOR BLESSING IN THE FUTURE.

According to the Preface, there is an announcement here of the realization of complete peace throughout the kingdom, and some of the old critics refer the ode to a sacrifice to king Wăn by the duke of Kâu, when he had completed the statutes for the new dynasty. But there is nothing to authorize a more definite argument of the contents than I have given.

The ordinances of Heaven,—How deep are they and unintermitting! And oh! how illustrious Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wăn³!

How does he (now) show his kindness? We will receive it, Striving to be in accord with him, our

¹ These would be the princes who were assembled on the occasion, and assisted the king in the service.

² That is, the officers who took part in the libations, prayers, and other parts of the sacrifice.

³ See what 3ze-sze says on these four lines in the Doctrine of the Mean, XXVI, par. 10.

king Wăn; And may his remotest descendant be abundantly the same!

ODE 3. THE WEI K'HING.

APPROPRIATE AT SOME SACRIFICE TO KING WĂN, AND CELEBRATING HIS STATUTES.

Nothing more can, with any likelihood of truth, be said of this short piece, which moreover has the appearance of being a fragment.

Clear and to be preserved bright, Are the statutes of king Wăn. From the first sacrifice (to him), Till now when they have issued in our complete state, They have been the happy omen of (the fortunes of) K'au.

ODE 4. THE LIEH WĂN.

A SONG IN PRAISE OF THE PRINCES WHO HAVE ASSISTED AT A SACRIFICE, AND ADMONISHING THEM.

The Preface says that this piece was made on the occasion of king K'häng's accession to the government, when he thus addressed the princes who had assisted him in the ancestral temple. K'ü Hsî considers that it was a piece for general use in the ancestral temple, to be sung when the king presented a cup to his assisting guests, after they had thrice presented the cup to the representatives of the dead. There is really nothing in it to enable us to decide in favour of either view.

Ye, brilliant and accomplished princes, Have conferred on me this happiness. Your favours to me are without limit, And my descendants will preserve (the fruits of) them.

Be not mercenary nor extravagant in your states, And the king will honour you. Thinking of this

great service, He will enlarge the dignity of your successors.

What is most powerful is the being the man:—
Its influence will be felt throughout your states.
What is most distinguished is the being virtuous:—
It will secure the imitation of all the princes. Ah!
the former kings cannot be forgotten!

ODE 5. THE THIEN 30.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO KING THÂI.

We cannot tell what the sacrifice was; and the Preface, indeed, says that the piece was used in the seasonal sacrifices to all the former kings and dukes of the House of *Kâu*. King *Thái* was the grandfather of king *Wăn*, and, before he received that title, was known as 'the ancient duke *Than-fû*.' In B.C. 1327, he moved with his followers from *Pin*, an earlier seat of his House, and settled in the plain of *Khî*, about fifty *lî* to the north-east of the present district city of *Khî-shan*, in *Shen-hsi*.

Heaven made the lofty hill¹, And king *Thái*
brought (the country about) it under cultivation.
He made the commencement with it, And king
Wăn tranquilly (carried on the work), (Till) that
rugged (mount) *Khî* Had level roads leading to it.
May their descendants ever preserve it!

ODE 6. THE HÂO THIEN YÜ KHĂNG MING.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO KING KHĂNG.

Khăng was the honorary title of *Sung*, the son and successor of king *Wû*, B.C. 1115 to 1079.

Heaven made its determinate appointment, Which
our two sovereigns received². King *Khăng* did not
dare to rest idly in it, But night and day enlarged

¹ Meaning mount *Khî*.

² *Wăn* and *Wû*.

its foundations by his deep and silent virtue. How did he continue and glorify (his heritage), Exerting all his heart, And so securing its tranquillity!

ODE 7. THE WO K'ANG.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO KING W'AN, ASSOCIATED WITH HEAVEN,
IN THE HALL OF AUDIENCE.

There is, happily, an agreement among the critics as to the occasion to which this piece is referred. It took place in the last month of autumn, in the Hall of Audience, called also 'the Brilliant Hall,' and 'the Hall of Light.' We must suppose that the princes are all assembled at court, and that the king receives them in this hall. A sacrifice is then presented to God, and with him is associated king W'an, the two being the fountain from which, and the channel through which, the sovereignty had come to K'au.

I have brought my offerings, A ram and a bull.
May Heaven accept them¹!

I imitate and follow and observe the statutes of king W'an, Seeking daily to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom. King W'an, the Blessor, has descended on the right, and accepted (the offerings).

Do I not, night and day, Revere the majesty of Heaven, Thus to preserve (its favour)?

ODE 8. THE SHIH M'AI.

APPROPRIATE TO KING WU'S SACRIFICING TO HEAVEN, AND TO THE SPIRITS OF THE HILLS AND RIVERS, ON A PROGRESS THROUGH THE KINGDOM, AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE SHANG DYNASTY.

Here again there is an agreement among the critics. We find from the *Bo Kwan* and 'the Narratives of the States,' that the

¹ This is a prayer. The worshipper, it is said, in view of the majesty of Heaven, shrank from assuming that God would certainly accept his sacrifice. He assumes, below, that king W'an does so.

piece was, when those compilations were made, considered to be the work of the duke of K'âu; and, no doubt, it was made by him soon after the accession of Wû to the kingdom, and when he was making a royal progress in assertion of his being appointed by Heaven to succeed to the rulers of Shang. The 'I' in the fourteenth line is, most probably, to be taken of the duke of K'âu, who may have recited the piece on occasion of the sacrifices, in the hearing of the assembled princes and lords.

Now is he making a progress through his states ;
May Heaven deal with him as its son !

Truly are the honour and succession come from
it to the House of K'âu. To his movements All
respond with tremulous awe. He has attracted
and given rest to all spiritual beings¹, Even to
(the spirits of) the Ho and the highest hills.
Truly is the king our sovereign lord.

Brilliant and illustrious is the House of K'âu.
He has regulated the positions of the princes ;
He has called in shields and spears ; He has re-
turned to their cases bows and arrows². I will
cultivate admirable virtue, And display it through-
out these great regions. Truly will the king pre-
serve the appointment.

¹ 'All spiritual beings' is, literally, 'the hundred spirits,' meaning the spirits presiding, under Heaven, over all nature, and especially the spirits of the rivers and hills throughout the kingdom. Those of the Ho and the lofty mountains are mentioned, because if their spirits were satisfied with Wû, those of all other mountains and hills, no doubt, were so.

² Compare with these lines the last chapter of 'the Completion of the War' in the Shû.

ODE 9. THE K'IH KING.

AN ODE APPROPRIATE IN SACRIFICING TO THE KINGS WŪ, KH'ANG, AND KHANG.

The Chinese critics differ in the interpretation of this ode, the Preface and older scholars restricting it to a sacrifice to king WŪ, while K'ü Hsî and others find reference in it, as to me also seems most natural, to K'hang and Khang, who succeeded him.

The arm of king WŪ was full of strength; Irresistible was his ardour. Greatly illustrious were K'hang and Khang¹, Kinged by God.

When we consider how K'hang and Khang Grandly held all within the four quarters (of the kingdom), How penetrating was their intelligence!

The bells and drums sound in harmony; The sounding-stones and flutes blend their notes; Abundant blessing is sent down.

Blessing is sent down in large measure. Careful and exact is all our deportment; We have drunk, and we have eaten, to the full; Our happiness and dignity will be prolonged.

ODE 10. THE SZE W'AN.

APPROPRIATE TO ONE OF THE BORDER SACRIFICES, WHEN H'AU-K'Í WAS WORSHIPPED AS THE CORRELATE OF GOD, AND CELEBRATING HIM.

H'au-k'í was the same as K'hi, who appears in Part II of the Shû, as Minister of Agriculture to Yâo and Shun, and co-operating with

¹ If the whole piece be understood only of a sacrifice to WŪ, this line will have to be translated—'How illustrious was he, who completed (his great work), and secured its tranquillity.' We must deal similarly with the next line. This construction is very forced; nor is the text clear on the view of K'ü Hsî.

Yü in his labours on the flooded land. The name Hâu belongs to him as lord of Thái; that of Kî, as Minister of Agriculture. However the combination arose, Hâu-kî became historically the name of Kî of the time of Yáo and Shun, the ancestor to whom the kings of Káu traced their lineage. He was to the people the Father of Husbandry, who first taught men to plough and sow and reap. Hence, when the kings offered sacrifice and prayer to God at the commencement of spring for his blessing on the labours of the year, they associated Hâu-kî with him at the service.

O accomplished Hâu-kî, Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven. Thou didst give grain-food to our multitudes:—The immense gift of thy goodness. Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley, Which God appointed for the nourishment of all. And without distinction of territory or boundary, The rules of social duty were diffused throughout these great regions.

The Second Decade, or that of K'hsan Kung.

ODE 1. THE K'HSAN KUNG.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE OFFICERS OF HUSBANDRY.

The place of this piece among the sacrificial odes makes us assign it to the conclusion of some sacrifice; but what the sacrifice was we cannot tell. The Preface says that it was addressed, at the conclusion of the spring sacrifice to ancestors, to the princes who had been present and taken part in the service. K'ü Hsi says nothing but what I have stated in the above argument of the piece.

Ah! ah! ministers and officers, Reverently attend to your public duties. The king has given you perfect rules;—Consult about them, and consider them.

Ah! ah! ye assistants, It is now the end of

spring¹; And what have ye to seek for? (Only) how to manage the new fields and those of the third year. How beautiful are the wheat and the barley! The bright and glorious God Will in them give us a good year. Order all our men To be provided with their spuds and hoes :—Anon we shall see the sickles at work.

ODE 2. THE Î HSI.

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS TO THE OFFICERS OF HUSBANDRY.

Again there is a difficulty in determining to what sacrifice this piece should be referred. The Preface says it was sung on the occasions of sacrifice by the king to God, in spring and summer, for a good year. But the note on the first two lines will show that this view cannot be accepted without modification.

Oh! yes, king *K'äng*² Brightly brought himself near². Lead your husbandmen To sow their various kinds of grain, Going vigorously to work

¹ It is this line which makes it difficult to determine after what sacrifice we are to suppose these instructions to have been delivered. The year, during the Hsiâ dynasty, began with the first month of spring, as it now does in China, in consequence of Confucius having said that that was the proper time. Under the Shang dynasty, it commenced a month earlier; and during the K'au period, it ought always to have begun with the new moon preceding the winter solstice,—between our November 22 and December 22. But in the writings of the K'au period we find statements of time continually referred to the calendar of Hsiâ,—as here.

² These first two lines are all but unmanageable. The old critics held that there was no mention of king *K'äng* in them; but the text is definite on this point. We must suppose that a special service had been performed at his shrine, asking him to intimate the day when the sacrifice after which the instructions were given should be performed; and that a directing oracle had been received.

on your private fields¹, All over the thirty lî².
Attend to your ploughing, With your ten thousand
men all in pairs.

ODE 3. THE *KÂU LÛ*.

CELEBRATING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FORMER DYNASTIES, WHO
HAD COME TO COURT TO ASSIST AT A SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL
TEMPLE.

This piece may have been used when the king was dismissing his
distinguished guests in the ancestral temple. See the intro-
ductory note to this Part, pp. 300, 301.

A flock of egrets is flying, About the marsh
there in the west³. My visitors came, With an
(elegant) carriage like those birds.

There, (in their states), not disliked, Here, (in
Kâu), never tired of;—They are sure, day and
night, To perpetuate their fame.

¹ The mention of 'the private fields' implies that there were
also 'the public fields,' cultivated by the husbandmen in common,
in behalf of the government. As the people are elsewhere intro-
duced, wishing that the rain might first fall on 'the public fields,'
to show their loyalty, so the king here mentions only 'the private
fields,' to show his sympathy and consideration for the people.

² For the cultivation of the ground, the allotments of single
families were separated by a small ditch; ten allotments, by a
larger; a hundred, by what we may call a brook; a thousand, by
a small stream; and ten thousand, by a river. The space occupied
by 10,000 families formed a square of a little more than thirty-two
lî. We may suppose that this space was intended by the round
number of thirty lî in the text. So at least *K'ang Khang-k'ang*
explained it.

³ These two lines make the piece allusive. See the Intro-
duction, p. 279.

ODE 4. THE F'ANG NIEN.

AN ODE OF THANKSGIVING FOR A PLENTIFUL YEAR.

The Preface says the piece was used at sacrifices in autumn and winter. K'û Hsî calls it an ode of thanksgiving for a good year,—without any specification of time. He supposes, however, that the thanks were given to the ancient Sh'ân-n'ang, 'the father of Agriculture,' Hâu-k'î, 'the first Husbandman,' and the spirits presiding over the four quarters of the heavens. To this the imperial editors rightly demur, saying that the blessings which the piece speaks of could come only from God.

Abundant is the year with much millet and much rice; And we have our high granaries, With myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions (of measures in them); For spirits and sweet spirits, To present to our forefathers, male and female, And to supply all our ceremonies. The blessings sent down on us are of every kind.

ODE 5. THE Y'Ô K'Ô.

THE BLIND MUSICIANS OF THE COURT OF K'ÂU; THE INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC; AND THEIR HARMONY.

The critics agree in holding that this piece was made on occasion of the duke of K'âu's completing his instruments of music for the ancestral temple, and announcing the fact at a grand performance in the temple of king W'ân. It can hardly be regarded as a sacrificial ode.

There are the blind musicians; there are the blind musicians; In the court of (the temple of) K'âu¹.

¹ The blind musicians at the court of K'âu were numerous. The blindness of the eyes was supposed to make the ears more acute in hearing, and to be favourable to the powers of the voice. In the Official Book of K'âu, III, i, par. 22, the enumeration of

There are (the music-frames with their) face-boards and posts, The high toothed-edge (of the former), and the feathers stuck (in the latter); With the drums, large and small, suspended from them; And the hand-drums and sounding-stones, the instrument to give the signal for commencing, and the stopper. These being all complete, the music is struck up. The pan-pipe and the double flute begin at the same time¹.

Harmoniously blend their sounds; In solemn unison they give forth their notes. Our ancestors will give ear. Our visitors will be there;—Long to witness the complete performance.

ODE 6. THE *KHIEN*.

SUNG IN THE LAST MONTH OF WINTER, AND IN SPRING, WHEN THE KING PRESENTED A FISH IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE.

Such is the argument of this piece given in the Preface, and in which the critics generally concur. In the *Lî Kî*, IV, vi, 49, it is recorded that the king, in the third month of winter, gave orders to his chief fisher to commence his duties, and went himself to see his operations. He partook of the fish first captured, but previously presented some as an offering in the back apartment of the ancestral temple. In the third month of spring, again, when the sturgeons began to make their appearance (*Lî Kî*, IV, i, 25), the king presented one in the same place. On

these blind musicians gives 2 directors of the first rank, and 4 of the second; 40 performers of the first grade, 100 of the second, and 160 of the third; with 300 assistants who were possessed of vision. But it is difficult not to be somewhat incredulous as to this great collection of blind musicians about the court of *Kâu*.

¹ All the instruments here enumerated were performed on in the open court below the hall. Nothing is said of the stringed instruments which were used in the hall itself; nor is the enumeration of the instruments in the courtyard complete.

these passages, the prefatory notice was, no doubt, constructed. Choice specimens of the earliest-caught fish were presented by the sovereign to his ancestors, as an act of duty, and an acknowledgment that it was to their favour that he and the people were indebted for the supplies of food, which they received from the waters.

Oh! in the *K'hi* and the *K'ü*, There are many fish in the warrens;—Sturgeons, large and snouted, Thyrssas, yellow-jaws, mud-fish, and carp;—For offerings, for sacrifice, That our bright happiness may be increased.

ODE 7. THE YUNG.

APPROPRIATE, PROBABLY, AT A SACRIFICE BY KING WÜ TO HIS FATHER WÄN.

From a reference in the *Analects*, III, ii, to an abuse of this ode in the time of Confucius, we learn that it was sung when the sacrificial vessels and their contents were being removed.

They come full of harmony; They are here in all gravity;—The princes assisting, While the Son of Heaven looks profound.

(He says), 'While I present (this) noble bull, And they assist me in setting forth the sacrifice, O great and august Father, Comfort me, your filial son.

'With penetrating wisdom thou didst play the man, A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war, Giving rest even to great Heaven¹, And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants.

¹ To explain this line one commentator refers to the seventh stanza of the first piece in the Major Odes of the Kingdom, where it is said, 'God surveyed the four quarters of the kingdom, seeking for some one to give settlement and rest to the people;' and adds, 'Thus what Heaven has at heart is the settlement of the people. When they have rest given to them, then Heaven is at rest.'

'Thou comforest me with the eyebrows of longevity; Thou makest me great with manifold blessings, I offer this sacrifice to my meritorious father, And to my accomplished mother¹.'

ODE 8. THE 3ÂI HSIEN.

APPROPRIATE TO AN OCCASION WHEN THE FEUDAL PRINCES HAD BEEN ASSISTING KING KHĂNG AT A SACRIFICE TO HIS FATHER.

They appeared before their sovereign king, To seek from him the rules (they were to observe). With their dragon-emblazoned banners, flying bright, The bells on them and their front-boards tinkling, And with the rings on the ends of the reins glittering, Admirable was their majesty and splendour.

He led them to appear before his father shrined on the left², Where he discharged his filial duty, and presented his offerings;—That he might have granted to him long life, And ever preserve (his dignity). Great and many are his blessings. They are the brilliant and accomplished princes, Who cheer him with his many sources of happiness,

¹ At sacrifices to ancestors, the spirit tablets of wives were placed along with those of their husbands in their shrines, so that both shared in the honours of the service. So it is now in the imperial ancestral temple in Peking. The 'accomplished mother' here would be Thái Sze, celebrated often in the pieces of the first Book of Part I, and elsewhere.

² Among the uses of the services of the ancestral temple, specified by Confucius and quoted on p. 302, was the distinguishing the order of descent in the royal House. According to the rules for that purpose, the characters here used enable us to determine the subject of this line as king Wû, in opposition to his father Wăn.

Enabling him to perpetuate them in their brightness as pure blessing.

ODE 9. THE YÛ KHO.

CELEBRATING THE DUKE OF SUNG ON ONE OF HIS APPEARANCES
AT THE CAPITAL TO ASSIST AT THE SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL
TEMPLE OF KÂU;—SHOWING HOW HE WAS ESTEEMED AND CHERISHED
BY THE KING.

The mention of the white horses here in the chariot of the visitor sufficiently substantiates the account in the Preface that he was the famous count of Wei, mentioned in the Shu, IV, xi, and whose subsequent investiture with the duchy of Sung, as the representative of the line of the Shang kings, is also related in the Shû, V, viii. With the dynasty of Shang white had been the esteemed and sacred colour, as red was with Kâu, and hence the duke had his carriage drawn by white horses. 'The language,' says one critic, 'is all in praise of the visitor, but it was sung in the temple, and is rightly placed therefore among the Sung.' There is, in the last line, an indication of the temple in it.

The noble visitor! The noble visitor! Drawn,
like his ancestors, by white horses! The reverent
and dignified, Polished members of his suite!

The noble guest will stay (but) a night or two!
The noble guest will stay (but) two nights or four!
Give him ropes, To bind his horses¹.

I will convoy him (with a parting feast); I will
comfort him in every possible way. Adorned with
such great dignity, It is very natural that he should
be blessed.

¹ These four lines simply express the wish of the king to detain his visitor, from the delight that his presence gave him. Compare the similar language in the second ode of the fourth decade of Part II.

ODE 10. THE WŪ.

SUNG IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE TO THE MUSIC REGULATING THE
DANCE IN HONOUR OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF KING WŪ.

This account of the piece, given in the Preface, is variously corroborated, and has not been called in question by any critic. Perhaps this brief ode was sung as a prelude to the dance, or it may be that the seven lines are only a fragment. This, indeed, is most likely, as we have several odes in the next decade, all said to have been used at the same occasion.

Oh! great wast thou, O king Wŭ, Displaying
the utmost strength in thy work. Truly accomplished was king Wăn, Opening the path for his successors. Thou didst receive the inheritance from him. Thou didst vanquish Yin, and put a stop to its cruelties;—Effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.

The Third Decade, or that of Min Yü Hsião 3ze.

ODE 1. THE MIN YÜ.

APPROPRIATE TO THE YOUNG KING KHĀNG, DECLARING HIS SENTIMENTS
IN THE TEMPLE OF HIS FATHER.

The speaker in this piece is, by common consent, king *Khāng*. The only question is as to the date of its composition, whether it was made for him, in his minority, on his repairing to the temple when the mourning for his father was completed, or after the expiration of the regency of the duke of Kâu. The words 'little child,' according to their usage, are expressive of humility and not of age. They do not enable us to determine the above point.

Alas for me, who am a little child, On whom has devolved the unsettled state! Solitary am I and full of distress. Oh! my great Father, All thy life long, thou wast filial.

Thou didst think of my great grandfather, (Seeing

him, as it were) ascending and descending in the court, I, the little child, Day and night will be as reverent.

Oh! ye great kings, As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.

ODE 2. THE FANG LO.

THE YOUNG KING TELLS OF HIS DIFFICULTIES AND INCOMPETENCIES; ASKS FOR COUNSEL TO KEEP HIM TO COPY THE EXAMPLE OF HIS FATHER; STATES HOW HE MEANT TO DO SO; AND CONCLUDES WITH AN APPEAL OR PRAYER TO HIS FATHER.

This seems to be a sequel to the former ode. We can hardly say anything about it so definite as the statement in the Preface, that it relates to a council held by *K'hang* and his ministers in the ancestral temple.

I take counsel at the beginning of my (rule),
How I can follow (the example of) my shrined father. Ah! far-reaching (were his plans), And I am not yet able to carry them out. However I endeavour to reach to them, My continuation of them will still be all-deflected. I am a little child, Unequal to the many difficulties of the state. Having taken his place, (I will look for him) to go up and come down in the court, To ascend and descend in the house. Admirable art thou, O great Father, (Condescend) to preserve and enlighten me.

ODE 3. THE KING KIH.

KING *K'hang* SHOWS HIS SENSE OF WHAT WAS REQUIRED OF HIM TO PRESERVE THE FAVOUR OF HEAVEN, A CONSTANT JUDGE; INTIMATES HIS GOOD PURPOSES; AND ASKS THE HELP OF HIS MINISTERS TO BE ENABLED TO PERFORM THEM.

Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent! (The way of) Heaven is evident, And its appointment

is not easily preserved¹. Let me not say that it is high aloft above me. It ascends and descends about our doings; It daily inspects us wherever we are.

I am a little child, Without intelligence to be reverently (attentive to my duties); But by daily progress and monthly advance, I will learn to hold fast the gleams (of knowledge), till I arrive at bright intelligence. Assist me to bear the burden (of my position), And show me how to display a virtuous conduct.

ODE 4. THE HSIÁO PÌ.

KING KHĀNG ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HE HAD ERRED, AND STATES HIS PURPOSE TO BE CAREFUL IN THE FUTURE; HE WILL GUARD AGAINST THE SLIGHT BEGINNINGS OF EVIL; AND IS PENETRATED WITH A SENSE OF HIS OWN INCOMPETENCIES.

This piece has been considered by some critics as the conclusion of the council in the ancestral temple, with which the previous two also are thought to be connected. The Preface says that the king asks in it for the assistance of his ministers, but no such request is expressed. I seem myself to see in it, with Sû K'eh and others, a reference to the suspicions which Khāng at one time, we know, entertained of the fidelity of the duke of K'au, when he was inclined to believe the rumours spread against him by his other uncles, who joined in rebellion with the son of the last king of Shang.

I condemn myself (for the past), And will be on my guard against future calamity. I will have nothing to do with a wasp, To seek for myself its painful sting. At first indeed it seemed to be

¹ The meaning is this: 'The way of Heaven is very clear, to bless the good, namely, and punish the bad. But its favour is thus dependent on men themselves, and hard to preserve.'

(but) a wren¹, But it took wing, and became a large bird. I am unequal to the many difficulties of the kingdom, And am placed in the midst of bitter experiences.

ODE 5. THE 3AI SHŪ.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE GROUND FROM THE FIRST BREAKING OF IT UP, TILL IT YIELDS ABUNDANT HARVESTS;—AVAILABLE SPECIALLY FOR SACRIFICES AND FESTIVE OCCASIONS. WHETHER INTENDED TO BE USED ON OCCASIONS OF THANKSGIVING, OR IN SPRING WHEN PRAYING FOR A GOOD YEAR, CANNOT BE DETERMINED.

The Preface says that this ode was used in spring, when the king in person turned up some furrows in the field set apart for that purpose, and prayed at the altars of the spirits of the land and the grain, for an abundant year. K'ü Hsî says he does not know on what occasion it was intended to be used; but comparing it with the fourth ode of the second decade, he is inclined to rank it with that as an ode of thanksgiving. There is nothing in the piece itself to determine us in favour of either view. It brings before us a series of pleasing pictures of the husbandry of those early times. The editors of the imperial edition say that its place in the Sung makes it clear that it was an accompaniment of some royal sacrifice. We need not controvert this; but the poet evidently singled out some large estate, and describes the labour on it, from the first bringing it under cultivation to the state in which it was before his eyes, and concludes by saying that the picture which he gives of it had long been applicable to the whole country.

They clear away the grass and the bushes; And the ground is laid open by their ploughs.

In thousands of pairs they remove the roots, Some in the low wet land, some along the dykes.

¹ The Chinese characters here mean, literally, 'peach-tree insect,' or, as Dr. Williams has it, 'peach-bug.' Another name for the bird is 'the clever wife,' from the artistic character of its nest, which would point it out as the small 'tailor bird.' But the name is applied to various small birds.

There are the master and his eldest son; His younger sons, and all their children; Their strong helpers, and their hired servants. How the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds! (The husbands) think lovingly of their wives; (The wives) keep close to their husbands. (Then) with their sharp ploughshares They set to work on the south-lying acres.

They sow their various kinds of grain, Each seed containing in it a germ of life.

In unbroken lines rises the blade, And, well nourished, the stalks grow long.

Luxuriant looks the young grain, And the weed-ers go among it in multitudes.

Then come the reapers in crowds, And the grain is piled up in the fields, Myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions (of stacks); For spirits and for sweet spirits, To offer to our ancestors, male and female, And to provide for all ceremonies.

Fragrant is their aroma, Enhancing the glory of the state. Like pepper is their smell, To give comfort to the aged.

It is not here only that there is this (abundance); It is not now only that there is such a time:—From of old it has been thus.

ODE 6. THE LIANG SZE.

PRESUMABLY, AN ODE OF THANKSGIVING IN THE AUTUMN TO THE SPIRITS OF THE LAND AND GRAIN.

Very sharp are the excellent shares, With which they set to work on the south-lying acres.

They sow their various kinds of grain, Each seed containing in it a germ of life.

There are those who come to see them, With
their baskets round and square, Containing the
provisions of millet.

With their light splint hats on their heads, They
ply their hoes on the ground, Clearing away the
smartweed on the dry land and wet.

The weeds being decayed, The millets grow
luxuriantly.

They fall rustling before the reapers. The
gathered crop is piled up solidly, High as a wall,
United together like the teeth of a comb; And
the hundred houses are opened (to receive the
grain)¹.

Those hundred houses being full, The wives and
children have a feeling of repose.

(Now) we kill this black-muzzled tawny bull²,
with his crooked horns, To imitate and hand down,
To hand down (the observances of) our ancestors.

ODE 7. THE SZE Í.

AN ODE APPROPRIATE TO THE PREPARATIONS AND PROGRESS OF A
FEAST AFTER A SACRIFICE.

The Preface and the editors of the Yung-k'hang Shih say that the
piece has reference to the entertainment given, the day after a

¹ 'The hundred houses,' or chambers in a hundred family residences, are those of the hundred families, cultivating the space which was bounded by a brook;—see note on the second ode of the preceding decade. They formed a society, whose members helped one another in their field work, so that their harvest might be said to be carried home at the same time. Then would come the threshing or treading, and winnowing, after which the grain would be brought into the houses.

² It has been observed that under the K'au dynasty, red was the

sacrifice, in the ancestral temple, to the personators of the dead, described on p. 301. *K'ü Hsi* denies this, and holds simply that it belongs to the feast after a sacrifice, without further specifying what sacrifice. The old view is probably the more correct.

In his silken robes, clean and bright, With his cap on his head, looking so respectful, From the hall he goes to the foot of the stairs, And (then) from the sheep to the oxen¹. (He inspects) the tripods, large and small, And the curved goblet of rhinoceros horn². The good spirits are mild, (But) there is no noise, no insolence:—An auspice (this) of great longevity.

ODE 8. THE *K'Ö*.

AN ODE IN PRAISE OF KING WÜ, AND RECOGNISING THE DUTY TO FOLLOW HIS COURSE.

This was sung, according to the Preface, at the conclusion of the dance in honour of king Wü;—see on the last piece of the second decade.

Oh! powerful was the king's army, But he nursed it, in obedience to circumstances, while the

colour of the sacrificial victims. So it was for the ancestral temple; but in sacrificing to the spirits of the land and grain, the victim was a 'yellow' bull with black lips.

¹ The subject of these lines must be an ordinary officer, for to such the silk robes and a purple cap were proper, when he was assisting at the sacrifices of the king or of a feudal prince. There were two buildings outside the principal gate leading to the ancestral temple, and two corresponding inside, in which the personators of the departed ancestors were feasted. We must suppose the officer in question descending from the upper hall to the vestibule of the gate, to inspect the dishes, arranged for the feast, and then proceeding to see the animals, and the tripods for boiling the flesh, &c.

² The goblet of rhinoceros horn was to be drained, as a penalty, by any one offending at the feast against the rules of propriety; but here there was no occasion for it.

time was yet dark. When the time was clearly bright, He thereupon donned his grand armour. We have been favoured to receive What the martial king accomplished. To deal aright with what we have inherited, We have to be sincere imitators of thy course, (O king).

ODE 9. THE HWAN.

CELEBRATING THE MERIT AND SUCCESS OF KING WŪ.

According to a statement in the *3o Kwan*, this piece also was sung in connexion with the dance of WŪ. The Preface says it was used in declarations of war, and in sacrificing to God and the Father of War. Perhaps it came to be used on such occasions; but we must refer it in the first place to the reign of king K'ang.

There is peace throughout our myriad regions. There has been a succession of plentiful years:—Heaven does not weary in its favour. The martial king WŪ Maintained (the confidence of) his officers, And employed them all over the kingdom, So securing the establishment of his family. Oh! glorious was he in the sight of Heaven, Which kinged him in the room (of Shang).

ODE 10. THE LÂI.

CELEBRATING THE PRAISE OF KING WÂN.

This is the only account of the piece that can be given from itself. The *3o Kwan*, however, refers it to the dance of king WŪ; and the Preface says it contains the words with which WŪ accompanied his grant of fiefs and appanages in the ancestral temple to his principal followers.

King Wân laboured earnestly:—Right is it we should have received (the kingdom). We will diffuse (his virtue), ever cherishing the thought of

him; Henceforth we will seek only the settlement (of the kingdom). It was he through whom came the appointment of *K'âu*. Oh! let us ever cherish the thought of him.

ODE 11. THE PAN.

CELEBRATING THE GREATNESS OF *K'ÂU*, AND ITS FIRM POSSESSION OF THE KINGDOM, AS SEEN IN THE PROGRESSES OF ITS REIGNING SOVEREIGN.

In the eighth piece of the first decade we have an ode akin to this, relating a tentative progress of king *Wû*, to test the acceptance of his sovereignty. This is of a later date, and should be referred, probably, to the reign of king *K'hăng*, when the dynasty was fully acknowledged. Some critics, however, make it, like the three preceding, a portion of what was sung at the *Wû* dance.

Oh! great now is *K'âu*. We ascend the high hills, Both those that are long and narrow, and the lofty mountains. Yes, and (we travel) along the regulated Ho, All under the sky, Assembling those who now respond to me. Thus it is that the appointment belongs to *K'âu*.

III. THE PRAISE ODES OF *Lû*.

It is not according to the truth of things to class the Sung of *Lû* among the sacrificial odes, and I do not call them such. *K'û Hsi* says:—'King *K'hăng*, because of the great services rendered by the duke of *K'âu*, granted to *Po-k'in*, (the duke's eldest son, and first marquis of *Lû*), the privilege of using the royal ceremonies and music, in consequence of which *Lû* had its Sung, which were sung to the music in its ancestral temple. Afterwards, they made in *Lû* other odes in praise of their rulers,

which they also called Sung.' In this way it is endeavoured to account for there being such pieces in this part of the Shih as the four in this division of it. Confucius, it is thought, found them in Lŭ, bearing the name of Sung, and so he classed them with the true sacrificial odes, bearing that designation. If we were to admit, contrary to the evidence in the case, that the Shih was compiled by Confucius, this explanation of the place of the Sung of Lŭ in this Part would not be complimentary to his discrimination.

Whether such a privilege as *K'ü* states was really granted to the first marquis of Lŭ, is a point very much controverted. Many contend that the royal ceremonies were usurped in the state, in the time of duke Hsi (B.C. 659 to 627). But if this should be conceded, it would not affect the application to the odes in this division of the name of Sung. They are totally unlike the Sung of Shang and of *K'âu*. It has often been asked why there are no Fǎng of Lŭ in the first Part of the Shih. The pieces here are really the Fǎng of Lŭ, and may be compared especially with the Fǎng of Pin.

Lŭ was one of the states in the east, having its capital in *K'ü-fâu*, which is still the name of a district in the department of Yen-k'au, Shan-tung. According to *K'ü*, king *K'häng* invested the duke of *K'âu*'s eldest son with the territory. According to Sze-má *K'hien*, the duke of *K'âu* was himself appointed marquis of Lŭ; but being unable to go there in consequence of his duties at the royal court, he sent his son instead. After the expiration of his regency, the territory was largely augmented, but he still remained in *K'âu*.

I pass over the first two odes, which have no claim to a place among 'sacred texts.' And only in one stanza of the third is there the expression of a religious sentiment. I give it entire, however.

ODE 3. THE PHAN SHUI.

IN PRAISE OF SOME MARQUIS OF LŪ, CELEBRATING HIS INTEREST IN THE STATE COLLEGE, WHICH HE HAD, PROBABLY, REPAIRED, TESTIFYING HIS VIRTUES, AND AUSPICING FOR HIM A COMPLETE TRIUMPH OVER THE TRIBES OF THE HW'AI, WHICH WOULD BE CELEBRATED IN THE COLLEGE.

The marquis here celebrated was, probably, Shǎn, or 'duke Hsi,' mentioned above. The immediate occasion of its composition

must have been some opening or inauguration service in connexion with the repair of the college.

1. Pleasant is the semicircular water¹, And we gather the cress about it. The marquis of Lû is coming to it, And we see his dragon-figured banner. His banner waves in the wind, And the bells of his horses tinkle harmoniously. Small and great, All follow the prince in his progress to it.

2. Pleasant is the semicircular water, And we gather the pondweed in it. The marquis of Lû has come to it, With his horses so stately. His horses are grand; His fame is brilliant. Blandly he looks and smiles; Without any impatience he delivers his instructions.

3. Pleasant is the semicircular water, And we gather the mallows about it. The marquis of Lû has come to it, And in the college he is drinking. He is drinking the good spirits. May there be

¹ It is said in the tenth ode of the first decade of the Major Odes of the Kingdom, that king Wû in his capital of Hào built 'his hall with its circlet of water.' That was the royal college built in the middle of a circle of water; each state had its grand college with a semicircular pool in front of it, such as may now be seen in front of the temples of Confucius in the metropolitan cities of the provinces. It is not easy to describe all the purposes which the building served. In this piece the marquis of Lû appears feasting in it, delivering instructions, taking counsel with his ministers, and receiving the spoils and prisoners of war. The *Lî Kî*, VIII, ii, 7, refers to sacrifices to Hâu-kî in connexion with the college of Lû. There the officers of the state in autumn learned ceremonies; in winter, literary studies; in spring and summer, the use of arms; and in autumn and winter, dancing. There were celebrated trials of archery; there the aged were feasted; there the princes held council with their ministers. The college was in the western suburb of each capital.

given to him such old age as is seldom enjoyed!
May he accord with the grand ways, So subduing
to himself all the people!

4. Very admirable is the marquis of Lû, Reverently displaying his virtue, And reverently watching over his department, The pattern of the people. With great qualities, both civil and martial, Brilliantly he affects his meritorious ancestors¹. In everything entirely filial, He seeks the blessing that is sure to follow.

5. Very intelligent is the marquis of Lû, Making his virtue illustrious. He has made this college with its semicircle of water, And the tribes of the Hwâi will submit to him². His martial-looking tiger-leaders Will here present the left ears (of their foes)³. His examiners, wise as Kâo-yâo⁴, Will here present the prisoners.

6. His numerous officers, Men who have enlarged their virtuous minds, With martial energy conducting their expedition, Will drive far away those tribes of the east and south. Vigorous and

¹ The meaning is that the fine qualities of the marquis 'reached to' and affected his ancestors in their spirit-state, and would draw down their protecting favour. Their blessing, seen in his prosperity, was the natural result of his filial piety.

² The Hwâi rises in the department of Nan-yang, Ho-nan, and flows eastward to the sea. South of it, down to the time of this ode, were many rude and wild tribes that gave frequent occupation to the kings of Kâu.

³ When prisoners refused to submit, their left ears were cut off, and shown as trophies.

⁴ The ancient Shun's Minister of Crime. The 'examiners' were officers who questioned the prisoners, especially the more important of them, to elicit information, and decide as to the amount of their guilt and punishment.

grand, Without noise or display, Without appeal to the judges¹, They will here present (the proofs of) their merit.

7. How they draw their bows adorned with bone! How their arrows whiz forth! Their war chariots are very large! Their footmen and charioteers never weary! They have subdued the tribes of Hwâi, And brought them to an unrebelling submission. Only lay your plans securely, And all the tribes of the Hwâi will be won².

8. They come flying on the wing, those owls, And settle on the trees about the college; They eat the fruit of our mulberry trees, And salute us with fine notes³. So awakened shall be those tribes of the Hwâi. They will come presenting their precious things, Their large tortoises, and their elephants' teeth, And great contributions of the southern metals⁴.

¹ The 'judges' decided all questions of dispute in the army, and on the merits of different men who had distinguished themselves.

² In this stanza the poet describes a battle with the wild tribes, as if it were going on before his eyes.

³ An owl is a bird with a disagreeable scream, instead of a beautiful note; but the mulberries grown about the college would make them sing delightfully. And so would the influence of Lû, going forth from the college, transform the nature of the tribes about the Hwâi.

⁴ That is, according to 'the Tribute of Yü,' in the Shû, from King-kâu and Yang-kâu.

ODE 4. THE PÎ KUNG.

IN PRAISE OF DUKE HSÏ, AND AUSPICING FOR HIM A MAGNIFICENT CAREER OF SUCCESS, WHICH WOULD MAKE LÛ ALL THAT IT HAD EVER BEEN:—WRITTEN, PROBABLY, ON AN OCCASION WHEN HSÏ HAD REPAIRED THE TEMPLES OF THE STATE, OF WHICH PIOUS ACT HIS SUCCESS WOULD BE THE REWARD.

There is no doubt that duke Hsï is the hero of this piece. He is mentioned in the third stanza as 'the son of duke K'wang,' and the Hsï-sze referred to in the last stanza as the architect under whose superintendence the temples had been repaired was his brother, whom we meet with elsewhere as 'duke's son, Yü.' The descriptions of various sacrifices prove that the lords of Lû, whether permitted to use royal ceremonies or not, did really do so. The writer was evidently in a poetic rapture as to what his ruler was, and would do. The piece is a genuine bardic effusion.

The poet traces the lords of Lû to Kiang Yüan and her son Hâu-ki. He then comes to the establishment of the K'au dynasty, and under it of the marquissate of Lû; and finally to duke Hsï, dilating on his sacrificial services, the military power of Lû, and the achievements which he might be expected to accomplish in subjugating all the territory lying to the east, and a long way south, of Lû.

1. How pure and still are the solemn temples,
In their strong solidity and minute completeness!
Highly distinguished was Kiang Yüan¹, Of virtue
undeflected. God regarded her with favour, And
without injury or hurt, Immediately, when her
months were completed, She gave birth to Hâu-ki!
On him were conferred all blessings,—(To know)
how the (ordinary) millet ripened early, and the
sacrificial millet late; How first to sow pulse

¹ About Kiang Yüan and her conception and birth of Hâu-ki, see the first piece in the third decade of the Major Odes of the Kingdom. There also Hâu-ki's teaching of husbandry is more fully described.

and then wheat. Anon he was invested with an inferior state, And taught the people how to sow and to reap, The (ordinary) millet and the sacrificial, Rice and the black millet; Ere long over the whole country :— (Thus) continuing the work of Yü.

2. Among the descendants of Hâu-k'i, There was king Thài¹, Dwelling on the south of (mount) K'hi, Where the clipping of Shang began. In process of time Wăn and Wû Continued the work of king Thài, And (the purpose of) Heaven was carried out in its time, In the plain of Mû². 'Have no doubts, no anxieties,' (it was said), 'God is with you³.' Wû disposed of the troops of Shang; He and his men equally shared in the achievement. (Then) king (K'hang) said, 'My uncle⁴, I will set up your eldest son, And make him marquis of Lû. I will greatly enlarge your territory there, To be a help and support to the House of K'au.'

3. Accordingly he appointed (our first) duke of Lû, And made him marquis in the east, Giving him the hills and rivers, The lands and fields, and the attached states⁵. The (present) descendant of the duke of K'au, The son of duke K'wang, With dragon-emblazoned banner, attends the sacrifices, (Grasping) his six reins soft and pliant. In spring

¹ See on the Sacrificial Odes of K'au, decade i, ode 5.

² See the Shû, V, iii.

³ Shang-fû, one of Wû's principal leaders, encouraged him at the battle of Mû with these words.

⁴ That is, the duke of K'au.

⁵ That is, small territories, held by chiefs of other surnames, but acknowledging the jurisdiction of the lords of Lû, and dependent on them for introduction to the royal court.

and autumn he is not remiss; His offerings are all without error¹. To the great and sovereign God, And to his great ancestor Hâu-k'î, He offers the victims, red and pure². They enjoy, they approve, And bestow blessings in large number. The duke of K'âu, and (your other) great ancestors, Also bless you.

4. In autumn comes the sacrifice of the season³, But the bulls for it have had their horns capped in summer⁴; They are the white bull and the red one⁵. (There are) the bull-figured goblet in its dignity⁶; Roast pig, minced meat, and soups; The dishes of bamboo and wood, and the large stands⁷, And the dancers all complete. The filial descendant

¹ These lines refer to the seasonal sacrifices in the temple of ancestors, two seasons being mentioned for all the four, as in some of the odes of Shang.

² From the seasonal sacrifices the poet passes to the sacrifice to God at the border altar in the spring,—no doubt the same which is referred to in the last ode of the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of K'âu.

³ The subject of the seasonal sacrifices is resumed.

⁴ A piece of wood was fixed across the horns of the victim-bulls, to prevent their injuring them by pushing or rubbing against any hard substance. An animal injured in any way was not fit to be used in sacrifice.

⁵ In sacrificing to the duke of K'âu, a white bull was used by way of distinction. His great services to the dynasty had obtained for him the privilege of being sacrificed to with royal ceremonies. A white bull, such as had been offered to the kings of Shang, was therefore devoted to him; while for Po-k'îin, and the other marquises (or dukes as spoken of by their own subjects), a victim of the orthodox K'âu colour was employed.

⁶ This goblet, fashioned in the shape of a bull, or with a bull pictured on it, must have been well known in connexion with these services.

⁷ 'The large stand' was of a size to support half the roasted body of a victim.

will be blessed. (Your ancestors) will make you gloriously prosperous, They will make you long-lived and good, To preserve this eastern region, Long possessing the state of Lû, Unwaning, un-fallen, Unshaken, undisturbed! They will make your friendship with your three aged (ministers)¹ Like the hills, like the mountains.

5. Our prince's chariots are a thousand, And (in each) are (the two spears with their) vermilion tassels, and (the two bows with their) green bands. His footmen are thirty thousand, With shells on vermilion strings adorning their helmets². So numerous are his ardent followers, To deal with the tribes of the west and north, And to punish those of *King* and *Shû*³, So that none of them will dare to withstand us. (The spirits of your ancestors) shall make you grandly prosperous; They

¹ Referring, probably, to the three principal ministers of the state.

² These lines describe Hsi's resources for war. A thousand chariots was the regular force which a great state could at the utmost bring into the field. Each chariot contained three mailed men;—the charioteer in the middle, a spearman on the right, and an archer on the left. Two spears rose aloft with vermilion tassels, and there were two bows, bound with green bands to frames in their cases. Attached to every chariot were seventy-two foot-soldiers and twenty-five followers, making with the three men in it, 100 in all; so that the whole force would amount to 100,000 men. But in actual service the force of a great state was restricted to three 'armies' or 375 chariots, attended by 37,500 men, of whom 27,500 were foot-soldiers, put down here in round numbers as 30,000.

³ *King* is the *King-khû* of the last of the Sacrificial Odes of Shang, and the name *Shû* was applied to several half-civilized states to the east of it, which it brought, during the *Khün Khû* period, one after another under its jurisdiction.

shall make you long-lived and wealthy. The hoary hair and wrinkled back, Marking the aged men, shall always be in your service. They shall grant you old age, ever vigorous, For myriads and thousands of years, With the eyebrows of longevity, and ever unharmed.

6. The mountain of Thái is lofty, Looked up to by the state of Lû¹. We grandly possess also Kwei and Măng²; And we shall extend to the limits of the east, Even the states along the sea. The tribes of the Hwâi will seek our alliance; All will proffer their allegiance:—Such shall be the achievements of the marquis of Lû.

7. He shall maintain the possession of Hû and Yi³, And extend his sway to the regions of Hsü⁴, Even to the states along the sea. The tribes of the Hwâi, the Man, and the Mo⁵, And those tribes (still more) to the south, All will proffer their allegiance;—Not one will dare not to answer to his call, Thus showing their obedience to the marquis of Lû.

8. Heaven will give great blessing to our prince, So that with the eyebrows of longevity he shall

¹ Mount Thái is well known, the eastern of the four great mountains of China in the time of Shun. It is in the department of Thái-an, Shan-tung.

² These were two smaller hills in Lû.

³ These were two hills of Lû, in the present district of 3âu.

⁴ Hsü was the name of one of Yü's nine provinces, embracing portions of the present Shan-tung, Kiang-sü, and An-hui.

⁵ Mo was properly the name of certain wild tribes in the north, as Man was that of the tribes of the south. But we cannot suppose any tribes to be meant here but such as lay south of Lû.

maintain Lû. He shall possess *Kang* and *Hsü*¹,
 And recover all the territory of the duke of *K'âu*.
 Then shall the marquis of Lû feast and be glad,
 With his admirable wife and aged mother; With
 his excellent ministers and all his (other) officers².
 Our region and state shall he hold, Thus receiving
 many blessings, To hoary hair, and with teeth ever
 renewed like a child's.

9. The pines of *3û-lâi*³, And the cypresses of
*Hsin-fû*³, Were cut down and measured, With
 the cubit line and the eight cubits' line. The pro-
 jecting beams of pine were made very large; The
 grand inner apartments rose vast. Splendid look
 the new temples, The work of *Hsi-sze*, Very
 wide and large, Answering to the expectations of
 all the people.

¹ *Kang* was a city with some adjacent territory, in the present district of *Thăng*, that had been taken from Lû by *K'hi*. *Hsü*, called in the Spring and Autumn 'the fields of *Hsü*,' was west from Lû, and had been granted to it as a convenient place for its princes to stop at on their way to the royal court; but it had been sold or parted with to *K'ang* in the first year of duke *Hwan* (B.C. 711). The poet desires that *Hsi* should recover these and all other territory which had at any time belonged to Lû.

² He would feast with the ladies in the inner apartment of the palace, suitable for such a purpose; with his ministers in the outer banqueting-room.

³ These were two hills, in the present department of *Thái-an*.

THE MINOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM.

PIECES AND STANZAS ILLUSTRATING THE RELIGIOUS
VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE WRITERS AND
THEIR TIMES.

The First Decade, or that of Lû-ming.

ODE 5, STANZA 1. THE FÂ MŨ.

THE FÂ MŨ IS A FESTAL ODE, WHICH WAS SUNG AT THE ENTERTAINMENT OF FRIENDS;—INTENDED TO CELEBRATE THE DUTY AND VALUE OF FRIENDSHIP, EVEN TO THE HIGHEST.

On the trees go the blows *kǎng-kǎng*; And
the birds cry out *ying-ying*. One issues from the
dark valley, And removes to the lofty tree. Ying
goes its cry, Seeking with its voice its companion.
Look at the bird, Bird as it is, seeking with its
voice its companion; And shall a man Not seek
to have his friends? Spiritual beings will then
hearken to him¹; He shall have harmony and
peace.

ODE 6. THE THIEN PÂO.

A FESTAL ODE, RESPONSIVE TO ANY OF THE FIVE THAT PRECEDE IT.
THE KING'S OFFICERS AND GUESTS, HAVING BEEN FEASTED BY HIM,
CELEBRATE HIS PRAISES, AND DESIRE FOR HIM THE BLESSING OF
HEAVEN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

Ascribed, like the former, to the duke of Kâu.

Heaven protects and establishes thee, With the
greatest security; Makes thee entirely virtuous.

¹ This line and the following show the power and value of the cultivation of friendship in affecting spiritual beings. That designation is understood in the widest sense.

That thou mayest enjoy every happiness; Grants thee much increase, So that thou hast all in abundance.

Heaven protects and establishes thee. It grants thee all excellence, So that thine every matter is right, And thou receivest every Heavenly favour. It sends down to thee long-during happiness, Which the days are not sufficient to enjoy.

Heaven protects and establishes thee, So that in everything thou dost prosper. Like the high hills and the mountain masses, Like the topmost ridges and the greatest bulks, Like the stream ever coming on, Such is thine increase.

With happy auspices and purifications thou bringest the offerings, And dost filially present them, In spring, summer, autumn, and winter, To the dukes and former kings¹; And they say, 'We give to thee myriads of years, duration unlimited².'

The spirits come³, And confer on thee many blessings. The people are simple and honest, Daily enjoying their meat and drink. All the black-haired race, in all their surnames, Universally practise thy virtue.

Like the moon advancing to the full, Like the sun ascending the heavens, Like the everlasting southern hills, Never waning, never falling, Like

¹ These dukes and former kings are all the ancestors of the royal House of K'âu, sacrificed to at the four seasons of the year.

² Here we have the response of the dukes and kings communicated to the sacrificing king by the individuals chosen to represent them at the service.

³ The spirits here are, of course, those of the former dukes and kings.

the luxuriance of the fir and the cypress;— May
such be thy succeeding line!

ODE 9, STANZA 4. THE Tĭ TŪ.

THE Tĭ TŪ IS AN ODE OF CONGRATULATION, INTENDED FOR THE MEN
WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM MILITARY DUTY AND SERVICE ON THE
FRONTIERS.

The congratulation is given in a description of the anxiety and
longing of the soldiers' wives for their return. We must suppose
one of the wives to be the speaker throughout. The fourth
stanza shows how she had resorted to divination to allay her
fears about her husband.

They have not packed up, they do not come.
My sorrowing heart is greatly distressed. The
time is past, and he is not here, To the multipli-
cation of my sorrows. Both by the tortoise-shell
and the reeds have I divined, And they unite in
saying he is near. My warrior is at hand.

The Fourth Decade, or that of K'hi fū.

ODE 5, STANZAS 5 TO 9. THE SZE KAN.

THE SZE KAN WAS PROBABLY MADE FOR A FESTIVAL ON THE COM-
PLETION OF A PALACE; CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF IT, AND
PROCEEDING TO GOOD WISHES FOR THE BUILDER AND HIS POSTE-
RITY. THE STANZAS HERE GIVEN SHOW HOW DIVINATION WAS RE-
SORTED TO FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS.

The piece is referred to the time of king Hsüan (B.C. 827 to 782).

Level and smooth is the courtyard, And lofty
are the pillars around it. Pleasant is the exposure
of the chamber to the light, And deep and wide
are its recesses. Here will our noble lord repose.

On the rush-mat below and that of fine bamboos
above it, May he repose in slumber! May he sleep

and awake, (Saying), 'Divine for me my dreams¹. What dreams are lucky? They have been of bears and grisly bears; They have been of cobras and (other) snakes.'

The chief diviner will divine them. 'The bears and grisly bears Are the auspicious intimations of sons; The cobras and (other) snakes Are the auspicious intimations of daughters².'

Sons shall be born to him :—They will be put to sleep on couches; They will be clothed in robes; They will have sceptres to play with; Their cry will be loud. They will be (hereafter) resplendent with red knee-covers, The (future) king, the princes of the land.

Daughters shall be born to him :—They will be put to sleep on the ground; They will be clothed with wrappers; They will have tiles to play with³. It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good⁴. Only about the spirits and the food will

¹ In the Official Book of K'âu, ch. 24, mention is made of the Diviner of Dreams and his duties :—He had to consider the season of the year when a dream occurred, the day of the cycle, and the then predominant influence of the two powers of nature. By the positions of the sun, moon, and planets in the zodiacal spaces he could determine whether any one of the six classes of dreams was lucky or unlucky. Those six classes were ordinary and regular dreams, terrible dreams, dreams of thought, dreams in waking, dreams of joy, and dreams of fear.

² The boy would have a sceptre, a symbol of dignity, to play with; the girl, a tile, the symbol of woman's work, as, sitting with a tile on her knee, she twists the threads of hemp.

³ That is, the red apron of a king and of the prince of a state.

⁴ The woman has only to be obedient. That is her whole duty. The line does not mean, as it has been said, that 'she is incapable of good or evil;' but it is not her part to take the initiative even in what is good.

they have to think, And to cause no sorrow to their parents.

ODE 6, STANZA 4. THE WŪ YANG.

THE WŪ YANG IS SUPPOSED TO CELEBRATE THE largeness AND EXCELLENT CONDITION OF KING HSŪAN'S FLOCKS AND HERDS. THE CONCLUDING STANZA HAS REFERENCE TO THE DIVINATION OF THE DREAMS OF HIS HERDSMEN.

Your herdsmen shall dream, Of multitudes and then of fishes, Of the tortoise-and-serpent, and then of the falcon, banners¹. The chief diviner will divine the dreams;—How the multitudes, dissolving into fishes, Betoken plentiful years; How the tortoise-and-serpent, dissolving into the falcon, banners, Betoken the increasing population of the kingdom.

ODE 7. THE KIEH NAN SHAN.

A LAMENTATION OVER THE UNSETTLED STATE OF THE KINGDOM; DENOUNCING THE INJUSTICE AND NEGLECT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER, BLAMING ALSO THE CONDUCT OF THE KING, WITH APPEALS TO HEAVEN, AND SEEMINGLY CHARGING IT WITH CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE.

This piece is referred to the time of king Yü (B. C. 781 to 771), the unworthy son of king Hsüan. The 'Grand-Master' Yin must have been one of the 'three Kung,' the highest ministers at the court of K'au, and was, probably, the chief of the three, and administrator of the government under Yü.

Lofty is that southern hill², With its masses of rocks! Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master

¹ The tortoise-and-serpent banner marked the presence in a host of its leader on a military expedition. On its field were the figures of tortoises, with snakes coiled round them. The falcon banners belonged to the commanders of the divisions of the host. They bore the figures of falcons on them.

² 'The southern hill' was also called the Kung-nan, and rose right to the south of the western capital of K'au.

Yin, And the people all look to you ! A fire burns in their grieving hearts ; They do not dare to speak of you even in jest. The kingdom is verging to extinction ;—How is it that you do not consider the state of things ?

Lofty is that southern hill, And vigorously grows the vegetation on it ! Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master Yin, But how is it that you are so unjust ? Heaven is continually redoubling its inflictions ; Deaths and disorder increase and multiply ; No words of satisfaction come from the people ; And yet you do not correct nor bemoan yourself.

The Grand-Master Yin Is the foundation of our Káu, And the balance of the kingdom is in his hands. He should be keeping its four quarters together ; He should be aiding the Son of Heaven, So as to preserve the people from going astray. O unpitying great Heaven, It is not right he should reduce us all to such misery !

He does nothing himself personally, And the people have no confidence in him. Making no enquiry about them, and no trial of their services, He should not deal deceitfully with superior men. If he dismissed them on the requirement of justice, Mean men would not be endangering (the common-weal) ; And his mean relatives Would not be in offices of importance.

Great Heaven, unjust, Is sending down these exhausting disorders. Great Heaven, unkind, Is sending down these great miseries. Let superior men come (into office), And that would bring rest to the people's hearts. Let superior men execute

their justice, And the animosities and angers would disappear¹.

O unpitying great Heaven, There is no end to the disorder! With every month it continues to grow, So that the people have no repose. I am as if intoxicated with the grief of my heart. Who holds the ordering of the kingdom? He attends not himself to the government, And the result is toil and pain to the people.

I yoke my four steeds, My four steeds, long-necked. I look to the four quarters (of the kingdom); Distress is everywhere; there is no place I can drive to.

Now your evil is rampant², And I can see your spears. Anon you are pacified and friendly as if you were pledging one another.

From great Heaven is the injustice, And our king has no repose. (Yet) he will not correct his heart, And goes on to resent endeavours to rectify him.

I, K'ia-fû, have made this poem, To lay bare the king's disorders. If you would but change your heart, Then would the myriad regions be nourished.

¹ In this stanza, as in the next and the last but one, the writer complains of Heaven, and charges it foolishly. He does so by way of appeal, however, and indicates the true causes of the misery of the kingdom,—the reckless conduct, namely, of the king and his minister.

² The parties spoken of here are the followers of the minister, 'mean men,' however high in place and great in power, now friendly, now hostile to one another.

ODE 8, STANZAS 4, 5, AND 7. THE K'ANG YÜEH.

THE K'ANG YÜEH IS, LIKE THE PRECEDING ODE, A LAMENTATION OVER THE MISERIES OF THE KINGDOM, AND THE RUIN COMING ON IT; WITH A SIMILAR, BUT MORE HOPEFULLY EXPRESSED, APPEAL TO HEAVEN, 'THE GREAT GOD.'

Look into the middle of the forest; There are (only) large faggots and small branches in it¹. The people now amidst their perils Look to Heaven, all dark; But let its determination be fixed, And there is no one whom it will not overcome. There is the great God,—Does he hate any one?

If one say of a hill that it is low, There are its ridges and its large masses. The false calumnies of the people,—How is it that you do not repress them²? You call those experienced ancients, You consult the diviner of dreams. They all say, 'We are very wise, But who can distinguish the male and female crow³?'

Look at the rugged and stony field;—Luxuriantly rises in it the springing grain. (But) Heaven moves and shakes me, As if it could not overcome me⁴.

¹ By introducing the word 'only,' I have followed the view of the older interpreters, who consider the forest, with merely some faggots and twigs left in it, to be emblematic of the ravages of oppressive government in the court and kingdom. K'ü Hsi takes a different view of them:—'In a forest you can easily distinguish the large faggots from the small branches, while Heaven appears unable to distinguish between the good and bad.'

² The calumnies that were abroad were as absurd as the assertion in line 1, and yet the king could not, or would not, see through them and repress them.

³ This reference to the diviners of dreams is in derision of their pretensions.

⁴ That is, the productive energy of nature manifests itself in the most unlikely places; how was it that 'the great God, who hates no one,' was contending so with the writer?

They sought me (at first) to be a pattern (to them),
(Eagerly) as if they could not get me; (Now) they
regard me with great animosity, And will not use
my strength.

ODE 9. THE SHIH YÜEH KIH K'IAO.

THE LAMENTATION OF AN OFFICER OVER THE PRODIGES CELESTIAL
AND TERRESTRIAL, ESPECIALLY AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, THAT
WERE BETOKENING THE RUIN OF K'AU. HE SETS FORTH WHAT HE
CONSIDERED TO BE THE TRUE CAUSES OF THE PREVAILING MISERY,
WHICH WAS BY NO MEANS TO BE CHARGED ON HEAVEN.

Attention is called in the Introduction, p. 296, to the date of the
solar eclipse mentioned in this piece.

At the conjunction (of the sun and moon) in the
tenth month, On the first day of the moon, which
was *hsin-mão*, The sun was eclipsed, A thing
of very evil omen. Before, the moon became small,
And now the sun became small. Henceforth the
lower people Will be in a very deplorable case.

The sun and moon announce evil, Not keeping
to their proper paths. Throughout the kingdom
there is no (proper) government, Because the good
are not employed. For the moon to be eclipsed
Is but an ordinary matter. Now that the sun has
been eclipsed,—How bad it is!

Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder.
There is a want of rest, a want of good. The
streams all bubble up and overflow. The crags on
the hill-tops fall down. High banks become valleys;
Deep valleys become hills. Alas for the men of
this time! How does (the king) not stop these
things?

Hwang-fû is the President; Fan is the Minister

of Instruction; *K'ia-po* is the (chief) Administrator; *Kung-yün* is the chief Cook; *3âu* is the Recorder of the Interior; *Khwei* is Master of the Horse; *Yü* is Captain of the Guards; And the beautiful wife blazes, now in possession of her place ¹.

This *Hwang-fû* Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season. But why does he call us to move, Without coming and consulting with us? He has removed our walls and roofs; And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor. He says, 'I am not injuring you; The laws require that thus it should be.'

Hwang-fû is very wise; He has built a great city for himself in *Hsiang*. He chose three men as his ministers, All of them possessed of great wealth. He could not bring himself to leave a single minister, Who might guard our king. He (also) selected those who had chariots and horses, To go and reside in *Hsiang* ².

¹ We do not know anything from history of the ministers of *Yü* mentioned in this stanza. *Hwang-fû* appears to have been the leading minister of the government at the time when the ode was written, and, as appears from the next two stanzas, was very crafty, oppressive, and selfishly ambitious. The mention of 'the chief Cook' among the high ministers appears strange; but we shall find that functionary mentioned in another ode; and from history it appears that 'the Cook,' at the royal and feudal courts, sometimes played an important part during the times of *K'au*. 'The beautiful wife,' no doubt, was the well-known *Sze* of *P'ao*, raised by king *Yü* from her position as one of his concubines to be his queen, and whose insane folly and ambition led to her husband's death, and great and disastrous changes in the kingdom.

² *Hsiang* was a district of the royal domain, in the present district of *Măng*, department of *Hwâi-k'ing*, *Ho-nan*. It had been assigned to *Hwang-fû*, and he was establishing himself there, without any loyal regard to the king. As a noble in the royal domain,

I have exerted myself to discharge my service,
And do not dare to make a report of my toils.
Without crime or offence of any kind, Slandrous
mouths are loud against me. (But) the calamities
of the lower people Do not come down from
Heaven. A multitude of (fair) words, and hatred
behind the back;—The earnest, strong pursuit of
this is from men.

Distant far is my village, And my dissatisfaction
is great. In other quarters there is ease, And
I dwell here, alone and sorrowful. Everybody is
going into retirement, And I alone dare not seek
rest. The ordinances of Heaven are inexplicable,
But I will not dare to follow my friends, and leave
my post.

ODE 10, STANZAS 1 AND 3. THE YÜ WÜ K'ANG.

THE WRITER OF THIS PIECE MOURNS OVER THE MISERABLE STATE
OF THE KINGDOM, THE INCORRIGIBLE COURSE OF THE KING, AND
OTHER EVILS, APPEALING ALSO TO HEAVEN, AND SURPRISED THAT
IT ALLOWED SUCH THINGS TO BE.

Great and wide Heaven, How is it you have
contracted your kindness, Sending down death
and famine, Destroying all through the kingdom?
Compassionate Heaven, arrayed in terrors, How
is it you exercise no forethought, no care? Let
alone the criminals:—They have suffered for their
guilt. But those who have no crime Are indis-
criminately involved in ruin.

he was entitled only to two ministers, but he had appointed three
as in one of the feudal states, encouraging, moreover, the resort to
himself of the wealthy and powerful, while the court was left weak
and unprotected.

How is it, O great Heaven, That the king will not hearken to the justest words? He is like a man going (astray), Who knows not where he will proceed to. All ye officers, Let each of you attend to his duties. How do ye not stand in awe of one another? Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven.

The Fifth Decade, or that of Hsião Min.

ODE 1, STANZAS 1, 2, AND 3. THE HSIÃO MIN.

A LAMENTATION OVER THE RECKLESSNESS AND INCAPACITY OF THE KING AND HIS COUNSELLORS. DIVINATION HAS BECOME OF NO AVAIL, AND HEAVEN IS DESPAIRINGLY APPEALED TO.

This is referred, like several of the pieces in the fourth decade, to the time of king Yü.

The angry terrors of compassionate Heaven Extend through this lower world. (The king's) counsels and plans are crooked and bad; When will he stop (in his course)? Counsels that are good he will not follow, And those that are not good he employs. When I look at his counsels and plans, I am greatly pained.

Now they agree, and now they defame one another;—The case is greatly to be deplored. If a counsel be good, They are all found opposing it. If a counsel be bad, They are all found according with it. When I look at such counsels and plans, What will they come to?

Our tortoise-shells are wearied out, And will not tell us anything about the plans. The counsellors are very many, But on that account nothing is accomplished. The speakers fill the court, But

who dares to take any responsibility on himself?
We are as if we consulted (about a journey) without
taking a step in advance, And therefore did not
get on on the road.

ODE 2, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE HSIÃO YÜAN.

SOME OFFICER IN A TIME OF DISORDER AND MISGOVERNMENT URGES
ON HIS BROTHERS THE DUTY OF MAINTAINING THEIR OWN VIRTUE,
AND OF OBSERVING THE GREATEST CAUTION.

Small is the cooing dove, But it flies aloft to
heaven. My heart is wounded with sorrow, And
I think of our forefathers. When the dawn is
breaking, and I cannot sleep, The thoughts in my
breast are of our parents.

Men who are grave and wise, Though they
drink, are mild and masters of themselves; But
those who are benighted and ignorant Become
devoted to drink, and more so daily. Be careful,
each of you, of your deportment; What Heaven
confers, (when once lost), is not regained¹.

The greenbeaks come and go, Picking up grain
about the stackyard. Alas for the distressed and
the solitary, Deemed fit inmates for the prisons!
With a handful of grain I go out and divine², How
I may be able to become good.

¹ 'What Heaven confers' is, probably, the good human nature, which by vice, and especially by drunkenness, may be irretrievably ruined.

² A religious act is here referred to, on which we have not sufficient information to be able to throw much light. It was the practice to spread some finely ground rice on the ground, in connexion with divination, as an offering to the spirits. The poet represents himself here as using a handful of grain for the purpose,—probably on account of his poverty.

ODE 3, STANZAS 1 AND 3. THE HSIÃO PAN.

THE ELDEST SON AND HEIR-APPARENT OF KING YŪ BEWAILS HIS DEGRADATION, APPEALING TO HEAVEN AS TO HIS INNOCENCE, AND COMPLAINING OF ITS CASTING HIS LOT IN SUCH A TIME.

It is allowed that this piece is clearly the composition of a banished son, and there is no necessity to call in question the tradition preserved in the Preface which prefers it to 王孫, the eldest son of king YŪ. His mother was a princess of the House of Shǎn; but when YŪ became enamoured of Sze of Páo, the queen was degraded, and the son banished to Shǎn.

With flapping wings the crows Come back, flying
all in a flock¹. Other people are happy, And I
only am full of misery. What is my offence against
Heaven? What is my crime? My heart is sad;—
What is to be done?

Even the mulberry trees and the rottleras Must
be regarded with reverence²; But no one is to be
looked up to like a father, No one is to be de-
pendent on as a mother. Have I not a connexion
with the hairs (of my father)? Did I not dwell
in the womb (of my mother)? O Heaven, who
gave me birth! How was it at so inauspicious
a time?

¹ The sight of the crows, all together, suggests to the prince his own condition, solitary and driven from court.

² The mulberry tree and the rottlera were both planted about the farmsteadings, and are therefore mentioned here. They carried the thoughts back to the father or grandfather, or the more remote ancestor, who first planted them, and so a feeling of reverence attached to themselves.

ODE 4, STANZA 1. THE *KHIÃO YEN*.

SOME ONE, SUFFERING FROM THE KING THROUGH SLANDER, APPEALS
TO HEAVEN, AND GOES ON TO DWELL ON THE NATURE AND EVIL
OF SLANDER.

This piece has been referred to the time of king Lî, B.C. 878
to 828.

O vast and distant Heaven, Who art called our
parent, That, without crime or offence, I should
suffer from disorders thus great! The terrors of
great Heaven are excessive, But indeed I have
committed no crime. (The terrors of) great
Heaven are very excessive, But indeed I have
committed no offence.

ODE 6, STANZAS 5 AND 6. THE *HSIANG PO*.

A EUNUCH, HIMSELF THE VICTIM OF SLANDER, COMPLAINS OF HIS FATE,
AND WARNS AND DENOUNCES HIS ENEMIES; APPEALING AGAINST
THEM, AS HIS LAST RESORT, TO HEAVEN.

The proud are delighted, And the troubled are
in sorrow. O azure Heaven! O azure Heaven!
Look on those proud men, Pity those who are
troubled.

Those slanderers! Who devised their schemes
for them? I would take those slanderers, And
throw them to wolves and tigers. If these refused
to devour them, I would cast them into the north¹.
If the north refused to receive them, I would
throw them into the hands of great (Heaven)².

¹ 'The north,' i.e. the region where there are the rigours of winter
and the barrenness of the desert.

² 'Great Heaven,' 'Heaven' has to be supplied here, but there

ODE 9. THE TÀ TUNG.

AN OFFICER OF ONE OF THE STATES OF THE EAST DEPLORES THE EXACTIONS MADE FROM THEM BY THE GOVERNMENT, COMPLAINS OF THE FAVOUR SHOWN TO THE WEST, CONTRASTS THE MISERY OF THE PRESENT WITH THE HAPPINESS OF THE PAST, AND APPEALS TO THE STARS OF HEAVEN IDLY BEHOLDING THEIR CONDITION.

I give the whole of this piece, because it is an interesting instance of Sabian views. The writer, despairing of help from men, appeals to Heaven; but he distributes the Power that could help him among many heavenly bodies, supposing that there are spiritual beings in them, taking account of human affairs.

Well loaded with millet were the dishes, And long and curved were the spoons of thorn-wood. The way to *Kâu* was like a whetstone, And straight as an arrow. (So) the officers trod it, And the common people looked on it. When I look back and think of it, My tears run down in streams.

In the states of the east, large and small, The looms are empty. Then shoes of dolichos fibre Are made to serve to walk on the hoar-frost. Slight and elegant gentlemen¹ Walk along that road to *Kâu*. Their going and coming makes my heart sad.

Ye cold waters, issuing variously from the spring, Do not soak the firewood I have cut. Sorrowful I awake and sigh;—Alas for us toiled people! The firewood has been cut;—Would that it were

is no doubt as to the propriety of doing so; and, moreover, the peculiar phraseology of the line shows that the poet did not rest in the thought of the material heavens.

¹ That is, 'slight-looking,' unfit for toil; and yet they are obliged to make their journey on foot.

conveyed home! Alas for us the toiled people!
Would that we could have rest¹!

The sons of the east Are summoned only (to service), without encouragement; While the sons of the west Shine in splendid dresses. The sons of boatmen Have furs of the bear and grisly bear. The sons of the poorest families Form the officers in public employment.

If we present them with spirits, They regard them as not fit to be called liquor. If we give them long girdle pendants with their stones, They do not think them long enough.

There is the Milky Way in heaven ², Which looks down on us in light; And the three stars together are the Weaving Sisters ³, Passing in a day through seven stages (of the sky).

Although they go through their seven stages, They complete no bright work for us. Brilliant shine the Draught Oxen ⁴, But they do not serve to draw our carts. In the east there is Lucifer ⁵; In the west there is Hesperus ⁵; Long and curved

¹ This stanza describes, directly or by symbol, the exactions from which the people of the east were suffering.

² 'The Milky Way' is here called simply the Han, = in the sky what the Han river is in China.

³ 'The Weaving Sisters, or Ladies,' are three stars in Lyra, that form a triangle. To explain what is said of their passing through seven spaces, it is said: 'The stars seem to go round the circumference of the heavens, divided into twelve spaces, in a day and night. They would accomplish six of them in a day; but as their motion is rather in advance of that of the sun, they have entered into the seventh space by the time it is up with them again.'

⁴ 'The Draught Oxen' is the name of some stars in the neck of Aquila.

⁵ Liù Í (Sung dynasty) says: 'The metal star (Venus) is in the

is the Rabbit Net of the sky¹;—But they only occupy their places.

In the south is the Sieve², But it is of no use to sift. In the north is the Ladle³, But it lades out no liquor. In the south is the Sieve, Idly showing its mouth. In the north is the Ladle, Raising its handle in the west.

The Sixth Decade, or that of Pei Shan.

ODE 3, STANZAS 1, 4, AND 5. THE HSIÃO MING.

AN OFFICER, KEPT LONG ABROAD ON DISTANT SERVICE, APPEALS TO HEAVEN, DEPLORING THE HARDSHIPS OF HIS LOT, AND TENDERS GOOD ADVICE TO HIS MORE FORTUNATE FRIENDS AT COURT.

O bright and high Heaven, Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world! I marched on this expedition to the west, As far as this wilderness of *K'hiû*. From the first day of the second month, I have passed through the cold and the heat. My heart is sad; The poison (of my lot) is too bitter. I think of those (at court) in their offices, And my tears flow down like rain. Do I not wish to return? But I fear the net for crime.

Ah! ye gentlemen, Do not reckon on your rest

east in the morning, thus "opening the brightness of the day;" and it is in the west in the evening, thus "prolonging the day." The author of the piece, however, evidently took Lucifer and Hesperus to be two stars.

¹ 'The Rabbit Net' is the Hyades.

² 'The Sieve' is the name of one of the twenty-eight constellations of the zodiac,—part of Sagittarius.

³ 'The Ladle' is the constellation next to 'the Sieve,'—also part of Sagittarius.

being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Associating with the correct and upright; So shall the spirits hearken to you, And give you good.

Ah! ye gentlemen, Do not reckon on your repose being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Loving the correct and upright; So shall the spirits hearken to you, And give you large measures of bright happiness.

ODE 5. THE *KHÔ* 3HZE.

SACRIFICIAL AND FESTAL SERVICES IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE; AND
THEIR CONNEXION WITH ATTENTION TO HUSBANDRY.

See the remarks on the Services of the Ancestral Temple, pp. 300, 301.

Thick grew the tribulus (on the ground), But they cleared away its thorny bushes. Why did they this of old? That we might plant our millet and sacrificial millet; That our millet might be abundant, And our sacrificial millet luxuriant. When our barns are full, And our stacks can be counted by tens of myriads, We proceed to make spirits and prepared grain, For offerings and sacrifice. We seat the representatives of the dead, and urge them to eat¹:—Thus seeking to increase our bright happiness.

¹ The poet hurries on to describe the sacrifices in progress. The persons selected to personate the departed were necessarily inferior in rank to the principal sacrificer, yet for the time they were superior to him. This circumstance, it was supposed, would make them feel uncomfortable; and therefore, as soon as they appeared in the temple, the director of the ceremonies instructed the sacrificer to ask them to be seated, and to place them at ease; after which they were urged to take some refreshment.

With correct and reverent deportment, The bulls
and rams all pure, We proceed to the winter and
autumnal sacrifices. Some flay (the victims); some
cook (their flesh); Some arrange (the meat); some
adjust (the pieces of it). The officer of prayer
sacrifices inside the temple gate¹, And all the
sacrificial service is complete and brilliant. Grandly
come our progenitors; Their spirits happily enjoy
the offerings; Their filial descendant receives blessing :—They will reward him with great happiness,
With myriads of years, life without end.

They attend to the furnaces with reverence;
They prepare the trays, which are very large;—
Some for the roast meat, some for the broiled. Wives
presiding are still and reverent², Preparing the
numerous (smaller) dishes. The guests and visitors³
Present the cup all round⁴. Every form is accord-
ing to rule; Every smile and word are as they
should be. The spirits quietly come, And respond

¹ The *K'ü*, who is mentioned here, was evidently an officer, 'one who makes or recites prayers.' The sacrifice he is said to offer was, probably, a libation, the pouring out fragrant spirits, as a part of the general service, and likely to attract the hovering spirits of the departed, on their approach to the temple. Hence his act was performed just inside the gate.

² 'Wives presiding,' i.e. the wife of the sacrificer, the principal in the service, and other ladies of the harem. The dishes under their care, the smaller dishes, would be those containing sauces, cakes, condiments, &c.

³ 'The guests and visitors' would be nobles and officers of different surnames from the sacrificer, chosen by divination to take part in the sacrificial service.

⁴ 'Present the cup all round' describes the ceremonies of drinking, which took place between the guests and visitors, the representatives of the dead, and the sacrificer.

with great blessings,—Myriads of years as the (fitting) reward.

We are very much exhausted, And have performed every ceremony without error. The able officer of prayer announces (the will of the spirits)¹, And goes to the filial descendant to convey it¹:— ‘Fragrant has been your filial sacrifice, And the spirits have enjoyed your spirits and viands. They confer on you a hundred blessings; Each as it is desired, Each as sure as law. You have been exact and expeditious; You have been correct and careful; They will ever confer on you the choicest favours, In myriads and tens of myriads.’

The ceremonies having thus been completed, And the bells and drums having given their warning², The filial descendant goes to his place³, And the able officer of prayer makes his announcement, ‘The spirits have drunk to the full.’ The great representatives of the dead then rise, And the bells and drums escort their withdrawal, (On which) the spirits tranquilly return (to whence they came)⁴. All the servants, and the presiding wives, Remove (the trays and dishes) without delay. The

¹ The officer of prayer had in the first place obtained, or professed to have obtained, this answer of the progenitors from their personators.

² The music now announced that the sacrificial service in the temple was ended.

³ The sacrificer, or principal in the service, now left the place which he had occupied, descended from the hall, and took his position at the foot of the steps on the east,—the place appropriate to him in dismissing his guests.

⁴ Where did they return to? According to K'ang Hsüan, ‘To heaven.’

(sacrificer's) uncles and cousins All repair to the private feast ¹.

The musicians all go in to perform, And give their soothing aid at the second blessing ². Your ³ viands are set forth; There is no dissatisfaction, but all feel happy. They drink to the full, and eat to the full; Great and small, they bow their heads, (saying), 'The spirits enjoyed your spirits and viands, And will cause you to live long. Your sacrifices, all in their seasons, Are completely discharged by you. May your sons and your grandsons Never fail to perpetuate these services!'

ODE 6. THE HSIN NAN SHAN.

HUSBANDRY TRACED TO ITS FIRST AUTHOR; DETAILS ABOUT IT, GOING ON TO THE SUBJECT OF SACRIFICES TO ANCESTORS.

The Preface refers this piece to the reign of king Yü; but there is nothing in it to suggest the idea of its having been made in a time of disorder and misgovernment. 'The distant descendant' in the first stanza is evidently the principal in the sacrifice of the last two stanzas:—according to *K'ü*, a noble or great landholder in the royal domain; according to others, some one of the kings of *K'âu*. I incline myself to this latter view. The three pieces,

¹ These uncles and cousins were all present at the sacrifice, and of the same surname as the principal. The feast to them was to show his peculiar affection for his relatives.

² The feast was given in the apartment of the temple behind the hall where the sacrifice had been performed, so that the musicians are represented as going in to continue at the feast the music they had discoursed at the sacrifice.

³ The transition to the second person here is a difficulty. We can hardly make the speech, made by some one of the guests on behalf of all the others, commence here. We must come to the conclusion that the ode was written, in compliment to the sacrificer, by one of the relatives who shared in the feast; and so here he addresses him directly.

of which this is the middle one, seem all to be royal odes. The mention of 'the southern hill' strongly confirms this view.

Yes, (all about) that southern hill Was made manageable by Yü¹. Its plains and marshes being opened up, It was made into fields by the distant descendant. We define their boundaries, We form their smaller divisions, And make the acres lie, here to the south, there to the east.

The heavens overhead are one arch of clouds, Snowing in multitudinous flakes; There is super-added the drizzling rain. When (the land) has received the moistening, Soaking influence abundantly, It produces all our kinds of grain.

The boundaries and smaller divisions are nicely adjusted, And the millets yield abundant crops, The harvest of the distant descendant. We proceed to make therewith spirits and food, To supply our representatives of the departed, and our guests;—To obtain long life, extending over myriads of years.

In the midst of the fields are the huts², And

¹ There is here a recognition of the work of the great Yü, as the real founder of the kingdom of China, extending the territory of former elective chiefs, and opening up the country. 'The southern hill' bounded the prospect to the south from the capital of K'âu, and hence the writer makes mention of it. He does not mean to confine the work of Yü to that part of the country; but, on the other hand, there is nothing in his language to afford a confirmation to the account given in the third Part of the Shû of that hero's achievements.

² In every K'ing, or space of 900 Chinese acres or m'âu, assigned to eight families, there were in the centre 100 m'âu of 'public fields,' belonging to the government, and cultivated by the husbandmen in common. In this space of 100 m'âu, two m'âu and a half were again assigned to each family, and on them were

along the bounding divisions are gourds. The fruit is sliced and pickled, To be presented to our great ancestors, That their distant descendant may have long life, And receive the blessing of Heaven ¹.

We sacrifice (first) with clear spirits, And then follow with a red bull; Offering them to our ancestors, (Our lord) holds the knife with tinkling bells, To lay open the hair of the victim, And takes the blood and fat ².

Then we present, then we offer; All round the fragrance is diffused. Complete and brilliant is the sacrificial service; Grandly come our ancestors. They will reward (their descendant) with great blessing, Long life, years without end.

ODE 7. THE PHŪ THIEN.

PICTURES OF HUSBANDRY, AND SACRIFICES CONNECTED WITH IT. HAPPY UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR SUPERIORS.

It is difficult to say who the 'I' in the piece is, but evidently he and the 'distant descendant' are different persons. I suppose he may have been an officer, who had charge of the farms, as we may call them, in the royal domain.

Bright are those extensive fields, A tenth of whose produce is annually levied ³. I take the old

erected the huts in which they lived, while they were actively engaged in their agricultural labours.

¹ Here, as in so many other places, the sovereign Power, ruling in the lots of men, is referred to as Heaven.

² The fat was taken from the victim, and then burnt along with fragrant herbs, so as to form a cloud of incense. On the taking of the 'blood,' it is only said, that it was done to enable the sacrificer to announce that a proper victim had been slain.

³ This line, literally, is, 'Yearly are taken ten (and a) thousand;' meaning the produce of ten acres in every hundred, and of a thousand in every ten thousand.

stores, And with them feed the husbandmen. From of old we have had good years ; And now I go to the south-lying acres, Where some are weeding, and some gather the earth about the roots. The millets look luxuriant ; And in a spacious resting-place, I collect and encourage the men of greater promise ¹.

With my vessels full of bright millet, And my pure victim-rams, We sacrificed at the altar of the spirits of the land, and at (the altars of those of the four) quarters ². That my fields are in such good condition Is matter of joy to the husbandmen. With lutes, and with drums beating, We will invoke the Father of Husbandry ³, And pray for sweet rain, To increase the produce of our millets, And to bless my men and their wives.

The distant descendant comes, When their wives and children Are bringing food to those (at work) in the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields (also) comes and is glad. He takes (of the food) on the left and the right, And tastes whether

¹ The general rule was that the sons of husbandmen should continue husbandmen ; but their superior might select those among them in whom he saw promising abilities, and facilitate their advancement to the higher grade of officers.

² The sacrifices here mentioned were of thanksgiving at the end of the harvest of the preceding year. The one was to 'sovereign Earth,' supposed to be the supreme Power in correlation with Heaven, or, possibly, to the spirits supposed to preside over the productive energies of the land ; the other to the spirits presiding over the four quarters of the sky, and ruling all atmospheric influences.

³ This was the sacrifice that had been, or was about to be, offered in spring to 'the Father of Husbandry,'—probably the ancient mythical Tî, Shăn Năng.

it be good or not. The grain is well cultivated, all the acres over; Good will it be and abundant. The distant descendant has no displacency; The husbandmen are encouraged to diligence.

The crops of the distant descendant Look (thick) as thatch, and (swelling) like a carriage-cover. His stacks will stand like islands and mounds. He will seek for thousands of granaries; He will seek for tens of thousands of carts. The millets, the paddy, and the maize Will awake the joy of the husbandmen; (And they will say), 'May he be rewarded with great happiness, With myriads of years, life without end!'

ODE 8. THE TÂ THIEN.

FURTHER PICTURES OF HUSBANDRY, AND SACRIFICES CONNECTED WITH IT.

Large are the fields, and various is the work to be done. Having selected the seed, and looked after the implements, So that all preparations have been made for our labour, We take our sharp plough-shares, And commence on the south-lying acres. We sow all the kinds of grain; Which grow up straight and large, So that the wish of the distant descendant is satisfied.

It ears and the fruit lies soft in its sheath; It hardens and is of good quality; There is no wolf's-tail grass nor darnel. We remove the insects that eat the heart and the leaf, And those that eat the roots and the joints, So that they shall not hurt the young plants of our fields. May the spirit, the Father of Husbandry¹, Lay hold of them, and put them in the blazing fire!

¹ The ancient Shăn Năng, as in the preceding ode.

The clouds form in dense masses, And the rain comes down slowly. May it first rain on our public fields¹, And then come to our private¹! Yonder shall be young grain unreaped, And here some bundles ungathered; Yonder shall be handfuls left on the ground, And here ears untouched:—For the benefit of the widow².

The distant descendant will come, When their wives and children Are bringing food to those (at work) on the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields (also) will come and be glad. They will come and offer pure sacrifices to (the spirits of the four) quarters, With their victims red and black³, With their preparations of millet:—Thus offering, thus sacrificing, Thus increasing our bright happiness.

The Seventh Decade, or that of Sang Hû.

ODE 1, STANZA 1. THE SANG HÛ.

THE KING, ENTERTAINING THE CHIEF AMONG THE FEUDAL PRINCES,
EXPRESSES HIS ADMIRATION OF THEM, AND GOOD WISHES FOR THEM.

They flit about, the greenbeaks⁴, With their

¹ These are two famous lines, continually quoted as showing the loyal attachment of the people to their superiors in those ancient times.

² Compare the legislation of Moses, in connexion with the harvest, for the benefit of the poor, in Deuteronomy xxiv. 19–22.

³ They would not sacrifice to these spirits all at once, or all in one place, but in the several quarters as they went along on their progress through the domain. For each quarter the colour of the victim was different. A red victim was offered to the spirit of the south, and a black to that of the north.

⁴ The greenbeaks appeared in the second ode of the fifth decade. The bird had many names, and a beautiful plumage,

variegated wings. To be rejoiced in are these princes! May they receive the blessing of Heaven!¹

ODE 6, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE PIN KIH KHÔ YEN.

AGAINST DRUNKENNESS. DRINKING ACCORDING TO RULE AT ARCHERY CONTESTS AND THE SEASONAL SACRIFICES, AND DRINKING TO EXCESS.

There are good grounds for referring the authorship of this piece to duke Wû of Wei (B.C. 812 to 758), who played an important part in the kingdom, during the affairs which terminated in the death of king Yû, and the removal of the capital from Hào to Lo. The piece, we may suppose, is descriptive of things as they were at the court of king Yû.

When the guests first approach the mats², They take their places on the left and the right in an orderly manner. The dishes of bamboo and wood are arranged in rows, With the sauces and kernels displayed in them. The spirits are mild and good, And they drink, all equally reverent. The bells and drums are properly arranged³, And they raise their pledge-cups with order and ease⁴. (Then) the great

made use of here to compliment the princes on the elegance of their manners, and perhaps also the splendour of their equipages. The bird is here called the 'mulberry Hû,' because it appeared when the mulberry tree was coming into leaf.

¹ This line is to be understood, with Kû Hsî, as a prayer of the king to Heaven for his lords.

² The mats were spread on the floor, and also the viands of the feast. Chairs and tables were not used in that early time.

³ The archery took place in the open court, beneath the hall or raised apartment, where the entertainment was given. Near the steps leading up to the hall was the regular place for the bells and drums, but it was necessary now to remove them more on one side, to leave the ground clear for the archers.

⁴ The host first presented a cup to the guest, which the latter drank, and then he returned a cup to the host. After this pre-

target is set up; The bows and arrows are made ready for the shooting. The archers are arranged in classes; 'Show your skill in shooting,' (it is said by one). 'I shall hit that mark' (is the response), 'And pray you to drink the cup¹.'

The dancers move with their flutes to the notes of the organ and drum, While all the instruments perform in harmony. All this is done to please the meritorious ancestors, Along with the observance of all ceremonies. When all the ceremonies have been fully performed, Grandly and fully, (The personators of the dead say), 'We confer on you great blessings, And may your descendants also be happy!' These are happy and delighted, And each of them exerts his ability. A guest² draws the spirits; An attendant enters again with a cup, And fills it,—the cup of rest². Thus are performed your seasonal ceremonies³.

liminary ceremony, the company all drank to one another,—'took up their cups,' as it is here expressed.

¹ Each defeated archer was obliged to drink a large cup of spirits as a penalty.

² This guest was, it is supposed, the eldest of all the scions of the royal House present on the occasion. At this point, he presented a cup to the chief among the personators of the ancestors, and received one in return. He then proceeded to draw more spirits from one of the vases of supply, and an attendant came in and filled other cups,—we may suppose for all the other personators. This was called 'the cup of repose or comfort;' and the sacrifice was thus concluded,—in all sobriety and decency.

³ The three stanzas that follow this, graphically descriptive of the drunken revel, are said to belong to the feast of the royal relatives that followed the conclusion of the sacrificial service, and is called 'the second blessing' in the sixth ode of the preceding decade. This opinion probably is correct; but as the piece does not itself say so, and because of the absence from the text of religious sentiments, I have not given the stanzas here.

The Eighth Decade, or that of Po Hwá.

ODE 5, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE PO HWÁ.

THE QUEEN OF KING YŪ COMPLAINS OF BEING DEGRADED AND
FORSAKEN.

The fibres from the white-flowered rush Are
bound with the white grass¹. This man's sending
me away makes me dwell solitary.

The light and brilliant clouds Bedew the rush
and the grass². The way of Heaven is hard and
difficult³;—This man does not conform (to good
principle).

¹ The stalks of the rush were tied with the grass in bundles, in order to be steeped;—an operation which ladies in those days might be supposed to be familiar with. The two lines suggest the idea of the close connexion between the two plants, and the necessity of the one to the other;—as it should be between husband and wife.

² The clouds bestowed their dewy influence on the plants, while her husband neglected the speaker.

³ 'The way of Heaven' is equivalent to our 'The course of Providence.' The lady's words are, literally, 'The steps of Heaven.' She makes but a feeble wail; but in Chinese opinion discharges thereby, all the better, the duty of a wife.

THE MAJOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM.

PIECES AND STANZAS ILLUSTRATING THE RELIGIOUS
VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE WRITERS AND
THEIR TIMES.

The First Decade, or that of Wăn Wang.

ODE 1. THE WĀN WĀNG.

CELEBRATING KING WĀN, DEAD AND ALIVE, AS THE FOUNDER OF THE
DYNASTY OF KĀU, SHOWING HOW HIS VIRTUES DREW TO HIM THE
FAVOURING REGARD OF HEAVEN OR GOD, AND MADE HIM A BRIGHT
PATTERN TO HIS DESCENDANTS AND THEIR MINISTERS.

The composition of this and the other pieces of this decade is attributed to the duke of Kâu, king Wăn's son, and was intended by him for the benefit of his nephew, the young king K'ang. Wăn, it must be borne in mind, was never actually king of China. He laid the foundations of the kingly power, which was established by his son king Wû, and consolidated by the duke of Kâu. The title of king was given to him and to others by the duke, according to the view of filial piety, that has been referred to on p. 299.

King Wăn is on high. Oh! bright is he in
heaven. Although Kâu was an old country, The
(favouring) appointment lighted on it recently¹.
Illustrious was the House of Kâu, And the

¹ The family of Kâu, according to its traditions, was very ancient, but it did not occupy the territory of Kâu, from which it subsequently took its name, till B. C. 1326; and it was not till the time of Wăn (B. C. 1231 to 1135) that the divine purpose concerning its supremacy in the kingdom was fully manifested.

appointment of God came at the proper season. King Wăn ascends and descends On the left and the right of God¹.

Full of earnest activity was king Wăn, And his fame is without end. The gifts (of God) to Kâu Extend to the descendants of king Wăn, In the direct line and the collateral branches for a hundred generations². All the officers of Kâu Shall (also) be illustrious from age to age.

They shall be illustrious from age to age, Zealously and reverently pursuing their plans. Admirable are the many officers, Born in this royal kingdom. The royal kingdom is able to produce them, The supporters of (the House of) Kâu. Numerous is the array of officers, And by them king Wăn enjoys his repose.

Profound was king Wăn; Oh! continuous and bright was his feeling of reverence. Great is the appointment of Heaven! There were the descendants of (the sovereigns of) Shang³—The descendants of the sovereigns of Shang Were in number more

¹ According to K'ü Hsî, the first and last two lines of this stanza are to be taken of the spirit of Wăn in heaven. Attempts have been made to explain them otherwise, or rather to explain them away. But language could not more expressly intimate the existence of a supreme personal God, and the continued existence of the human spirit.

² The text, literally, is, 'The root and the branches:' the root (and stem) denoting the eldest sons, by the recognised queen, succeeding to the throne; and the branches, the other sons by the queen and concubines. The former would grow up directly from the root; and the latter, the chief nobles of the kingdom, would constitute the branches of the great Kâu tree.

³ The Shang or Yin dynasty of kings superseded by Kâu.

than hundreds of thousands. But when God gave the command, They became subject to Kâu.

They became subject to Kâu, (For) the appointment of Heaven is not unchangeable. The officers of Yin, admirable and alert, Assist at the libations in our capital¹. They assist at those libations, Always wearing the hatchet-figures on their lower garments and their peculiar cap². O ye loyal ministers of the king, Ever think of your ancestor!

Ever think of your ancestor, Cultivating your virtue, Always seeking to accord with the will (of Heaven):—So shall you be seeking for much happiness, Before Yin lost the multitudes, (Its kings) were the correlates of God³. Look to Yin as a beacon; The great appointment is not easily preserved:

The appointment is not easily (preserved):—Do not cause your own extinction. Display and make bright your righteousness and fame, And look at (the fate of) Yin in the light of Heaven. The doings of high Heaven Have neither sound nor

¹ These officers of Yin would be the descendants of the Yin kings and of their principal nobles, scions likewise of the Yin stock. They would assist, at the court of Kâu, at the services in the ancestral temple, which began with a libation of fragrant spirits to bring down the spirits of the departed.

² These, differing from the dress worn by the representatives of the ruling House, were still worn by the officers of Yin or Shang, by way of honour, and also by way of warning.

³ There was God in heaven hating none, desiring the good of all the people; there were the sovereigns on earth, God's vicegerents, maintained by him so long as they carried out in their government his purpose of good.

smell¹. Take your pattern from king Wăn, And
the myriad regions will repose confidence in you.

ODE 2. THE TÂ MING.

HOW THE APPOINTMENT OF HEAVEN OR GOD CAME FROM HIS FATHER
TO KING WĂN, AND DESCENDED TO HIS SON, KING WŪ, WHO OVER-
THREW THE DYNASTY OF SHANG BY HIS VICTORY AT MŪ; CELE-
BRATING ALSO THE MOTHER AND WIFE OF KING WĂN.

The illustration of illustrious (virtue) is required
below, And the dread majesty is on high². Heaven
is not readily to be relied on; It is not easy to be
king. Yin's rightful heir to the heavenly seat Was
not permitted to possess the kingdom.

Zăn, the second of the princesses of Kih³, From
(the domain of) Yin-shang, Came to be married
to (the prince of) Kâu, And became his wife in his

¹ These two lines are quoted in the last paragraph of the Doctrine of the Mean, as representing the ideal of perfect virtue. They are indicative of Power, operating silently, and not to be perceived by the senses, but resistless in its operations.

² 'The first two lines,' says the commentator Yen Zhan, 'contain a general sentiment, expressing the principle that governs the relation between Heaven and men. According to line 1, the good or evil of a ruler cannot be concealed; according to 2, Heaven, in giving its favour or taking it away, acts with strict decision. When below there is the illustrious illustration (of virtue), that reaches up on high. When above there is the awful majesty, that exercises a survey below. The relation between Heaven and men ought to excite our awe.'

³ The state of Kih must have been somewhere in the royal domain of Yin. Its lords had the surname of Zăn, and the second daughter of the House became the wife of Kî of Kâu. She is called in the eighth line Thâi-zăn, by which name she is still famous in China. 'She commenced,' it is said, 'the instruction of her child when he was still in her womb, looking on no improper sight, listening to no licentious sound, uttering no word of pride.'

capital. Both she and king *Kî* Were entirely virtuous. (Then) *Thâi-zăn* became pregnant, And gave birth to our king *Wăn*.

This king *Wăn*, Watchfully and reverently, With entire intelligence served God, And so secured the great blessing. His virtue was without deflection; And in consequence he received (the allegiance of) the states from all quarters.

Heaven surveyed this lower world; And its appointment lighted (on king *Wăn*). In his early years, It made for him a mate¹;—On the north of the *Hsiâ*, On the banks of the *Wei*. When king *Wăn* would marry, There was the lady in a large state².

In a large state was the lady, Like a fair denizen of heaven. The ceremonies determined the auspiciousness (of the union)³, And in person he met her on the *Wei*. Over it he made a bridge of boats; The glory (of the occasion) was illustrious.

The favouring appointment was from Heaven, Giving the throne to our king *Wăn*, In the capital of *Kâu*. The lady-successor was from *Hsin*, Its eldest daughter, who came to marry him. She was blessed to give birth to king *Wû*, Who was preserved, and helped, and received (also) the appoint-

¹ Heaven is here represented as arranging for the fulfilment of its purposes beforehand.

² The name of the state was *Hsin*, and it must have been near the *Hsiâ* and the *Wei*, somewhere in the south-east of the present *Shen-hsî*.

³ 'The ceremonies' would be various; first of all, divination by means of the tortoise-shell.

ment, And in accordance with it smote the great Shang.

The troops of Yin-shang Were collected like a forest, And marshalled in the wilderness of Mû. We rose (to the crisis); 'God is with you,' (said Shang-fû to the king), 'Have no doubts in your heart¹.'

The wilderness of Mû spread out extensive; Bright shone the chariots of sandal; The teams of bays, black-maned and white-bellied, galloped along; The Grand-Master Shang-fû Was like an eagle on the wing, Assisting king Wû, Who at one onset smote the great Shang. That morning's encounter was followed by a clear, bright (day).

ODE 3. THE MIEN.

SMALL BEGINNINGS AND SUBSEQUENT GROWTH OF THE HOUSE OF KÂU IN KÂU. ITS REMOVAL FROM PIN UNDER THAN-FÛ, WITH ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN KÂU, WITH THE PLACE THEN GIVEN TO THE BUILDING OF THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE, AND THE ALTAR TO THE SPIRITS OF THE LAND. CONSOLIDATION OF ITS FORTUNES BY KING WĂN.

'The ancient duke Than-fû' was the grandfather of king Wăn, and was canonized by the duke of Kâu as 'king Thâi.' As mentioned in a note on p. 316, he was the first of his family to settle in Kâu, removing there from Pin, the site of their earlier settlement, 'the country about the Kzü and the Kûi.'

In long trains ever increasing grow the gourds². When (our) people first sprang, From the country about the Kzü and the Kûi³, The ancient duke

¹ See the account of the battle of Mû in the third Book of the fifth Part of the Shû. Shang-fû was one of Wû's principal leaders and counsellors, his 'Grand-Master Shang-fû' in the next stanza.

² As a gourd grows and extends, with a vast development of its tendrils and leaves, so had the House of Kâu increased.

³ These were two rivers in the territory of Pin, which name still

Than-fû Made for them kiln-like huts and caves,
Ere they had yet any houses ¹.

The ancient duke Than-fû Came in the morning,
galloping his horses, Along the banks of the western
rivers, To the foot of mount *K'hi*²; And there he
and the lady *Kiang*³ Came and together looked
out for a site.

The plain of *K'au* looked beautiful and rich,
With its violets, and sowthistles (sweet) as dump-
lings. There he began by consulting (with his
followers); There he singed the tortoise-shell, (and
divined). The responses were there to stay and
then; And they proceeded there to build ⁴.

He encouraged the people, and settled them;
Here on the left, there on the right. He divided
the ground, and subdivided it; He dug the ditches;
he defined the acres. From the east to the west,
There was nothing which he did not take in hand ⁵.

remains in the small department of Pin *K'au*, in Shen-hsi. The
K'hi flows into the Lo, and the *K'hi* into the Wei.

¹ According to this ode then, up to the time of Than-fû, the
K'au people had only had the dwellings here described; but this
is not easily reconciled with other accounts, or even with other
stanzas of this piece.

² See a graphic account of the circumstances in which this
migration took place, in the fifteenth chapter of the second Part
of the first Book of Mencius, very much to the honour of the
ancient duke.

³ This lady is known as *Thâi-kiang*, the worthy predecessor of
Thâi-sân.

⁴ This stanza has reference to the choice—by council and
divination—of a site for what should be the chief town of the
new settlement.

⁵ This stanza describes the general arrangements for the
occupancy and cultivation of the plain of *K'au*, and the distribution
of the people over it.

He called his Superintendent of Works; He called his Minister of Instruction; And charged them with the rearing of the houses. With the line they made everything straight; They bound the frame-boards tight, so that they should rise regularly: Uprose the ancestral temple in its solemn grandeur¹.

Crowds brought the earth in baskets; They threw it with shouts into the frames; They beat it with responsive blows. They pared the walls repeatedly, till they sounded strong. Five thousand cubits of them arose together, So that the roll of the great drums did not overpower (the noise of the builders)².

They reared the outer gate (of the palace), Which rose in lofty state. They set up the gate of audience, Which rose severe and exact. They reared the great altar to the spirits of the land, From which all great movements should proceed³.

¹ This stanza describes the preparations and processes for erecting the buildings of the new city. The whole took place under the direction of two officers, in whom we have the germ probably of the Six Heads of the Boards or Departments, whose functions are described in the *Shû* and the *Official Book of Kâu*. The materials of the buildings were earth and lime pounded together in frames, as is still to be seen in many parts of the country. The first great building taken in hand was the ancestral temple. Than-fû would make a home for the spirits of his fathers, before he made one for himself. However imperfectly directed, the religious feeling asserted the supremacy which it ought to possess.

² The bustle and order of the building all over the city is here graphically set forth.

³ Than-fû was now at leisure to build the palace for himself, which appears to have been not a very large building, though the Chinese names of its gates are those belonging to the two which

Thus though he could not prevent the rage of his foes¹, He did not let fall his own fame. The oaks and the buckthorns were (gradually) thinned, And roads for travellers were opened. The hordes of the Khwăn disappeared, Startled and panting.

(The chiefs of) Yü and Zui² were brought to an agreement By king Wăn's stimulating their natural virtue. Then, I may say, some came to him, previously not knowing him; Some, drawn the last by the first; Some, drawn by his rapid successes; And some by his defence (of the weak) from insult.

were peculiar to the palaces of the kings of Kâu in the subsequent times of the dynasty. Outside the palace were the altars appropriate to the spirits of the four quarters of the land, the 'great' or royal altar being peculiar to the kings, though the one built by Than-fû is here so named. All great undertakings, and such as required the co-operation of all the people, were preceded by a solemn sacrifice at this altar.

¹ Referring to Than-fû's relations with the wild hordes, described by Mencius, and which obliged him to leave Pin. As the new settlement in Kâu grew, they did not dare to trouble it.

² The poet passes on here to the time of king Wăn. The story of the chiefs of Yü and Zui (two states on the east of the Ho) is this:— They had a quarrel about a strip of territory, to which each of them laid claim. Going to lay their dispute before the lord of Kâu, as soon as they entered his territory, they saw the ploughers readily yielding the furrow, and travellers yielding the path, while men and women avoided one another on the road, and old people had no burdens to carry. At his court, they beheld the officers of each inferior grade giving place to those above them. They became ashamed of their own quarrel, agreed to let the disputed ground be an open territory, and withdrew without presuming to appear before Wăn. When this affair was noised abroad, more than forty states, it is said, tendered their submission to Kâu.

ODE 4, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE YÎ PHO.

IN PRAISE OF KING WÂN, CELEBRATING HIS INFLUENCE, DIGNITY IN THE
TEMPLE SERVICES, ACTIVITY, AND CAPACITY TO RULE.

Abundant is the growth of the buckthorn and
shrubby trees, Supplying firewood; yea, stores of
it¹. Elegant and dignified was our prince and king;
On the left and the right they hastened to him.

Elegant and dignified was our prince and king;
On his left and his right they bore their half-
mace (libation-cups)²:—They bore them with solemn
gravity, As beseemed such eminent officers.

ODE 5. THE HAN LÔ.

IN PRAISE OF THE VIRTUE OF KING WÂN, BLESSED BY HIS ANCESTORS,
AND RAISED TO THE HIGHEST DIGNITY WITHOUT SEEKING OF HIS
OWN.

Look at the foot of the Han³, How abundantly
grow the hazel and arrow-thorn⁴. Easy and self-
possessed was our prince, In his pursuit of dignity
(still) easy and self-possessed.

Massive is that libation-cup of jade, With the

¹ It is difficult to trace the connexion between these allusive
lines and the rest of the piece.

² Here we have the lord of Kâu in his ancestral temple, assisted
by his ministers or great officers in pouring out the libations to the
spirits of the departed. The libation-cup was fitted with a handle
of jade, that used by the king having a complete kwei, the obelisk-
like symbol of rank, while the cups used by a minister had for a
handle only half a kwei.

³ Where mount Han was cannot now be determined.

⁴ As the foot of the hill was favourable to vegetable growth,
so were king Wân's natural qualities to his distinction and
advancement.

yellow liquid sparkling in it¹. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, The fit recipient of blessing and dignity.

The hawk flies up to heaven, The fishes leap in the deep². Easy and self-possessed was our prince :—Did he not exert an influence on men?

His clear spirits were in the vessels; His red bull was ready³;—To offer, to sacrifice, To increase his bright happiness.

Thick grow the oaks and the buckthorn, Which the people use for fuel⁴. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Cheered and encouraged by the spirits⁴.

Luxuriant are the dolichos and other creepers, Clinging to the branches and stems. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways.

ODE 6. THE SZÉ KÂI.

THE VIRTUE OF WĂN, WITH HIS FILIAL PIETY AND CONSTANT REVERENCE,
AND THEIR WONDERFUL EFFECTS. THE EXCELLENT CHARACTER OF
HIS MOTHER AND WIFE.

Pure and reverent was Thái Zăn⁵, The mother of king Wăn. Loving was she to Kâu Kiang⁶;—

¹ As a cup of such quality was the proper receptacle for the yellow, herb-flavoured spirits, so was the character of Wăn such that all blessing must accrue to him.

² It is the nature of the hawk to fly and of fishes to swim, and so there went out an influence from Wăn unconsciously to himself.

³ Red, we have seen, was the proper colour for victims in the ancestral temple of Kâu.

⁴ As it was natural for the people to take the wood and use it, so it was natural for the spirits of his ancestors, and spiritual beings generally, to bless king Wăn.

⁵ Thái Zăn is celebrated, above, in the second ode.

⁶ Kâu Kiang is 'the lady Kiang' of ode 3, the wife of Than-fû or

A wife becoming the House of K'âu. Thái Sze¹ inherited her excellent fame, And from her came a hundred sons².

He conformed to the example of his ancestors, And their spirits had no occasion for complaint. Their spirits had no occasion for dissatisfaction; And his example acted on his wife, Extended to his brethren, And was felt by all the clans and states.

Full of harmony was he in his palace; Full of reverence in the ancestral temple. Unseen (by men), he still felt that he was under inspection³: Unweariedly he maintained his virtue.

Though he could not prevent (some) great calamities, His brightness and magnanimity were without stain. Without previous instruction he did what was right; Without admonition he went on (in the path of goodness).

So, grown up men became virtuous (through him), And young men made (constant) attainments. (Our) ancient prince never felt weariness, And from him were the fame and eminence of his officers.

king Thái, who came with him from Pin. She is here called K'âu, as having married the lord of K'âu.

¹ Thái Sze, the wife of Wăn, we are told in ode 2, was from the state of Hsin. The surname Sze shows that its lords must have been descended from the Great Yü.

² We are not to suppose that Thái Sze had herself a hundred sons. She had ten, and her freedom from jealousy so encouraged the fruitfulness of the harem, that all the sons born in it are ascribed to her.

³ Where there was no human eye to observe him, Wăn still felt that he was open to the observation of spiritual beings.

ODE 7. THE HWANG Î.

SHOWING THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF KÂU TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE KINGDOM THROUGH THE FAVOUR OF GOD. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF KINGS THÂI AND KÎ, AND ESPECIALLY OF KING WÂN.

Great is God, Beholding this lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters (of the kingdom), Seeking for some one to give establishment to the people. Those two earlier dynasties¹ Had failed to satisfy him with their government; So, throughout the various states, He sought and considered For one on whom he might confer the rule. Hating all the great states, He turned his kind regards on the west, And there gave a settlement (to king Thâi).

(King Thâi) raised up and removed The dead trunks and the fallen trees. He dressed and regulated The bushy clumps and the (tangled) rows. He opened up and cleared The tamarisk trees and the stave trees. He hewed and thinned The mountain mulberry trees. God having brought about the removal thither of this intelligent ruler, The Kwan hordes fled away². Heaven had raised up a helpmeet for him, And the appointment he had received was made sure.

God surveyed the hills, Where the oaks and the buckthorn were thinned, And paths made through the firs and cypresses. God, who had raised the

¹ Those of Hsiâ and Shang.

² The same as 'the hordes of the Khwân' in ode 3. Mr. T. W. Kingsmill says that 'Kwan' here should be 'Chun,' and charges the transliteration Kwan with error (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1878). He had not consulted his dictionary for the proper pronunciation of the Chinese character.

state, raised up a proper ruler¹ for it,—From the time of Thái-po and king Kỉ (this was done)¹. Now this king Kỉ In his heart was full of brotherly duty. Full of duty to his elder brother, He gave himself the more to promote the prosperity (of the country), And secured to him the glory (of his act)². He accepted his dignity and did not lose it, And (ere long his family) possessed the whole kingdom.

This king Kỉ Was gifted by God with the power of judgment, So that the fame of his virtue silently grew. His virtue was highly intelligent,—Highly intelligent, and of rare discrimination; Able to lead, able to rule, To rule over this great country; Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union³. When (the sway) came to king Wăn, His

¹ King Wăn is 'the proper ruler' intended here, and the next line intimates that this was determined before there was any likelihood of his becoming the ruler even of the territory of Kâu;—another instance of the foreseeing providence ascribed to God. Thái-po was the eldest son of king Thái, and king Kỉ was, perhaps, only the third. The succession ought to have come to Thái-po; but he, seeing the sage virtues of Khang (afterwards king Wăn), the son of Kỉ, and seeing also that king Thái was anxious that this boy should ultimately become ruler of Kâu, voluntarily withdrew from Kâu altogether, and left the state to Kỉ and his son. See the remark of Confucius on Thái-po's conduct, in the Analects, VIII, i.

² The lines from six to ten speak of king Kỉ in his relation to his elder brother. He accepted Thái-po's act without any failure of his own duty to him, and by his own improvement of it, made his brother more glorious through it. His feeling of brotherly duty was simply the natural instinct of his heart. Having accepted the act, it only made him the more anxious to promote the good of the state, and thus he made his brother more glorious by showing what advantages accrued from his resignation and withdrawal from Kâu.

³ This line refers to Kỉ's maintenance of his own loyal duty

virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with, He received the blessing of God, And it was extended to his descendants.

God said to king Wăn¹, 'Be not like those who reject this and cling to that; Be not like those who are ruled by their likings and desires;' So he grandly ascended before others to the height (of virtue). The people of Mî² were disobedient, Daring to oppose our great country, And invaded Yüan, marching to Kung³. The king rose, majestic in his wrath; He marshalled his troops, To stop the invading foes; To consolidate the prosperity of Kâu; To meet the expectations of all under heaven.

He remained quietly in the capital, But (his troops) went on from the borders of Yüan. They ascended our lofty ridges, And (the enemy) arrayed no forces on our hills, On our hills, small or large, Nor drank at our springs, Our springs or our pools. He then determined the finest of the plains, And settled on the south of K'ü⁴, On the banks of

to the dynasty of Shang, and his making all the states under his presidency loyal also.

¹ The statement that 'God spake to king Wăn,' repeated in stanza 7, vexes the Chinese critics, and they find in it simply an intimation that Wăn's conduct was 'in accordance with the will of Heaven.' I am not prepared to object to that view of the meaning; but it is plain that the writer, in giving such a form to his meaning, must have conceived of God as a personal Being, knowing men's hearts, and able to influence them.

² Mî or Mî-hsü was a state in the present K'ing-ning Kâu, of Phing-liang department, Kan-sü.

³ Yüan was a state adjacent to Mî,—the present K'ing Kâu, and Kung must have been a place or district in it.

⁴ Wăn, it appears, made now a small change in the site of his capital, but did not move to Fäng, where he finally settled.

the Wei, The centre of all the states, The resort of the lower people.

God said to king Wăn, 'I am pleased with your intelligent virtue, Not loudly proclaimed nor portrayed, Without extravagance or changeableness, Without consciousness of effort on your part, In accordance with the pattern of God.' God said to king Wăn, 'Take measures against the country of your foes. Along with your brethren, Get ready your scaling ladders, And your engines of onfall and assault, To attack the walls of *Khung*¹.'

The engines of onfall and assault were (at first) gently plied, Against the walls of *Khung* high and and great; Captives for the question were brought in, one after another; The left ears (of the slain) were taken leisurely². He had sacrificed to God and to the Father of War³, Thus seeking to induce

¹ *Khung* was a state, in the present district of Hû, department Hsî-an, Shen-hsi. His conquest of *Khung* was an important event in the history of king Wăn. He moved his capital to it, advancing so much farther towards the east, nearer to the domain of Shang. According to Sze-mâ *Khien* the marquis of *Khung* had slandered the lord of *Kâu*, who was president of the states of the west, to *Kâu-hsin*, the king of Shang, and our hero was put in prison. His friends succeeded in effecting his deliverance by means of various gifts to the tyrant, and he was reinstated in the west with more than his former power. Three years afterwards he attacked the marquis of *Khung*.

² So far the siege was prosecuted slowly and, so to say, tenderly, Wăn hoping that the enemy would be induced to surrender without great sacrifice of life.

³ The sacrifice to God had been offered in *Kâu*, at the commencement of the expedition; that to the Father of War, on the army's arriving at the borders of *Khung*. We can hardly tell who is intended by the Father of War. *Kû Hsi* and others would require the plural 'Fathers,' saying the sacrifice was to Hwang Tî and *K'ih Yü*, who are found engaged in hostilities far back in the

submission, And throughout the region none had dared to insult him. The engines of onfall and assault were (then) vigorously plied, Against the walls of *Khung* very strong. He attacked it, and let loose all his forces; He extinguished (its sacrifices)¹, and made an end of its existence; And throughout the kingdom none dared to oppose him.

ODE 9. THE HSIÁ WŪ.

IN PRAISE OF KING WŪ, WALKING IN THE WAYS OF HIS FOREFATHERS,
AND BY HIS FILIAL PIETY SECURING THE THRONE TO HIMSELF AND
HIS POSTERITY.

Successors tread in the steps (of their predecessors) in our *Kâu*. For generations there had been wise kings; The three sovereigns were in heaven²; And king (WŪ) was their worthy successor in his capital³.

King (WŪ) was their worthy successor in his capital, Rousing himself to seek for the hereditary virtue, Always striving to be in accordance with the

mythical period of Chinese history. But *K'ih Yü* appears as a rebel, or opposed to the One man in all the country who was then fit to rule. It is difficult to imagine how they could be associated, and sacrificed to together.

¹ The extinction of its sacrifices was the final act in the extinction of a state. Any members of its ruling House who might survive could no longer sacrifice to their ancestors as having been men of princely dignity. The family was reduced to the ranks of the people.

² 'The three sovereigns,' or 'wise kings,' are to be understood of the three celebrated in ode 7,—*Thái*, *K'í*, and *Wán*. We are thus obliged, with all Chinese scholars, to understand this ode of king WŪ. The statement that 'the three kings were in heaven' is very express.

³ The capital here is *Háo*, to which WŪ removed in B.C. 1134, the year after his father's death. It was on the east of the river *Fäng*, and only about eight miles from *Wán*'s capital of *Fäng*.

will (of Heaven); And thus he secured the confidence due to a king.

He secured the confidence due to a king, And became the pattern of all below him. Ever thinking how to be filial, His filial mind was the model (which he supplied).

Men loved him, the One man, And responded (to his example) with a docile virtue. Ever thinking how to be filial, He brilliantly continued the doings (of his fathers).

Brilliantly! and his posterity, Continuing to walk in the steps of their forefathers, For myriads of years, Will receive the blessing of Heaven.

They will receive the blessing of Heaven, And from the four quarters (of the kingdom) will felicitations come to them. For myriads of years Will there not be their helpers?

ODE 10. THE WĂN WANG YÜ SHĀNG.

THE PRAISE OF KINGS WĂN AND WŪ :—HOW THE FORMER DISPLAYED HIS MILITARY PROWESS ONLY TO SECURE THE TRANQUILLITY OF THE PEOPLE; AND HOW THE LATTER, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESULTS OF DIVINATION, ENTERED IN HIS NEW CAPITAL OF HÂO, INTO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE KINGDOM WITH THE SINCERE GOOD WILL OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

King Wăn is famous; Yea, he is very famous. What he sought was the repose (of the people); What he saw was the completion (of his work). A sovereign true was king Wăn!

King Wăn received the appointment (from Heaven), And achieved his martial success. Having overthrown *Khung*¹ He fixed his (capital) city in Făng². A sovereign true was king Wăn!

¹ As related in ode 7.

² Făng had, probably, been the capital of *Khung*, and Wăn

He repaired the walls along the (old) moat. His establishing himself in Fǎng was according to (the pattern of his forefathers), It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes ;—It was to show the filial duty that had come down to him. A sovereign true was the royal prince !

His royal merit was brightly displayed By those walls of Fǎng. There were collected (the sympathies of the people of) the four quarters, Who regarded the royal prince as their protector. A sovereign true was the royal prince !

The Fǎng-water flowed on to the east (of the city), Through the meritorious labour of Yü. There were collected (the sympathies of the people of) the four quarters, Who would have the great king as their ruler. A sovereign true was the great king¹ !

In the capital of Háo he built his hall with its circlet of water². From the west to the east, From the south to the north, There was not a thought but did him homage. A sovereign true was the great king !

He examined and divined, did the king, About settling in the capital of Háo. The tortoise-shell decided the site³, And king Wû completed the city. A sovereign true was king Wû !

removed to it, simply making the necessary repairs and alterations. This explains how we find nothing about the divinations which should have preceded so important a step as the founding of a new capital.

¹ The writer has passed on to Wû, who did actually become king.

² See on the third of the Praise Odes of Lû in Part IV.

³ Háo was built by Wû, and hence we have the account of his divining about the site and the undertaking.

By the Făng-water grows the white millet¹;—
Did not king Wû show wisdom in his employ-
ment of officers? He would leave his plans to his
descendants, And secure comfort and support to
his son. A sovereign true was king Wû!

The Second Decade, or that of Shăng Min.

ODE 1. THE SHĂNG MIN.

THE LEGEND OF HÂU-K'Í:—HIS CONCEPTION; HIS BIRTH; THE PERILS
OF HIS INFANCY; HIS BOYISH HABITS OF AGRICULTURE; HIS SUBSE-
QUENT METHODS AND TEACHING OF AGRICULTURE; HIS FOUNDING
OF CERTAIN SACRIFICES; AND THE HONOURS OF SACRIFICE PAID TO
HIM BY THE HOUSE OF K'ÂU.

Of Hâu-k'í there is some notice on the tenth ode of the first
decade of the Sacrificial Odes of K'âu. To him the kings of
K'âu traced their lineage. Of K'iang Yüan, his mother, our
knowledge is very scanty. It is said that she was a daughter
of the House of Thái, which traced its lineage up to Shăn-nung
in præhistoric times. From the first stanza of this piece it
appears that she was married, and had been so for some time
without having any child. But who her husband was it is
impossible to say with certainty. As the K'âu surname was K'í,
he must have been one of the descendants of Hwang Tí.

The first birth of (our) people² Was from K'iang
Yüan. How did she give birth to (our) people?
She had presented a pure offering and sacrificed³,

¹ 'The white millet,' a valuable species, grown near the Făng,
suggests to the writer the idea of all the men of ability whom Wû
collected around him.

² Our 'people' is of course the people of K'âu. The whole
piece is about the individual from whom the House of K'âu sprang,
of which were the kings of the dynasty so called.

³ To whom K'iang Yüan sacrificed and prayed we are not told,
but I receive the impression that it was to God,—see the next
stanza,—and that she did so all alone with the special object which
is mentioned.

That her childlessness might be taken away. She then trod on a toe-print made by God, and was moved¹, In the large place where she rested. She became pregnant; she dwelt retired; She gave birth to, and nourished (a son), Who was Hâu-kí.

When she had fulfilled her months, Her first-born son (came forth) like a lamb. There was no bursting, nor rending, No injury, no hurt; Showing how wonderful he would be. Did not God give her the comfort? Had he not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice, So that thus easily she brought forth her son?

He was placed in a narrow lane, But the sheep and oxen protected him with loving care². He was placed in a wide forest, Where he was met with by the wood-cutters. He was placed on the cold ice, And a bird screened and supported him with its wings. When the bird went away, Hâu-kí began to wail. His cry was long and loud, So that his voice filled the whole way².

¹ The 'toe-print made by God' has occasioned much speculation of the critics. We may simply draw the conclusion that the poet meant to have his readers believe with him that the conception of his hero was supernatural. We saw in the third of the Sacrificial Odes of Shang that there was also a legend assigning a præternatural birth to the father of the House of Shang.

² It does not appear from the ode who exposed the infant to these various perils; nor did Chinese tradition ever fashion any story on the subject. Máo makes the exposure to have been made by Kiang Yüan's husband, dissatisfied with what had taken place; Käng, by the mother herself, to show the more the wonderful character of her child. Readers will compare the accounts with the Roman legends about Romulus and Remus, their mother and her father; but the two legends differ according to the different characters of the Chinese and Roman peoples.

When he was able to crawl, He looked majestic and intelligent. When he was able to feed himself, He fell to planting beans. The beans grew luxuriantly; His rows of paddy shot up beautifully; His hemp and wheat grew strong and close; His gourds yielded abundantly.

The husbandry of Hâu-k' Proceeded on the plan of helping (the growth). Having cleared away the thick grass, He sowed the ground with the yellow cereals. He managed the living grain, till it was ready to burst; Then he used it as seed, and it sprang up; It grew and came into ear; It became strong and good; It hung down, every grain complete; And thus he was appointed lord of Thái¹.

He gave (his people) the beautiful grains;—The black millet and the double-kernelled, The tall red and the white. They planted extensively the black and the double-kernelled, Which were reaped and stacked on the ground. They planted extensively the tall red and the white, Which were carried on their shoulders and backs, Home for the sacrifices which he founded².

And how as to our sacrifices (continued from him)?

¹ Hâu-k'’s mother, we have seen, was a princess of Thái, in the present district of Wû-kung, K'ien Kâu, Shen-hsi. This may have led to his appointment to that principality, and the transference of the lordship from Kiangs to K'is. Evidently he was appointed to that dignity for his services in the promotion of agriculture. Still he has not displaced the older Shăn-nung, with whom on his father’s side he had a connexion, as ‘the Father of Husbandry.’

² This is not to be understood of sacrifice in general, as if there had been no such thing before Hâu-k'; but of the sacrifices of the House of Kâu,—those in the ancestral temple and others,—which began with him as its great ancestor.

Some hull (the grain); some take it from the mortar; Some sift it; some tread it. It is rattling in the dishes; It is distilled, and the steam floats about. We consult¹; we observe the rites of purification; We take southernwood and offer it with the fat; We sacrifice a ram to the spirit of the path²; We offer roast flesh and broiled:—And thus introduce the coming year³.

We load the stands with the offerings, The stands both of wood and of earthenware. As soon as the fragrance ascends, God, well pleased, smells the sweet savour. Fragrant it is, and in its due season⁴. Hâu-*kî* founded our sacrifices, And no one, we presume, has given occasion for blame or regret in regard to them, Down to the present day.

ODE 2. THE HSIN WEI.

A FESTAL ODE, CELEBRATING SOME ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN BY THE KING TO HIS RELATIVES, WITH THE TRIAL OF ARCHERY AFTER THE FEAST; CELEBRATING ESPECIALLY THE HONOUR DONE ON SUCH OCCASIONS TO THE AGED.

This ode is given here, because it is commonly taken as a prelude to the next. *K'ü Hsî* interprets it of the feast, given by the

¹ That is, we divine about the day, and choose the officers to take part in the service.

² A sacrifice was offered to the spirit of the road on commencing a journey, and we see here that it was offered also in connexion with the king's going to the ancestral temple or the border altar.

³ It does not appear clearly what sacrifices the poet had in view here. I think they must be all those in which the kings of *K'âu* appeared as the principals or sacrificers. The concluding line is understood to intimate that the kings were not to forget that a prosperous agriculture was the foundation of their prosperity.

⁴ In this stanza we have the peculiar honour paid to Hâu-*kî* by his descendants at one of the great border sacrifices to God,—the same to which the last ode in the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of *K'âu* belongs.

king, at the close of the sacrifice in the ancestral temple, to the princes of his own surname. There are difficulties in the interpretation of the piece on this view, which, however, is to be preferred to any other.

In thick patches are those rushes, Springing by the way-side:—Let not the cattle and sheep trample them. Anon they will grow up; anon they will be completely formed, With their leaves soft and glossy¹. Closely related are brethren; Let none be absent, let all be near. For some there are mats spread; For some there are given stools².

The mats are spread, and a second one above; The stools are given, and there are plenty of servants. (The guests) are pledged, and they pledge (the host) in return; He rinses the cups (and refills them, but the guests) put them down, Sauces and pickles are brought in, With roasted meat and broiled. Excellent provisions there are of tripe and palates; With singing to lutes, and with drums.

The ornamented bows are strong, And the four arrows are all balanced. They discharge the arrows, and all hit, And the guests are arranged according to their skill. The ornamented bows are drawn to the full, And the arrows are grasped in the hand. They go straight to the mark as if planted

¹ In the rushes growing up densely from a common root we have an emblem of brothers all sprung from the same ancestor; and in the plants developing so finely, when preserved from injury, an emblem of the happy fellowships of consanguinity, when nothing is allowed to interfere with mutual confidence and good feeling.

² In a previous note I have said that chairs and tables had not come into use in those early times. Guests sat and feasts were spread on mats on the floor; for the aged, however, stools were placed on which they could lean forward.

in it, And the guests are arranged according to the humble propriety of their behaviour.

The distant descendant presides over the feast ; His sweet spirits are strong. He fills their cups from a large vase, And prays for the hoary old (among his guests) :— That with hoary age and wrinkled back, They may lead on one another (to virtue), and support one another (in it); That so their old age may be blessed, And their bright happiness ever increased.

ODE 3. THE *Ki sui*.

RESPONSIVE TO THE LAST :—THE UNCLES AND BRETHREN OF THE KING EXPRESS THEIR SENSE OF HIS KINDNESS, AND THEIR WISHES FOR HIS HAPPINESS, MOSTLY IN THE WORDS IN WHICH THE PERSONATORS OF THE DEPARTED ANCESTORS HAD CONVEYED THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THE SACRIFICE OFFERED TO THEM, AND PROMISED TO HIM THEIR BLESSING.

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits; You have satiated us with your kindness. May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years! May your bright happiness (ever) be increased!

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits; Your viands were set out before us. May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years! May your bright intelligence ever be increased!

May your bright intelligence become perfect, High and brilliant, leading to a good end! That good end has (now) its beginning :—The personators of your ancestors announced it in their blessing.

What was their announcement? ‘(The offerings) in your dishes of bamboo and wood are clean and

fine. Your friends¹, assisting in the service, Have done their part with reverent demeanour.

‘Your reverent demeanour was altogether what the occasion required; And also that of your filial son². For such filial piety, continued without ceasing, There will ever be conferred blessings upon you.’

What will the blessings be? ‘That along the passages of your palace, You shall move for ten thousand years, And there will be granted to you for ever dignity and posterity.’

How as to your posterity? ‘Heaven invests you with your dignity; Yea, for ten thousand years, The bright appointment is attached (to your line).’

How is it attached? ‘There is given you a heroic wife. There is given you a heroic wife, And from her shall come the (line of) descendants.’

ODE 4. THE HŪ Î.

AN ODE APPROPRIATE TO THE FEAST GIVEN TO THE PERSONATORS OF THE DEPARTED, ON THE DAY AFTER THE SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE.

This supplementary sacrifice on the day after the principal service in the temple appeared in the ninth Book of the fourth Part of the Shû; and of the feast after it to the personators of the dead I have spoken on p. 301.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the *King*³;

¹ That is, the guests, visitors, and officers of the court.

² Towards the end of the sacrificial service, the eldest son of the king joined in pledging the representatives of their ancestors.

³ The *King* is an affluent of the Wei, not far from Wû's capital of Hào. The birds, feeling at home in its waters, on its sands, &c., serve to introduce the parties feasted, in a situation where they might relax from the gravity of the preceding day, and be happy.

The personators of your ancestors feast and are happy. Your spirits are clear; Your viands are fragrant. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Their happiness and dignity are made complete.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the sand; The personators of the dead enjoy the feast, their appropriate tribute. Your spirits are abundant; Your viands are good. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Happiness and dignity lend them their aids.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the islets; The personators of your ancestors feast and enjoy themselves. Your spirits are strained; Your viands are in slices. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Happiness and dignity descend on them.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are where the waters meet; The personators of your ancestors feast and are honoured. The feast is spread in the ancestral temple, The place where happiness and dignity descend. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Their happiness and dignity are at the highest point.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are in the gorge; The personators of your ancestors rest, full of complacency. The fine spirits are delicious; Your meat, roast and broiled, is fragrant. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—No troubles will be theirs after this.

ODE 5, STANZA 1. THE *KIÀ* LO.

IN PRAISE OF SOME KING, WHOSE VIRTUE SECURED TO HIM THE
FAVOUR OF HEAVEN.

Perhaps the response of the feasted personators of the ancestors.

Of our admirable, amiable sovereign Most illustrious is the excellent virtue. He orders rightly the people, orders rightly the officers, And receives his dignity from Heaven, Which protects and helps him, and (confirms) his appointment, By repeated acts of renewal from heaven.

ODE 8. THE *KHÜAN* Â.

ADDRESSED, PROBABLY, BY THE DUKE OF SHÂO TO KING *KHÂNG*, DESIRING FOR HIM LONG PROSPERITY, AND CONGRATULATING HIM, IN ORDER TO ADMONISH HIM, ON THE HAPPINESS OF HIS PEOPLE, THE NUMBER OF HIS ADMIRABLE OFFICERS, AND THE AUSPICIOUS OMEN ARISING FROM THE APPEARANCE OF THE PHOENIX.

The duke of Shâo was the famous Shih, who appears in the fifth and other Books of the fifth Part of the Shû, the colleague of the duke of Kâu in the early days of the Kâu dynasty. This piece may have been composed by him, but there is no evidence in it that it was so. The assigning it to him rests entirely on the authority of the preface. The language, however, is that in which an old statesman of that time might express his complacency in his young sovereign.

Into the recesses of the large mound Came the wind, whirling from the south. There was (our) happy, courteous sovereign, Rambling and singing; And I took occasion to give forth my notes.

‘Full of spirits you ramble ; Full of satisfaction you rest. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfil your years, And end them like your ancestors !

‘Your territory is great and glorious, And per-

fectly secure. O happy and courteous sovereign,
May you fulfil your years, As the host of all the
spirits¹!

'You have received the appointment long acknowledged,
With peace around your happiness and dignity. O happy and courteous sovereign, May
you fulfil your years, With pure happiness your
constant possession!

'You have helpers and supporters, Men of filial
piety and of virtue, To lead you on, and act as
wings to you, (So that), O happy and courteous
sovereign, You are a pattern to the four quarters
(of the kingdom).

'Full of dignity and majesty (are they), Like a

¹ 'Host of the hundred—i.e., of all—the spirits' is one of the titles of the sovereign of China. It was and is his prerogative to offer the great 'border sacrifices' to Heaven and Earth, or, as Confucius explains them, to God, and to the spirits of his ancestors in his ancestral temple; and in his progresses (now neglected), among the states, to the spirits of the hills and rivers throughout the kingdom. Every feudal prince could only sacrifice to the hills and streams within his own territory. Under the changed conditions of the government of China, the sacrificial ritual of the emperor still retains the substance of whatever belonged to the sovereigns in this respect from the earliest dynasties. On the text here, Khung Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty said, 'He who possesses all under the sky, sacrifices to all the spirits, and thus he is the host of them all.' K'ü Hsi said on it, 'And always be the host of (the spirits of) Heaven and Earth, of the hills and rivers, and of the departed.' The term 'host' does not imply any superiority of rank on the part of the entertainer. In the greatest sacrifices the emperor acknowledges himself as 'the servant or subject of Heaven.' See the prayer of the first of the present Manchâu line of emperors, in announcing that he had ascended the throne, at the altar of Heaven and Earth, in 1644, as translated by the Rev. Dr. Edkins in the chapter on Imperial Worship, in the recent edition of his 'Religion in China.'

jade-mace (in its purity), The subject of praise, the contemplation of hope. O happy and courteous sovereign, (Through them) the four quarters (of the kingdom) are guided by you.

‘The male and female phoenix fly about¹, Their wings rustling, While they settle in their proper resting-place. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Ready to be employed by you, Loving you, the Son of Heaven.

‘The male and female phoenix fly about, Their wings rustling, As they soar up to heaven. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Waiting for your commands, And loving the multitudes of the people.

‘The male and female phoenix give out their notes, On that lofty ridge. The dryandras grow, On those eastern slopes. They grow luxuriantly ; And harmoniously the notes resound.

¹ The phoenix (so the creature has been named) is a fabulous bird, ‘the chief of the 360 classes of the winged tribes.’ It is mentioned in the fourth Book of the second Part of the Shû, as appearing in the courtyard of Shun ; and the appearance of a pair of them has always been understood to denote a sage on the throne and prosperity in the country. Even Confucius (Analects, IX, viii) could not express his hopelessness about his own times more strongly than by saying that ‘the phoenix did not make its appearance.’ He was himself also called ‘a phoenix,’ in derision, by one of the recluses of his time (Analects, XVIII, v). The type of the bird was, perhaps, the Argus pheasant, but the descriptions of it are of a monstrous creature, having ‘a fowl’s head, a swallow’s chin, a serpent’s neck, a fish’s tail,’ &c. It only lights on the dryandra cordifolia, of which tree also many marvellous stories are related. The poet is not to be understood as saying that the phoenix actually appeared ; but that the king was sage and his government prosperous, as if it had appeared.

'Your chariots, O sovereign, Are numerous,
many. Your horses, O sovereign, Are well trained
and fleet. I have made my few verses, In pro-
longation of your song.'

ODE 9, STANZA 1. THE MIN LÂO.

IN A TIME OF DISORDER AND SUFFERING, SOME OFFICER OF DISTINC-
TION CALLS ON HIS FELLOWS TO JOIN WITH HIM TO EFFECT A
REFORMATION IN THE CAPITAL, AND PUT AWAY THE PARTIES WHO
WERE THE CAUSE OF THE PREVAILING MISERY.

With the *K'üan Â*, what are called the 'correct' odes of Part III,
or those belonging to a period of good government, and the
composition of which is ascribed mainly to the duke of *Kâu*, come
to an end; and those that follow are the 'changed' Major Odes
of the Kingdom, or those belonging to a degenerate period, com-
mencing with this. Some among them, however, are equal to
any of the former class. The *Min Lâu* has been assigned to
duke *Mû* of *Shâu*, a descendant of duke *Khang*, the *Shih* of the
Shû, the reputed author of the *K'üan Â*, and was directed
against king *Lî*, B.C. 878 to 828.

The people indeed are heavily burdened, But
perhaps a little relief may be got for them. Let
us cherish this centre of the kingdom, To secure
the repose of the four quarters of it. Let us give
no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order
to make the unconscientious careful, And to repress
robbers and oppressors, Who have no fear of the
clear will (of Heaven)¹. Then let us show kindness
to those who are distant, And help those who are
near,—Thus establishing (the throne of) our king.

¹ 'The clear will,' according to *K'ü Hsi*, is 'the clear appointment
of Heaven;' according to *K'ü Kung-*ch*ien*, 'correct principle.'
They both mean the law of human duty, as gathered from the
nature of man's moral constitution conferred by Heaven.

ODE 10. THE PAN.

AN OFFICER OF EXPERIENCE MOURNS OVER THE PREVAILING MISERY;
COMPLAINS OF THE WANT OF SYMPATHY WITH HIM SHOWN BY OTHER
OFFICERS; ADMONISHES THEM, AND SETS FORTH THE DUTY RE-
QUIRED OF THEM, ESPECIALLY IN THE ANGRY MOOD IN WHICH IT
MIGHT SEEM THAT HEAVEN WAS.

This piece, like the last, is assigned to the time of king Lî.

God has reversed (his usual course of procedure)¹,
And the lower people are full of distress. The
words which you utter are not right; The plans
which you form are not far-reaching. As there are
not sages, you think you have no guidance;—You
have no real sincerity. (Thus) your plans do not
reach far, And I therefore strongly admonish you.

Heaven is now sending down calamities;—Do not
be so complacent. Heaven is now producing such
movements;—Do not be so indifferent. If your
words were harmonious, The people would become
united. If your words were gentle and kind, The
people would be settled.

Though my duties are different from yours, I am
your fellow-servant. I come to advise with you,
And you hear me with contemptuous indifference.
My words are about the (present urgent) affairs;—
Do not think them matter for laughter. The ancients
had a saying:—‘Consult the gatherers of grass
and firewood².’

¹ The proof of God's having reversed his usual course of procedure was to be found in the universal misery of the people, whose good He was understood to desire, and for the securing of which government by righteous kings was maintained by him.

² If ancient worthies thought that persons in such mean employments were to be consulted, surely the advice of the writer deserved to be taken into account by his comrades.

Heaven is now exercising oppression ;—Do not in such a way make a mock of things. An old man, (I speak) with entire sincerity; But you, my juniors, are full of pride. It is not that my words are those of age, But you make a joke of what is sad. But the troubles will multiply like flames, Till they are beyond help or remedy.

Heaven is now displaying its anger ;—Do not be either boastful or flattering, Utterly departing from all propriety of demeanour, Till good men are reduced to personators of the dead¹. The people now sigh and groan, And we dare not examine (into the causes of their trouble). The ruin and disorder are exhausting all their means of living, And we show no kindness to our multitudes.

Heaven enlightens the people², As the bamboo flute responds to the earthen whistle; As two half-maces form a whole one; As you take a thing, and bring it away in your hand, Bringing it away, without any more ado. The enlightenment of the people is very easy. They have (now) many perversities ;—Do not you set up your perversity before them.

Good men are a fence ; The multitudes of the people are a wall ; Great states are screens ; Great families are buttresses ; The cherishing of virtue

¹ During all the time of the sacrifice, the personators of the dead said not a word, but only ate and drank. To the semblance of them good men were now reduced.

² The meaning is, that Heaven has so attuned the mind to virtue, that, if good example were set before the people, they would certainly and readily follow it. This is illustrated by various instances of things, in which the one succeeded the other freely and as if necessarily ; so that government by virtue was really very easy.

secures repose ; The circle of (the king's) relatives is a fortified wall. We must not let the fortified wall get destroyed ; We must not let (the king) be solitary and consumed with terrors.

Revere the anger of Heaven, And presume not to make sport or be idle. Revere the changing moods of Heaven, And presume not to drive about (at your pleasure). Great Heaven is intelligent, And is with you in all your goings. Great Heaven is clear-seeing, And is with you in your wanderings and indulgences.

The Third Decade, or that of Tang.

ODE 1. THE TANG.

WARNINGS, SUPPOSED TO BE ADDRESSED TO KING LÎ, ON THE ISSUES OF THE COURSE WHICH HE WAS PURSUING, SHOWING THAT THE MISERIES OF THE TIME AND THE IMMINENT DANGER OF RUIN WERE TO BE ATTRIBUTED, NOT TO HEAVEN, BUT TO HIMSELF AND HIS MINISTERS.

This ode, like the ninth of the second decade, is attributed to duke Mû of Shão. The structure of the piece is peculiar, for, after the first stanza, we have king Wăn introduced delivering a series of warnings to Kâu-hsin, the last king of the Shang dynasty. They are put into Wăn's mouth, in the hope that Lî, if, indeed, he was the monarch whom the writer had in view, would transfer the figure of Kâu-hsin to himself, and alter his course so as to avoid a similar ruin.

How vast is God, The ruler of men below ! How arrayed in terrors is God, With many things irregular in his ordinations. Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people, But the nature it confers is not to be depended on. All are (good)

at first, But few prove themselves to be so at the last¹.

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Shang, That you should have such violently oppressive ministers, That you should have such extortionate exactors, That you should have them in offices, That you should have them in the conduct of affairs! "Heaven made them with their insolent dispositions;" But it is you who employ them, and give them strength.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, You ought to employ such as are good, But (you employ instead) violent oppressors, who cause many dissatisfactions. They respond to you with baseless stories, And (thus) robbers and thieves are in your court. Hence come oaths and curses, Without limit, without end.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, You show a strong fierce will in the centre of the kingdom, And consider the contracting of enmities a proof of virtue. All-unintelligent are you of your (proper) virtue, And so you have no (good) men behind you, nor by your side. Without any intelligence of your (proper) virtue, You have no (good) intimate adviser or minister.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, It is not Heaven that flushes your face with spirits, So that you follow what is evil and imitate it. You go wrong in all your conduct; You make no distinction between the light and the

¹ The meaning seems to be that, whatever miseries might prevail, and be ignorantly ascribed to God, they were in reality owing to men's neglect of the law of Heaven inscribed on their hearts.

darkness; But amid clamour and shouting, You turn the day into night¹.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, (All round you) is like the noise of cicadas, Or like the bubbling of boiling soup. Affairs, great and small, are approaching to ruin, And still you (and your creatures) go on in this course. Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle Kingdom, And extends to the demon regions².'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, It is not God that has caused this evil time, But it arises from Yin's not using the old (ways). Although you have not old experienced men, There are still the ancient statutes and laws. But you will not listen to them, And so your great appointment is being overthrown.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Shang, People have a saying, "When a tree falls utterly, While its branches and leaves are yet uninjured, It must first have been uprooted." The beacon of Yin is not far distant;—It is in the age of the (last) sovereign of Hsiâ.'

¹ We speak of 'turning night into day.' The tyrant of Shang turned day into night. Excesses, generally committed in darkness, were by him done openly.

² These 'demon regions' are understood to mean the seat of the Turkic tribes to the north of China, known from the earliest times by various names—'The hill Zung,' 'the northern Lî,' 'the Hsien-yun,' &c. Towards the beginning of our era, they were called Hsiung-nô, from which, perhaps, came the name Huns; and some centuries later, Thû-kûeh (Thuh-kûeh), from which came Turk. We are told in the Yî, under the diagram Kî-M, that Kâo Jung (B.C. 1324-1266) conducted an expedition against the demon regions, and in three years subdued them.

ODE 2. THE YÎ.

CONTAINING VARIOUS COUNSELS WHICH DUKE WŪ OF WEI MADE TO ADMONISH HIMSELF, WHEN HE WAS OVER HIS NINETIETH YEAR; ESPECIALLY ON THE DUTY OF A RULER TO BE CAREFUL OF HIS OUTWARD DEMEANOUR, FEELING THAT HE IS EVER UNDER THE INSPECTION OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS, AND TO RECEIVE WITH DOCILITY INSTRUCTIONS DELIVERED TO HIM.

The sixth ode in the seventh decade of the Minor Odes of the Kingdom is attributed to the same duke of Wei as this; and the two bear traces of having proceeded from the same writer. The external authorities for assigning this piece to duke WŪ are the statement of the preface and an article in the 'Narratives of the States,' a work already referred to as belonging to the period of the K'au dynasty. That article relates how WŪ, at the age of ninety-five, insisted on all his ministers and officers being instant, in season and out of season, to admonish him on his conduct, and that 'he made the warnings in the Î to admonish himself.' The Î is understood to be only another name for this Yî. Thus the speaker throughout the piece is WŪ, and 'the young son,' whom he sometimes addresses, is himself also. The conception of the writer in taking such a method to admonish himself, and give forth the lessons of his long life, is very remarkable; and the execution of it is successful.

Outward demeanour, cautious and grave, Is an indication of the (inward) virtue. People have the saying, 'There is no wise man who is not (also) stupid.' The stupidity of the ordinary man Is determined by his (natural) defects. The stupidity of the wise man Is from his doing violence (to his proper character).

What is most powerful is the being the man¹;—

¹ WŪ writes as the marquis of Wei, the ruler of a state; but what he says is susceptible of universal application. In every smaller sphere, and in the largest, 'being the man,' displaying, that is, the proper qualities of humanity, will be appreciated and felt.

In all quarters (of the state) men are influenced by it. To an upright virtuous conduct All in the four quarters of the state render obedient homage. With great counsels and determinate orders, With far-reaching plans and timely announcements, And with reverent care of his outward demeanour, One will become the pattern of the people.

As for the circumstances of the present time, You are bent on error and confusion in your government. Your virtue is subverted; You are besotted by drink¹. Although you thus pursue nothing but pleasure, How is it you do not think of your relation to the past, And do not widely study the former kings, That you might hold fast their wise laws?

Shall not those whom great Heaven does not approve of, Surely as the waters flow from a spring, Sink down together in ruin? Rise early and go to bed late, Sprinkle and sweep your courtyard;— So as to be a pattern to the people². Have in good order your chariots and horses, Your bows and arrows, and (other) weapons of war;—To be prepared for warlike action, To keep at a distance (the hordes of) the south.

Perfect what concerns your officers and people;

¹ Han Ying (who has been mentioned in the Introduction) says that Wû made the sixth ode of the seventh decade of the former Part against drunkenness, when he was repenting of his own giving way to that vice. His mention of the habit here, at the age of ninety-five, must be understood as a warning to other rulers.

² Line 3 describes things important to the cultivation of one's self; and line 4, things important to the regulation of one's family. They may seem unimportant, it is said, as compared with the defence of the state, spoken of in the last four lines of the stanza; but the ruler ought not to neglect them.

Be careful of your duties as a prince (of the kingdom). To be prepared for unforeseen dangers, Be cautious of what you say; Be reverentially careful of your outward behaviour; In all things be mild and correct. A flaw in a mace of white jade May be ground away; But for a flaw in speech Nothing can be done.

Do not speak lightly; your words are your own¹. Do not say, 'This is of little importance; No one can hold my tongue for me.' Words are not to be cast away. Every word finds its answer; Every good deed has its recompense. If you are gracious among your friends, And to the people, as if they were your children, Your descendants will continue in unbroken line, And all the people will surely be obedient to you.

Looked at in friendly intercourse with superior men, You make your countenance harmonious and mild; Anxious not to do anything wrong. Looked at in your chamber, You ought to be equally free from shame before the light which shines in. Do not say, 'This place is not public; No one can see me here.' The approaches of spiritual beings Cannot be calculated beforehand; But the more should they not be slighted².

¹ And therefore every one is himself responsible for his words.

² K'ü Hsi says that from the fourth line this stanza only speaks of the constant care there should be in watching over one's thoughts; but in saying so, he overlooks the consideration by which such watchful care is enforced. Compare what is said of king Wán in the third stanza of the sixth ode of the first decade. King Wán and duke Wú were both influenced by the consideration that their inmost thoughts, even when 'unseen by men,' were open to the inspection of spiritual beings.

O prince, let your practice of virtue Be entirely good and admirable. Watch well over your behaviour, And allow nothing wrong in your demeanour. Committing no excess, doing nothing injurious, There are few who will not in such a case take you for their pattern. When one throws to me a peach, I return to him a plum¹. To look for horns on a young ram Will only weary you, my son².

The tough and elastic wood Can be fitted with the silken string³. The mild and respectful man Possesses the foundation of virtue. There is a wise man;—I tell him good words, And he yields to them the practice of docile virtue. There is a stupid man;—He says on the contrary that my words are not true:—So different are people's minds.

Oh! my son, When you did not know what was good, and what was not good, Not only did I lead you by the hand, But I showed the difference between them by appealing to instances. Not (only) did I charge you face to face, But I held you by the ear⁴. And still perhaps you do not know, Although you have held a son in your arms. If people be not self-sufficient, Who comes to a late maturity after early instruction?

Great Heaven is very intelligent, And I pass

¹ That is, every deed, in fact, meets with its recompense.

² See the conclusion of duke Wü's ode against drunkenness. Horns grow as the young ram grows. Effects must not be expected where there have not been the conditions from which they naturally spring.

³ Such wood is the proper material for a bow:

⁴ That is, to secure your attention.

my life without pleasure. When I see you so dark and stupid, My heart is full of pain. I taught you with assiduous repetition, And you listened to me with contempt. You would not consider me as your teacher, But regarded me as troublesome. Still perhaps you do not know;—But you are very old.

Oh! my son, I have told you the old ways. Hear and follow my counsels:—Then shall you have no cause for great regret. Heaven is now inflicting calamities, And is destroying the state. My illustrations are not taken from things remote:—Great Heaven makes no mistakes. If you go on to deteriorate in your virtue, You will bring the people to great distress.

ODE 3, STANZAS 1, 2, 3, 4, AND 7. THE SANG ZÂU.

THE WRITER MOURNS OVER THE MISERY AND DISORDER OF THE TIMES, WITH A VIEW TO REPREHEND THE MISGOVERNMENT OF KING LÎ, APPEALING ALSO TO HEAVEN TO HAVE COMPASSION.

King Lî is not mentioned by name in the piece, but the second line of stanza 7 can only be explained of him. He was driven from the throne, in consequence of his misgovernment, in B. C. 842, and only saved his life by flying to Kih, a place in the present Ho Kâu, department Phing-yang, Shan-hsi, where he remained till his death in B. C. 828. The government in the meantime was carried on by the dukes of Sháo and Kâu, whose administration, called the period of 'Mutual Harmony,' forms an important chronological era in Chinese history. On the authority of a reference in the 30 Kwan, the piece is ascribed to an earl of Zui.

Luxuriant is that young mulberry tree, And beneath it wide is the shade; But they will pluck its leaves till it is quite destroyed¹. The distress

¹ These three lines are metaphorical of the once flourishing kingdom, which was now brought to the verge of ruin.

inflicted on these (multitudes of the) people, Is an unceasing sorrow to my heart; My commiseration fills (my breast). O thou bright and great Heaven, Shouldst thou not have compassion on us?

The four steeds (gallop about), eager and strong¹; The tortoise-and-serpent and the falcon banners fly about. Disorder grows, and no peace can be secured. Every state is being ruined; There are no black heads among the people². Everything is reduced to ashes by calamity. Oh! alas! The doom of the kingdom hurries on.

There is nothing to arrest the doom of the kingdom; Heaven does not nourish us. There is no place in which to stop securely; There is no place to which to go. Superior men are the bonds (of the social state)³, Allowing no love of strife in their hearts. Who reared the steps of the dissatisfaction⁴, Which has reached the present distress?

The grief of my heart is extreme, And I dwell on (the condition of) our land. I was born at an unhappy time, To meet with the severe anger of Heaven. From the west to the east, There is no quiet place of abiding. Many are the distresses I meet with; Very urgent is the trouble on our borders.

Heaven is sending down death and disorder, And

¹ That is, the war-chariots, each drawn by its team of four horses.

² The young and able-bodied of the people were slain or absent on distant expeditions, and only old and gray-headed men were to be seen.

³ Intimating that no such men were now to be found in office.

⁴ Meaning the king by his misgovernment and employment of bad men.

has put an end to our king. It is (now) sending down those devourers of the grain, So that the husbandry is all in evil case. Alas for our middle states¹! All is in peril and going to ruin. I have no strength (to do anything), And think of (the Power in) the azure vault.

ODE 4. THE YUN HAN.

KING HSÜAN, ON OCCASION OF A GREAT DROUGHT, EXPOSTULATES WITH GOD AND ALL THE SPIRITS, WHO MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO HELP HIM AND HIS PEOPLE; ASKS THEM WHEREFORE THEY WERE CONTENDING WITH HIM; AND DETAILS THE MEASURES HE HAD TAKEN, AND WAS STILL TAKING, FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CALAMITY.

King Hsüan does not occur by name in the ode, though the remarkable prayer which it relates is ascribed to a king in stanza 1. All critics have admitted the statement of the Preface that the piece was made, in admiration of king Hsüan, by Zǎng Shù, a great officer, we may presume, of the court. The standard chronology places the commencement of the drought in B.C. 822, the sixth year of Hsüan's reign. How long it continued we cannot tell.

Bright was the milky way, Shining and revolving in the sky. The king said, 'Oh! What crime is chargeable on us now, That Heaven (thus) sends down death and disorder? Famine comes again and again. There is no spirit I have not sacrificed to²; There is no victim I have grudged; Our

¹ We must translate here in the plural, 'the middle states' meaning all the states subject to the sovereign of K'âu.

² In the Official Book of K'âu, among the duties of the Minister of Instruction, or, as Biot translates the title, 'the Director of the Multitudes,' it is stated that one of the things he has to do, on occurrences of famine, is 'to seek out the spirits,' that is, as explained by the commentators, to see that sacrifices are offered to all the spirits, even such as may have been discontinued. This rule had, no doubt, been acted on during the drought which this ode describes.

jade symbols, oblong and round, are exhausted¹;—
How is it that I am not heard?

‘The drought is excessive; Its fervours become more and more tormenting. I have not ceased offering pure sacrifices; From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple². To the (Powers) above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them³;—There is no spirit whom I have not honoured. Hâu-*hi* is not equal to the occasion; God does not come to us. This wasting and ruin of our country,—Would that it fell (only) on me!

‘The drought is excessive, And I may not try to excuse myself. I am full of terror, and feel the peril, Like the clap of thunder or the roll. Of the remnant of *Kâu*, among the black-haired people, There will not be half a man left; Nor will God from his great heaven exempt (even) me. Shall

¹ We have, in the sixth Book of the fifth Part of the *Shû*, an instance of the use of the symbols here mentioned in sacrificing to the spirits of departed kings. The Official Book, among the duties of the Minister of Religion, mentions the use of these and other symbols—in all six, of different shapes and colours—at the different sacrifices.

² By ‘the border altars’ we are to understand the altars in the suburbs of the capital, where Heaven and Earth were sacrificed to;—the great services at the solstices, and any other seasons. The mention of Hâu-*hi* in the seventh line makes us think especially of the service in the spring, to pray for a good year, when Hâu-*hi* was associated with God.

³ ‘The (Powers) above and below’ are Heaven and Earth. The offerings, during the progress of the service, were placed on the ground, or on the altars, and buried in the earth at the close of it. This explains what the king says in the first stanza about the offerings of jade being exhausted.

we not mingle our fears together? (The sacrifices to) my ancestors will be extinguished¹.

'The drought is excessive, And it cannot be stopped. More fierce and fiery, It is leaving me no place. My end is near;—I have none to look up, none to look round, to. The many dukes and their ministers of the past² Give me no help. O ye parents and (nearer) ancestors³, How can ye bear to see me thus?

'The drought is excessive;—Parched are the hills, and the streams are dried. The demon of drought exercises his oppression, As if scattering flames and fire⁴ My heart is terrified with the heat;—My sorrowing heart is as if on fire. The

¹ Equivalent to the extinction of the dynasty.

² The king had sacrificed to all the early lords of Kâu. 'The many dukes' may comprehend kings Thái and Kỉ. He had also sacrificed to their ministers. Compare what Pan-kǎng says in the Shû, p. 109, about his predecessors and their ministers. Some take 'the many dukes, and the ministers,' of all princes of states who had signalled themselves by services to the people and kingdom.

³ The king could hardly hope that his father, the oppressive Lî, would in his spirit-state give him any aid; but we need only find in his words the expression of natural feeling. Probably it was the consideration of the character of Lî which has made some critics understand by 'parents' and 'ancestors' the same individuals, namely, kings Wăn and Wû, 'the ancestors' of Hsüan, and who had truly been 'the parents' of the people.

⁴ Khung Ying-tâ, from 'the Book of Spirits and Marvels,' gives the following account of 'the demon of drought':—'In the southern regions there is a man, two or three cubits in height, with the upper part of his body bare, and his eyes in the top of his head. He runs with the speed of the wind, and is named Po. In whatever state he appears, there ensues a great drought.' The Book of Spirits and Marvels, however, as it now exists, cannot be older than our fourth or fifth century.

many dukes and their ministers of the past Do not hear me. O God, from thy great heaven, Grant me the liberty to withdraw (into retirement¹).

‘The drought is excessive ;—I struggle and fear to go away. How is it that I am afflicted with this drought ? I cannot ascertain the cause of it. In praying for a good year I was abundantly early². I was not late (in sacrificing) to (the spirits of) the four quarters and of the land³. God in great heaven Does not consider me. Reverent to the intelligent spirits, I ought not to be thus the object of their anger.

‘The drought is excessive ;—All is dispersion, and the bonds of government are relaxed. Reduced to extremities are the heads of departments ; Full of distress are my chief ministers, The Master of the Horse, the Commander of the Guards, The chief Cook⁴, and my attendants. There is no one who has not (tried to) help (the people) ; They have not refrained on the ground of being unable. I look up to the great heaven ;—Why am I plunged in this sorrow ?

‘I look up to the great heaven, But its stars sparkle bright. My great officers and excellent men, Ye have reverently drawn near (to Heaven) with all

¹ That is, to withdraw and give place to a more worthy sovereign.

² This was the border sacrifice to God, when Hâu-kî was associated with him. Some critics add a sacrifice in the first month of winter, for a blessing on the ensuing year, offered to ‘the honoured ones of heaven,’—the sun, moon, and zodiacal constellations.

³ See note 2 on p. 371.

⁴ See note 1 on p. 356.

your powers. Death is approaching, But do not cast away what you have done. You are seeking not for me only, But to give rest to all our departments. I look up to the great heaven;—When shall I be favoured with repose ?'

ODE 5, STANZAS 1, 2, AND 4. THE SUNG KÂO.

CELEBRATING THE APPOINTMENT BY KING HSÜAN OF A RELATIVE TO BE THE MARQUIS OF SHĀN, AND DEFENDER OF THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE KINGDOM, WITH THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR HIS ENTERING ON HIS CHARGE.

That the king who appears in this piece was king Hsüan is sufficiently established. He appears in it commissioning 'his great uncle,' an elder brother, that is, of his mother, to go and rule, as marquis of Shān, and chief or president of the states in the south of the kingdom, to defend the borders against the encroaching hordes of the south, headed by the princes of K'û, whose lords had been rebellious against the middle states even in the time of the Shang dynasty;—see the last of the Sacrificial Odes of Shang.

Grandly lofty are the mountains, With their large masses reaching to the heavens. From those mountains was sent down a spirit, Who produced the birth of (the princes of) Fû and Shān¹. Fû and

¹ Shān was a small marquisate, a part of what is the present department of Nan-yang, Ho-nan. Fû, which was also called Lü, was another small territory, not far from Shān. The princes of both were Kiangs, descended from the chief minister of Yao, called in the first Book of the Shû, 'the Four Mountains.' Other states were ruled by his descendants, particularly the great state of K'û. When it is said here that a spirit was sent down from the great mountains, and produced the birth of (the princes of) Fû and Shān, we have, probably, a legendary tradition concerning the birth of Yao's minister, which was current among all his descendants; and with which we may compare the legends that have come under our notice about the supernatural births of the ancestors of the founders of the Houses of Shang and K'au. The character for

Shăn Are the support of K'âu, Screens to all the states, Diffusing (their influence) over the four quarters of the kingdom.

Full of activity is the chief of Shăn, And the king would employ him to continue the services (of his fathers), With his capital in Hsieh¹, Where he should be a pattern to the states of the south. The king gave charge to the earl of Sháo, To arrange all about the residence of the chief of Shăn, Where he should do what was necessary for the regions of the south, And where his posterity might maintain his merit.

Of the services of the chief of Shăn The foundation was laid by the earl of Sháo, Who first built the walls (of his city), And then completed his ancestral temple². When the temple was completed, wide and grand, The king conferred on the chief of Sháo Four noble steeds, With the hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, glittering bright³.

'mountains' in lines 1 and 3 is the same that occurs in the title of Yáo's minister. On the statement about the mountains sending down a spirit, Hwang Hsün, a critic of the Sung dynasty, says that 'it is merely a personification of the poet, to show how high Heaven had a mind to revive the fortunes of K'âu, and that we need not trouble ourselves about whether there was such a spirit or not.'

¹ Hsieh was in the present Făng K'âu of the department of Nan-yang.

² Compare with this the account given, in ode 3 of the first decade, of the settling of 'the ancient duke Than-fü' in the plain of K'âu. Here, as there, the great religious edifice, the ancestral temple, takes precedence of all other buildings in the new city.

³ The steeds with their equipments were tokens of the royal favour, usually granted on occasions of investiture. The conferring of them was followed immediately by the departure of the newly-invested prince to his charge.

ODE 6, STANZAS 1 AND 7. THE *K'ANG* MIN.

CELEBRATING THE VIRTUES OF *K'UNG SHAN-FŪ*, WHO APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL MINISTERS OF KING *HSŪAN*, AND HIS DESPATCH TO THE EAST, TO FORTIFY THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF *KHŪ*.

Heaven, in giving birth to the multitudes of the people, To every faculty and relationship annexed its law. The people possess this normal nature, And they (consequently) love its normal virtue¹. Heaven beheld the ruler of *K'au*, Brilliantly affecting it by his conduct below, And to maintain him, its Son, Gave birth to *Kung Shan-fŭ*².

Kung Shan-fŭ went forth, having sacrificed to the spirit of the road³. His four steeds were strong;

¹ We get an idea of the meaning which has been attached to these four lines from a very early time by Mencius' quotation of them (VI, i, ch. 6) in support of his doctrine of the goodness of human nature, and the remark on the piece which he attributes to Confucius, that 'the maker of it knew indeed the constitution (of our nature).' Every faculty, bodily or mental, has its function to fulfil, and every relationship its duty to be discharged. The function and the duty are the things which the human being has to observe :—the seeing clearly, for instance, with the eyes, and hearing distinctly with the ears; the maintenance of righteousness between ruler and minister, and of affection between parent and child. This is the 'normal nature,' and the 'normal virtue' is the nature fulfilling the various laws of its constitution.

² The connexion between these four lines and those that precede is this :—that while Heaven produces all men with the good nature there described, on occasions it produces others with virtue and powers in a super-eminent degree. Such an occasion was presented by the case of king *Hsŭan*, and therefore, to mark its appreciation of him, and for his help, it now produced *Kung Shan-fŭ*.

³ This was a special sacrifice at the commencement of a journey, or of an expedition. See note 2 on p. 399.

His men were alert, He was always anxious lest he should not be equal to his commission; His steeds went on without stopping, To the tinkling of their eight bells. The king had given charge to *Kung Shan-fû*, To fortify the city there in the east.

ODE 7, STANZAS 1 AND PART OF 3. THE HAN YI.

CELEBRATING THE MARQUIS OF HAN:—HIS INVESTITURE, AND THE KING'S CHARGE TO HIM; THE GIFTS HE RECEIVED, AND THE PARTING FEAST AT THE COURT; HIS MARRIAGE; THE EXCELLENCE OF HIS TERRITORY; AND HIS SWAY OVER THE REGIONS OF THE NORTH.

Only one line—the first of stanza 3—in this interesting piece serves to illustrate the religious practices of the time, and needs no further note than what has been given on the first line of stanza 7 in the preceding ode. The name of the marquissate of Han remains in the district of Han-*h*hâng, department of Hsî-an, Shen-hsî, in which also is mount Liang.

Very grand is the mountain of Liang, Which was made cultivable by Yü. Bright is the way from it, (Along which came) the marquis of Han to receive investiture. The king in person gave the charge:—
‘Continue the services of your ancestors; Let not my charge to you come to nought. Be diligent early and late, And reverently discharge your duties:—
So shall my appointment of you not change. Be a support against those princes who do not come to court, Thus assisting your sovereign.’

When the marquis of Han left the court, he sacrificed to the spirit of the road. He went forth, and lodged for the night in Tû.

ODE 8, STANZAS 4 AND 5. THE KIANG HAN.

CELEBRATING AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SOUTHERN TRIBES OF THE HWÂI, AND THE WORK DONE FOR THE KING IN THEIR COUNTRY, BY HÛ, THE EARL OF SHÂO, WITH THE MANNER IN WHICH THE KING REWARDED HIM, AND HE RESPONDED TO THE ROYAL FAVOUR.

Hû was probably the same earl of Shâo, who is mentioned in ode 5, as building his capital of Hsieh for the new marquis of Shăn. The lords of Shâo had been distinguished in the service of Kâu ever since the rise of the dynasty.

The king gave charge to Hû of Shâo:—‘You have everywhere made known (and carried out my orders). When (the kings) Wăn and Wû received their appointment, The duke of Shâo was their strong support. You not (only) have a regard to me the little child, But you try to resemble that duke of Shâo. You have commenced and earnestly displayed your merit; And I will make you happy.

‘I give you a large libation-cup of jade¹, And a jar of herb-flavoured spirits from the black millet². I have made announcement to the Accomplished one³, And confer on you hills, lands, and fields. In (*Khi*-)kâu shall you receive investiture, According as your ancestor received his.’ Hû bowed with

¹ See note 2 on p. 386.

² The cup and the spirits would be used by the earl when sacrificing in his ancestral temple. Compare the similar gift from king K'ang to the duke of Kâu, in the Shû, p. 194. More substantial gifts are immediately specified.

³ ‘The Accomplished one’ is understood to be king Wăn (= ‘the Accomplished king’). He was the founder of the Kâu dynasty. To him the kingdom had first come by the appointment and gift of Heaven. It was the duty therefore of his successors, in making grants of territory to meritorious officers, to announce them to him in *Khi*-kâu, the old territory of the family, and obtain, as it were, his leave for what they were doing.

his head to the ground (and said), 'May the Son of Heaven live for ever!'

ODE 10, STANZAS 1, 5, 6, AND 7. THE *KAN ZANG*.

THE WRITER DEPLORES, WITH AN APPEALING WAIL TO HEAVEN, THE MISERY AND OPPRESSION THAT PREVAILED, AND INTIMATES THAT THEY WERE CAUSED BY THE INTERFERENCE OF WOMEN AND EUNUCHS IN THE GOVERNMENT.

The king addressed in this piece was most probably Yü. It suits his character and reign.

I look up to great Heaven, But it shows us no kindness. Very long have we been disquieted, And these great calamities are sent down (upon us). There is nothing settled in the country; Officers and people are in distress. Through the insects from without and from within, There is no peace or limit (to our misery). The net of crime is not taken up¹, And there is no peace nor cure (for our state).

Why is it that Heaven is (thus) reproving (you)? Why is it that Heaven is not blessing (you)? You neglect your great barbarian (foes), And regard me with hatred. You are regardless of the evil omens (that abound²), And your demeanour is all unseemly. (Good) men are going away, And the country is sure to go to ruin.

Heaven is letting down its net, And many (are the calamities in it). (Good) men are going away, And my heart is sorrowful. Heaven is letting down

¹ By 'the net of crime' we are to understand the multitude of penal laws, to whose doom people were exposed. In stanza 6, Heaven is represented as letting it down.

² Compare ode 9 of the fourth decade in the former Part.

its net, And soon (all will be caught in it). (Good) men are going away, And my heart is sad.

Right from the spring comes the water bubbling, Revealing its depth. The sorrow of my heart,—Is it (only) of to-day? Why were these things not before me? Or why were they not after me? But mysteriously great Heaven Is able to strengthen anything. Do not disgrace your great ancestors :— This will save your posterity ¹.

ODE 11, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE SHÃO MIN.

THE WRITER APPEALS TO HEAVEN, BEMOANING THE MISERY AND RUIN WHICH WERE GOING ON, AND SHOWING HOW THEY WERE DUE TO THE KING'S EMPLOYMENT OF MEAN AND WORTHLESS CREATURES.

Compassionate Heaven is arrayed in angry terrors. Heaven is indeed sending down ruin, Afflicting us with famine, So that the people are all wandering fugitives. In the settled regions, and on the borders, all is desolation.

Heaven sends down its net of crime ;— Devouring insects, who weary and confuse men's minds, Ignorant, oppressive, negligent, Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse :— These are the men employed.

¹ The writer in these concluding lines ventures to summon the king to repentance, and to hold out a hope that there might come a change in their state. He does this, believing that all things are possible with Heaven.

LESSONS FROM THE STATES.

ODES AND STANZAS ILLUSTRATING THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE WRITERS AND THEIR TIMES.

It has been stated in the Introduction, p. 276, that the first Part of the Shih, called the Kwo Fǎng, or 'Lessons from the States,' consists of 160 pieces, descriptive of manners and events in several of the feudal states into which the kingdom of K'áu was divided. Nearly all of them are short; and the passages illustrating the religious views and practices of their times are comparatively few. What passages there are, however, of this nature will all be found below. The pieces are not arranged in decades, as in the Odes of the Kingdom, but in Books, under the names of the states in which they were produced.

Although the Kwo Fǎng form, as usually published, the first Part of the Shih, nearly all of them are more recent in their origin than the pieces of the other Parts. They bring us face to face with the states of the kingdom, and the ways of their officers and people for several centuries of the dynasty of K'áu.

BOOK II. THE ODES OF SHĀO AND THE SOUTH.

THE Shū and previous portions of the Shih have made us familiar with Shāo, the name of the appanage of Shih, one of the principal ministers at the court of K'áu in the first two reigns of the dynasty. The site of the city of Shāo was in the present department of Fǎng-*khiang*, Shen-hsī. The first possessor of it, along with the still more famous duke of K'áu, remained at court, to watch over the fortunes of the new dynasty. They were known as 'the highest dukes' and 'the two great chiefs,' the duke of K'áu having charge of the eastern portions of the kingdom, and the other of the western. The pieces in this Book are supposed to have been produced in Shāo, and the principalities south of it within his jurisdiction, by the duke.

ODE 2. THE *ZHAI FAN*.

CELEBRATING THE INDUSTRY AND REVERENCE OF A PRINCE'S WIFE,
ASSISTING HIM IN SACRIFICING.

We must suppose the ladies of a harem, in one of the states of the south, admiring and praising in these simple stanzas the way in which their mistress discharged her duties. A view of the ode maintained by many is that the lady gathered the southernwood, not to use it in sacrificing, but in the nurture of the silkworms under her care; but the evidence of the characters in the text is, on the whole, in favour of the more common view. Constant reference is made to the piece by Chinese moralists, to show that the most trivial things are accepted in sacrifice, when there are reverence and sincerity in the presenting of them.

One critic asked *K'ü Hsü* whether it was conceivable that the wife of a prince did herself what is here related, and he replied that the poet said so. Another has observed that if the lady ordered and employed others, it was still her own doing. But that the lady did it herself is not incredible, when we consider the simplicity of those early times, in the twelfth century B. C.

She gathers the white southernwood, By the
ponds, on the islets. She employs it, In the
business of our prince.

She gathers the white southernwood, Along
the streams in the valleys. She employs it, In
the temple¹ of our prince.

¹ If the character here translated 'temple' had no other signification but that, there would be an end of the dispute about the meaning of the piece. But while we find it often used of the ancestral temple, it may also mean any building, especially one of a large and public character, such as a palace or mansion; and hence some contend that it should be interpreted here of 'the silk-worm house.' We are to conceive of the lady, after having gathered the materials for sacrificial use, then preparing them according to rule, and while it is yet dark on the morning of the sacrificial day, going with them into the temple, and setting them forth in their proper vessels and places.

With head-dress reverently rising aloft, Early,
while yet it is night, she is in the prince's (temple).
In her head-dress, slowly retiring, She returns (to
her own apartments).

ODE 4. THE *ZHAI* PIN.

CELEBRATING THE DILIGENCE AND REVERENCE OF THE YOUNG WIFE OF
AN OFFICER, DOING HER PART IN SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

She gathers the large duckweed, By the banks
of the stream in the southern valley. She gathers
the pondweed, In those pools left by the floods.

She deposits what she gathers, In her square
baskets and round ones. She boils it, In her tripods
and pans.

She sets forth her preparations, Under the window
in the ancestral chamber¹. Who superintends the
business? It is (this) reverent young lady.

¹ 'The ancestral chamber' was a room behind the temple of the family, dedicated specially to the ancestor of the officer whose wife is the subject of the piece. The princes of states were succeeded, as a rule, by the eldest son of the wife proper. Their sons by other wives were called 'other sons.' The eldest son by the wife proper of one of them became the 'great ancestor' of the clan descended from him, and 'the ancestral chamber' was an apartment dedicated to him. Miao and other interpreters, going on certain statements as to the training of daughters in the business of sacrificing in this apartment for three months previous to their marriage, contend that the lady spoken of here was not yet married, but was only undergoing this preparatory education. It is not necessary, however, to adopt this interpretation. The lady appears doing the same duties as the wife in the former piece.

BOOK III. THE ODES OF PHEI.

WHEN king Wü overthrew the dynasty of Shang, the domain of its kings was divided into three portions, the northern portion being called Phei, the southern Yung, and the eastern Wei, the rulers of which last in course of time absorbed the other two. It is impossible to say why the old names were retained in the arrangement of the odes in this Part of the Shih, for it is acknowledged on all hands that the pieces in Books iii and iv, as well as those of Book v, are all odes of Wei.

ODE 4. THE ZĀH YÜEH.

SUPPOSED TO BE THE COMPLAINT AND APPEAL OF K'WANG KIANG, A MARCHIONESS OF WEI, AGAINST THE BAD TREATMENT SHE RECEIVED FROM HER HUSBAND.

All the Chinese critics give this interpretation of the piece. *K'wang Kiang* was a daughter of the house of *K'hi*, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., and was married to the marquis Yang, known in history as 'duke *K'wang*,' of Wei. She was a lady of admirable character, and beautiful; but her husband proved faithless and unkind. In this ode she makes her subdued moan, appealing to the sun and moon, as if they could take cognizance of the way in which she was treated. Possibly, however, the addressing those bodies may simply be an instance of *proso-popoeia*.

O sun, O moon, Which enlighten this lower earth! Here is this man, Who treats me not according to the ancient rule. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not regard me?

O sun, O moon, Which overshadow this lower earth! Here is this man, Who will not be friendly with me. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not respond to me?

O sun, O moon, Which come forth from the east! Here is this man, With virtuous words, but really not good. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then allow me to be forgotten?

O sun, O moon, From the east that come forth!
 O father, O mother, There is no sequel to your
 nourishing of me. How can he get his mind settled?
 Would he then respond to me contrary to all reason?

ODE 15, STANZA 1. THE PEI MǎN.

AN OFFICER OF WEI SETS FORTH HIS HARD LOT, THROUGH DISTRESSES
 AND THE BURDENS LAID UPON HIM, AND HIS SILENCE UNDER IT IN
 SUBMISSION TO HEAVEN.

I go out at the north gate, With my heart full
 of sorrow. Straited am I and poor, And no one
 takes knowledge of my distress. So it is! Heaven
 has done it¹;—What then shall I say?

BOOK IV. THE ODES OF YUNG.

See the preliminary note on p. 433.

ODE 1. THE PAI K'ĀU.

PROTEST OF A WIDOW AGAINST BEING URGED TO MARRY AGAIN, AND
 HER APPEAL TO HER MOTHER AND TO HEAVEN.

THIS piece, it is said, was made by Kung K'iang, the widow of
 Kung-po, son of the marquis Hsi of Wei (B.C. 855-814). Kung-
 po having died an early death, her parents (who must have been
 the marquis of K'ĕ and his wife or one of the ladies of his harem)
 wanted to force her to a second marriage, against which she
 protests. The ode was preserved, no doubt, as an example of

¹ The 'Complete Digest of Comments on the Shih' warns its
 readers not to take 'Heaven' here as synonymous with Ming,
 'what is decreed or commanded.' The writer does not go on
 to define the precise idea which he understood the character to
 convey. This appears to be what we often mean by 'Providence,'
 when we speak of anything permitted, rather than appointed, by
 the supreme ruling Power.

what the Chinese have always considered a great virtue,—the refusal of a widow to marry again.

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There
in the middle of the Ho¹. With his two tufts of
hair falling over his forehead², He was my mate;
And I swear that till death I will have no other.
O mother, O Heaven³, Why will you not under-
stand me?

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There
by the side of the Ho. With his two tufts of hair
falling over his forehead, He was my only one;
And I swear that till death I will not do the evil
thing. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not
understand me?

ODE 3, STANZA 2. THE KÜN-SZE KIEH LÂO.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE BEAUTY AND SPLENDOUR OF HSÜAN KIANG
AND HER VICIOUSNESS.

Hstian Kiang was a princess of K'hi, who, towards the close of the seventh century B.C., became wife to the marquis of Wei, known as duke Hstian. She was beautiful and unfortunate, but various things are related of her indicative of the grossest immoralities prevailing in the court of Wei.

How rich and splendid Is her pheasant-figured

¹ These allusive lines, probably, indicate the speaker's widowhood, which left her like 'a boat floating about on the water.'

² Such was the mode in which the hair was kept, while a boy or young man's parents were alive, parted into two tufts from the pia mater, and brought down as low as the eyebrows on either side of the forehead.

³ Máo thought that the lady intended her father by 'Heaven'; while K'ü held that her father may have been dead, and that the mother is called Heaven, with reference to the kindness and protection that she ought to show. There seems rather to be in the term a wild, and not very intelligent, appeal to the supreme Power in heaven.

robe¹! Her black hair in masses like clouds, No false locks does she descend to. There are her ear-plugs of jade, Her comb-pin of ivory, And her high forehead, so white. She appears like a visitant from heaven! She appears like a goddess².

ODE 6, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE TING KIH FANG KUNG.

CELEBRATING THE PRAISE OF DUKE WÂN;—HIS DILIGENCE, FORESIGHT, USE OF DIVINATION, AND OTHER QUALITIES.

The state of Wei was reduced to extremity by an irruption of some northern hordes in B.C. 660, and had nearly disappeared from among the states of Kâu. Under the marquis Wei, known in history as duke Wân, its fortunes revived, and he became a sort of second founder of the state.

When Ting culminated (at night-fall)³, He began to build the palace at K'û⁴, Determining

¹ The lady is introduced arrayed in the gorgeous robes worn by the princess of a state in the ancestral temple.

² P. Lacharme translated these two concluding lines by 'Tu primo aspectu coelos (pulchritudine), et imperatorem (majestate) adaequas,' without any sanction of the Chinese critics; and moreover there was no Tî (帝) in the sense of emperor then in China. The sovereigns of Kâu were wang or kings. K'û Hsi expands the lines thus:—'Such is the beauty of her robes and appearance, that beholders are struck with awe, as if she were a spiritual being.' Hsü K'ien (Yüan dynasty) deals with them thus:—'With such splendour of beauty and dress, how is it that she is here? She has come down from heaven! She is a spiritual being!'

³ Ting is the name of a small space in the heavens, embracing α Markab and another star of Pegasus. Its culminating at night-fall was the signal that the labours of husbandry were over for the year, and that building operations should be taken in hand. Great as was the urgency for the building of his new capital, duke Wân would not take it in hand till the proper time for such a labour was arrived.

⁴ K'û, or K'û-k'û, was the new capital of Wei, in the present district of K'äng-wû, department 3 Hào-k'au, Shan-tung.

its aspects by means of the sun. He built the palace at *Khû*. He planted about it hazel and chesnut trees, The *Î*, the *T hung*, the *3ze*, and the varnish tree. Which, when cut down, might afford materials for lutes.

He ascended those old walls, And thence surveyed (the site of) *Khû*. He surveyed *Khû* and *Thang*¹, With the lofty hills and high elevations about. He descended and examined the mulberry trees. He then divined by the tortoise-shell, and got a favourable response²; And thus the issue has been truly good.

BOOK V. THE ODES OF WEI.

It has been said on the title of Book iii, that Wei at first was the eastern portion of the old domain of the kings of Shang. With this a brother of king *Wû*, called *Khang-shû*, was invested. The principality was afterwards increased by the absorption of *Phei* and *Yung*. It came to embrace portions of the present provinces of *Kih-lî*, *Shan-tung*, and *Ho-nan*. It outlasted the dynasty of *Kâu* itself, the last prince of Wei being reduced to the ranks of the people only during the dynasty of *K'in*.

ODE 4, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE MĂNG.

AN UNFORTUNATE WOMAN, WHO HAD BEEN SEDUCED INTO AN IMPROPER CONNEXION, NOW CAST OFF, RELATES AND BEMOANS HER SAD CASE.

An extract is given from the pathetic history here related, because it shows how divination was used among the common people, and entered generally into the ordinary affairs of life.

A simple-looking lad you were, Carrying cloth

¹ *Thang* was the name of a town, evidently not far from *Khû*.

² We have seen before how divination was resorted to on occasion of new undertakings, especially in proceeding to rear a city.

to exchange it for silk. (But) you came not so to purchase silk;—You came to make proposals to me. I convoyed you through the *Khî*¹, As far as Tun-*khiû*², 'It is not I,' (I said), 'who would protract the time; But you have had no good go-between. I pray you be not angry, And let autumn be the time.'

I ascended that ruinous wall, To look towards Fû-kwan³; And when I saw (you) not (coming from) it, My tears flowed in streams. When I did see (you coming from) Fû-kwan, I laughed and I spoke. You had consulted, (you said), the tortoise-shell and the divining stalks, And there was nothing unfavourable in their response⁴. 'Then come,' (I said), 'with your carriage, And I will remove with my goods.'

BOOK VI. THE ODES OF THE ROYAL DOMAIN.

KING Wăn, it has been seen, had for his capital the city of Făng, from which his son, king Wû, moved the seat of government to Hào. In the time of king Kăng, a city was built by the duke

¹ The *Khî* was a famous river of Wei.

² Tun-*khiû* was a well-known place—'the mound or height of Tun'—south of the Wei.

³ Fû-kwan must have been the place where the man lived, according to *Kû*. Rather, it must have been a pass (Fû-kwan may mean 'the gate or pass of Fû'), through which he would come, and was visible from near the residence of the woman.

⁴ Ying-tâ observes that the man had never divined about the matter, and said that he had done so only to complete the process of seduction. The critics dwell on the inconsistency of divination being resorted to in such a case:—'Divination is proper only if used in reference to what is right and moral.'

of Kâu, near the present Lo-yang, and called 'the eastern capital.' Meetings of the princes of the states assembled there; but the court continued to be held at Hào till the accession of king Phing in B. C. 770. From that time, the kings of Kâu sank nearly to the level of the princes of the states, and the poems collected in their domain were classed among the 'Lessons of Manners from the States,' though still distinguished by the epithet 'royal' prefixed to them.

ODE 1, STANZA 1. THE SHŪ LĪ.

AN OFFICER DESCRIBES HIS MELANCHOLY AND REFLECTIONS ON SEEING THE DESOLATION OF THE OLD CAPITAL OF KÂU, MAKING HIS MOAN TO HEAVEN BECAUSE OF IT.

There is no specific mention of the old capital of Kâu in the piece, but the schools of Máo and K'ü are agreed in this interpretation, which is much more likely than any of the others that have been proposed.

There was the millet with its drooping heads;
There was the sacrificial millet coming into blade¹.
Slowly I moved about, In my heart all-agitated.
Those who knew me Said I was sad at heart.
Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking
for something. O thou distant and azure Heaven²!
By what man was this (brought about)³?

¹ That is, there where the ancestral temple and other grand buildings of Hào had once stood.

² 'He cried out to Heaven,' says Yen 3an, 'and told (his distress), but he calls it distant in its azure brightness, lamenting that his complaint was not heard.' This is, probably, the correct explanation of the language. The speaker would by it express his grief that the dynasty of Kâu and its people were abandoned and uncared for by Heaven.

³ Referring to king Yü, whose reckless course had led to the destruction of Hào by the Zung, and in a minor degree to his son, king Phing, who had subsequently removed to the eastern capital.

ODE 9, STANZAS 1 AND 3. THE TÂ KÜ.

A LADY EXCUSES HERSELF FOR NOT FLYING TO HER LOVER BY HER FEAR OF A SEVERE AND VIRTUOUS MAGISTRATE, AND SWEARS TO HIM THAT SHE IS SINCERE IN HER ATTACHMENT TO HIM.

His great carriage rolls along, And his robes of rank glitter like the young sedge. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and dare not (fly to you).

While living we may have to occupy different apartments; But, when dead, we shall share the same grave. If you say that I am not sincere, By the bright sun I swear that I am¹.

BOOK X. THE ODES OF THANG.

THE odes of Thang were really the odes of Jin, the greatest of the fiefs of Kâu until the rise of K'in. King K'ang, in B.C. 1107, invested his younger brother, called Shû-yü, with the territory where Yáo was supposed to have ruled anciently as the marquis of Thang, in the present department of Thâi-yüan, Shan-hsi, the fief retaining that ancient name. Subsequently the name of the state was changed to Jin, from the river Jin in the southern part of it.

ODE 8, STANZA 1. THE PÂO YÜ.

THE MEN OF JIN, CALLED OUT TO WARFARE BY THE KING'S ORDER, MOURN OVER THE CONSEQUENT SUFFERING OF THEIR PARENTS, AND LONG FOR THEIR RETURN TO THEIR ORDINARY AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, MAKING THEIR APPEAL TO HEAVEN.

Sû-sû go the feathers of the wild geese, As

¹ In the 'Complete Digest' this oath is expanded in the following way:—'These words are from my heart. If you think that they are not sincere, there is (a Power) above, like the bright sun, observing me;—how should my words not be sincere?'

they settle on the bushy oaks¹. The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged, And (so) we cannot plant our millets;—What will our parents have to rely on? O thou distant and azure Heaven²! When shall we be in our places again?

ODE 11. THE KO SHĀNG.

A WIFE MOURNS THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND, REFUSING TO BE COMFORTED, AND DECLARES THAT SHE WILL CHERISH HIS MEMORY TILL HER OWN DEATH.

It is supposed that the husband whose death is bewailed in this piece had died in one of the military expeditions of which duke Hsien (B.C. 676–651) was fond. It may have been so, but there is nothing in the piece to make us think of duke Hsien. I give it a place in the volume, not because of the religious sentiment in it, but because of the absence of that sentiment, where we might expect it. The lady shows the grand virtue of a Chinese widow, in that she will never marry again. And her grief would not be assuaged. The days would all seem long summer days, and the nights all long winter nights; so that a hundred long years would seem to drag their slow course. But there is not any hope expressed of a re-union with her husband in another state. The 'abode' and the 'chamber' of which she speaks are to be understood of his grave; and her thoughts do not appear to go beyond it.

The dolichos grows, covering the thorn trees;
The convolvulus spreads all over the waste³. The

¹ Trees are not the proper place for geese to rest on; and the attempt to do so is productive of much noise and trouble to the birds. The lines would seem to allude to the hardships of the soldiers' lot, called from their homes to go on a distant expedition.

² See note 2 on ode 1 of Book vi, where Heaven is appealed to in the same language.

³ These two lines are taken as allusive, the speaker being led by the sight of the weak plants supported by the trees, shrubs, and tombs, to think of her own desolate, unsupported condition. But they may also be taken as narrative, and descriptive of the battle-ground, where her husband had met his death.

man of my admiration is no more here;—With whom can I dwell? I abide alone.

The *dolichos* grows, covering the jujube trees; The *convolvulus* spreads all over the tombs. The man of my admiration is no more here;—With whom can I dwell? I rest alone.

How beautiful was the pillow of horn! How splendid was the embroidered coverlet!¹ The man of my admiration is no more here;—With whom can I dwell? Alone (I wait for) the morning.

Through the (long) days of summer, Through the (long) nights of winter (shall I be alone), Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his abode.

Through the (long) nights of winter, Through the (long) days of summer (shall I be alone), Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his chamber.

BOOK XI. THE ODES OF *KHIN*.

THE state of *Khin* took its name from its earliest principal city, in the present district of *Khing-shui*, in *Khin Kâu*, *Kan-sû*. Its chiefs claimed to be descended from *Yî*, who appears in the *Shû* as the forester of *Shun*, and the assistant of the great *Yü* in his labours on the flood of *Yáo*. The history of his descendants is very imperfectly related till we come to a *Fei-ze*, who had charge of the herds of horses belonging to king *Hsiáo* (B.C. 909–895), and in consequence of his good services was invested with

¹ These things had been ornaments of the bridal chamber; and as the widow thinks of them, her grief becomes more intense.

the small territory of *K'in*, as an attached state. A descendant of his, known as duke Hsiang, in consequence of his loyal services, when the capital was moved to the east in B.C. 770, was raised to the dignity of an earl, and took his place among the great feudal princes of the kingdom, receiving also a large portion of territory, which included the ancient capital of the House of *K'au*. In course of time *K'in*, as is well known, superseded the dynasty of *K'au*, having gradually moved its capital more and more to the east. The people of *K'in* were, no doubt, mainly composed of the wild tribes of the west.

ODE 6, STANZA 1. THE HWANG NIÃO.

LAMENT FOR THREE WORTHIES OF *K'HIN*, WHO WERE BURIED IN THE SAME GRAVE WITH DUKE MŪ.

There is no difficulty or difference in the interpretation of this piece; and it brings us down to B.C. 621. Then died duke Mŭ, after playing an important part in the north-west of China for thirty-nine years. The *So Kwan*, under the sixth year of duke Wăn, makes mention of Mŭ's requiring that the three brothers here celebrated should be buried with him, and of the composition of this piece in consequence. *Sze-mâ K'ien* says that this barbarous practice began with Mŭ's predecessor, with whom sixty-six persons were buried alive, and that one hundred and seventy-seven in all were buried with Mŭ. The death of the last distinguished man of the House of *K'in*, the emperor I, was subsequently celebrated by the entombment with him of all the inmates of his harem.

They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the jujube trees¹. Who followed duke Mŭ in the grave? *3ze-kü Yen-hsi*. And this *Yen-hsi* Was a man above a hundred. When he came to the

¹ It is difficult to see the relation between these two allusive lines and the rest of the stanza. Some say that it is this,—that the people loved the three victims as they liked the birds; others that the birds among the trees were in their proper place,—very different from the brothers in the grave of duke Mŭ.

grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Could he have been redeemed, We would have given a hundred (ordinary) men for him ¹.

BOOK XV. THE ODES OF PIN.

DUKE LIÜ, an ancestor of the *Kâu* family, made a settlement, according to its traditions, in B.C. 1797, in Pin, the site of which is pointed out, 90 *li* to the west of the present district city of San-shui, in Pin *Kâu*, Shen-hsi, where the tribe remained till the movement eastwards of Than-fü, celebrated in the first decade of the Major Odes of the Kingdom, ode 3. The duke of *Kâu*, during the minority of king *Khăng*, made, it is supposed, the first of the pieces in this Book, describing for the instruction of the young monarch, the ancient ways of their fathers in Pin; and subsequently some one compiled other odes made by the duke, and others also about him, and brought them together under the common name of 'the Odes of Pin.'

ODE 1, STANZA 8. THE *KHÎ YÜEH*.

DESCRIBING LIFE IN PIN IN THE OLDEN TIME; THE PROVIDENT ARRANGEMENTS THERE TO SECURE THE CONSTANT SUPPLY OF FOOD AND RAIMENT,—WHATEVER WAS NECESSARY FOR THE SUPPORT AND COMFORT OF THE PEOPLE.

If the piece was made, as the Chinese critics all suppose, by the duke of *Kâu*, we must still suppose that he writes in the person of an old farmer or yeoman of Pin. The picture which it gives of the manners of the Chinese people, their thrifty, provident ways, their agriculture and weaving, nearly 3,700 years ago, is

¹ This appeal to Heaven is like what we met with in the first of the Odes of the Royal Domain, and the eighth of those of Thang.

full of interest ; but it is not till we come to the concluding stanza that we find anything bearing on their religious practices.

In the days of (our) second month, they hew out the ice with harmonious blows¹; And in those of (our) third month, they convey it to the ice-houses, (Which they open) in those of (our) fourth, early in the morning A lamb having been offered in sacrifice with scallions². In the ninth month, it is cold, with frost. In the tenth month, they sweep clean their stack-sites. (Taking) the two bottles of spirits to be offered to their ruler, And having killed their lambs and sheep, They go to his hall, And raising

¹ They went for the ice to the deep recesses of the hills, and wherever it was to be found in the best condition.

² It is said in the last chapter of 'the Great Learning,' that 'the family which keeps its stores of ice does not rear cattle or sheep,' meaning that the possessor of an ice-house must be supposed to be very wealthy, and above the necessity of increasing his means in the way described. Probably, the having ice-houses by high ministers and heads of clans was an innovation on the earlier custom, according to which such a distinction was proper only to the king, or the princes of states, on whom it devolved as 'the fathers of the people,' to impart from their stores in the hot season as might be necessary. The third and fourth lines of this stanza are to be understood of what was done by the orders of the ruler of the tribe of Kâu in Pin. In the Official Book of Kâu, Part I, ch. 5, we have a description of the duties of 'the Providers of Ice,' and the same subject is treated in the sixth Book of 'the Record of Rites,' sections 2 and 6. The ice having been collected and stored in winter, the ice-houses were solemnly opened in the spring. A sacrifice was offered to 'the Ruler of Cold, the Spirit of the Ice,' and of the first ice brought forth an offering was set out in the apartment behind the principal hall of the ancestral temple. A sacrifice to the same Ruler of Cold, it is said, had also been offered when the ice began to be collected. The ceremony may be taken as an illustration of the manner in which religious services entered into the life of the ancient Chinese.

the cup of rhinoceros horn, Wish him long life,—
that he may live for ever¹.

¹ The custom described in the five concluding lines is mentioned to show the good and loyal feeling of the people of Pin towards their chief. Having finished all the agricultural labours of the year, and being now prepared to enjoy the results of their industry, the first thing they do is to hasten to the hall of their ruler, and ask him to share in their joy, and express their loyal wishes for his happiness.

THE HSIÄO KING
OR
CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY.

THE HSIÃO KING

OR

CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE NAME OF THE CLASSIC; ITS EXISTENCE BEFORE THE HAN DYNASTY; ITS CONTENTS, AND BY WHOM IT WAS WRITTEN.

1. The Chinese character pronounced Hsiáo, which we translate by 'Filial Piety,' and which may also perform the part of an adjective, 'filial,' of a verb, 'to be filial,' or of an adverb, 'filially,' is one of the composite characters whose meaning is suggested by the meanings of their constituent parts combined together. It is made up of two others,—one signifying 'an old man' or 'old age,' and beneath it the character signifying 'a son.' It thus, according to the Shwo Wăn, the oldest Chinese dictionary (A. D. 100), presents to the eye 'a son bearing up an old man,' that is, a child supporting his parent. Hsiáo also enters as their phonetical element into at least twenty other characters, so that it must be put down as of very early formation. The character King has been explained in the Introduction to the Shû King, p. 2; and the title, Hsiáo King, means 'the Classic of Filial Piety.'

2. Many Chinese critics contend that this brief treatise was thus designated by Confucius himself, and that it received the distinction of being styled a King before

any of the older and more important classics. For the preservation of the text as we now have it, we are indebted to Hsüan Jung (A. D. 713-755), one of the emperors of the Tang dynasty.

Was the treatise called the Hsião King by Confucius? In the preface to his commentary on it there occurs this sentence :—‘ The Master said, “ My aim is seen in the *Khun Khiû* ; my (rule of) conduct is in the Hsião King.” ’ The imperial author quotes the saying, as if it were universally acknowledged to have come from the sage. It is found at a much earlier date in the preface of Ho Hsiû (A. D. 129-182) to his commentary on the *Khun Khiû* as transmitted and annotated by Kung-yang. The industry of scholars has traced it still farther back, and in a more extended form, to a work called Hsião King *Kü-ming Kùeh*,—a production, probably, of the first century of our era, or of the century before it. It was one of a class of writings on the classical books, full of mysterious and useless speculations, that never took rank among the acknowledged expositions. Most of them soon disappeared, but this subsisted down to the Sui dynasty (A. D. 581-618), for there was a copy of it then in the Imperial Library. It is now lost, but a few passages of it have been collected from quotations in the Han writers. Among them is this :—‘ Confucius said, “ If you wish to see my aim in dispensing praise or blame to the feudal lords, it is to be found in the *Khun Khiû* ; the courses by which I would exalt the social relations are in the Hsião King.” ’ The words thus ascribed to Confucius were condensed, it is supposed, into the form in which we have them,—first from Ho Hsiû, and afterwards from the emperor Hsüan Jung. Whether they were really used by the sage or not, they were attributed to him as early as the beginning of our Christian era, and it was then believed that he had given to our classic the honourable name of a King.

3. But the existence of the Hsião King can be traced several hundred years farther back ;—to within less than a century after the death of Confucius. Sze-mâ The Hsião King existed before the Han dynasty. *Khien*, in his history of the House of Wei, one of the three marquisates into which the

great state of *K'in* was broken up in the fifth century B. C., tells us that the marquis Wăn received, in B. C. 407, the classical books from Pû 3ze-hsiâ, and mentions the names of two other disciples of Confucius, with whom he was on intimate terms of friendship. There remains the title of a commentary on the *Hsiào King* by this marquis Wăn; and the book was existing in the time of 3hâi Yung (A. D. 133-192), who gives a short extract from it in one of his treatises.

4. The recovery of our classic after the fires of *K'in* will be related in the next chapter. Assuming here that it was recovered, we look into it, and find a conversation, or memoranda, perhaps, of several conversations, between Confucius and his disciple 3ăng-ze. The latter, however, is little more than a listener, to whom the sage delivers his views on Filial Piety in its various relations. There are two recensions of the text;—one in eighteen chapters, and the other in twenty-two. As edited in eighteen chapters, each of them has a very brief descriptive heading. I have given this in the subjoined translation, but the headings cannot be traced back beyond the commentary of the emperor Hsüan.

The saying attributed by Ho Hsiû and others to Confucius would seem to indicate that he had himself composed the work, but the reader of it sees at once that it could not have proceeded from him. Nor do the style and method of the treatise suggest a view which has had many advocates,—that it was written by 3ăng-ze, under the direction of the master. There is no reason, however, why we should not accept the still more common account,—that the *Hsiào* came from the school of 3ăng-ze. To use the words of Hû Yin, an author of the first half of our twelfth century:—‘The Classic of Filial Piety was not made by 3ăng-ze himself. When he retired from his conversation (or conversations) with *Kung-ni* on the subject of Filial Piety, he repeated to the disciples of his own school what (the master) had said, and they classified the sayings, and formed the treatise.’

CHAPTER II.

THE RECOVERY OF THE HSIÃO KING UNDER THE HAN DYNASTY, AND ITS PRESERVATION DOWN TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE COMMENTARY OF THE THANG EMPEROR HSÜAN 3UNG.

1. The Hsião King suffered, like all the other Confucian books except the *Yi*, from the fires of *K'in*. Its subsequent recovery was very like that of the *Shû*, described on pp. 7, 8. We have in each case a shorter and a longer copy, a modern text and an ancient text.

In the Catalogue of the Imperial Library, prepared by Liû Hin immediately before the commencement of our Recovery of the Christian era, there are two copies of the Hsião King. Hsião:—‘the old text of the Khung family,’ which was in twenty-two chapters, according to a note by Pan Kû (died A. D. 92), the compiler of the documents in the records of the western Han; and another copy, which was, according to the same authority, in eighteen chapters, and was subsequently styled ‘the modern text.’ Immediately following the entry of these two copies, we find ‘Expositions of the Hsião by four scholars,’—whose surnames were *Kang-sun*, *Kiang*, *Yi*, and *Hâu*. ‘They all,’ says Pan Kû, ‘had laboured on the shorter text.’

The copy in eighteen chapters therefore, we must pre-
 The shorter or modern text. sume, had been the first recovered; but of how this came about we have no account till we come to the records of the Sui dynasty. There it is said that, when the *K'in* edict for the destruction of the books was issued, his copy of the Hsião was hidden by a scholar called Yen Kih, a member, doubtless, of the Yen family to which Confucius’ favourite disciple Yen Hui had belonged. When the edict was abrogated in a few years, Kăn, a son of Kih, brought the copy from its hiding-place. This must have been in the second century B. C., and the copy, transcribed, probably by Kăn, in the form of the characters then used, would pass into the charge of the board of ‘great scholars’ appointed to preserve the

ancient books, in the reigns of the emperors Wăn and King, B. C. 179-141.

The copy in the ancient text was derived from the tablets found in the wall of the Confucian house in the time of the emperor Wû (B. C. 140-87), and ^{The old or longer text.} is commonly said to have been deciphered, as in the case of the tablets of the Shû, by Khung An-kwo. An-kwo wrote a commentary himself on the Hsião, which does not appear in Hin's Catalogue, just as no mention is made there of his commentary on the Shû. We find it entered, however, among the books in the Sui Library with the following note:—'The work of An-kwo disappeared during the troubles of the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502-556), and continued unknown till the time of Sui, when a copy was found in the capital, and came into the possession of a scholar called Liû Hsüan.' Hsüan made his treasure public, and ere long it was acknowledged by the court, while many scholars contended that it was a forgery of his own, and ascribed by him to An-kwo. Whatever opinion we may form on this matter, the discovery of the old text, and the production of a commentary on it by Khung An-kwo, can hardly be called in question.

It might be argued, indeed, that another copy in the old text was found in the first century B. C. In a memorial addressed about the Shwo Wăn dictionary to the emperor An, in A. D. 121, by Hsü Kung, a son of the author, he says ^{Was another copy in the old text discovered?} that the Hsião King which his father used was a copy of that presented, by 'a very old man of Lû,' to the emperor Kào (B. C. 86-74)¹. Many Chinese critics, and especially Wang Ying-lin

¹ The language of the memorial is:—'The Hsião King' (used by my father in the composition of his dictionary) 'was what San lão of Lû presented in the time of the emperor Kào.' The San lão most readily suggests to the reader the idea of 'three old men;' but the characters may also mean, in harmony with Chinese idiom, 'the three classes of old men,' or 'an individual from those three classes.' The classical passage to explain the phrase is par. 18 in the first section of the sixth Book in the Lî Kî, where it is said that king Wăn feasted the San lão and Wû kang, 'the three classes of old men and five classes of men of experience,' in his royal college. The three classes of old men were such as were over 80, 90, and 100 years respectively. It was from a man of one of these classes that the emperor received the Hsião in the old

(better known as Wang Po-hâu, A. D. 1223-1296), say that this is a different account of the recovery of the old text from that with which the name of Khung An-kwo is connected. It is difficult to reconcile the two statements, as will be seen on a reference to the note below¹; and yet it

text. According to the account given in the next note this man was Khung 3ze-hui; and in the Books of Sui that is given as the name of the individual of the Khung family, who had hidden the tablets on the appearance of the K'in edict for the destruction of all the old books.

¹ The Catalogue Raisonné of the Imperial Libraries commences its account of the copies of the Hsião with a description of 'the Old Text of the Hsião with the Commentary of Khung An-kwo,' obtained from Japan; but the editors give good reasons for doubting its genuineness. There is a copy of this work in the Chinese portion of the British Museum, an edition printed in Japan in 1732, which I have carefully examined, with the help of Professor R. K. Douglas and Mr. A. Wylie. It contains not only the commentary of Khung An-kwo, but what purports to be the original preface of that scholar. There it is said that the bamboo tablets of the copy in 'tadpole characters,' found in the wall of Confucius' old 'lecture hall, in a stone case,' were presented to the emperor by Khung 3ze-hui, 'a very old man of Lû.' The emperor, it is added, caused two copies to be made in the current characters of the time by 'the great scholars,' one of which was given to 3ze-hui, and the other to General Ho Kwang, a minister of war and favourite, who greatly valued it, and placed it among the archives of the empire, where it was jealously guarded.

This account makes the meaning of the phrase 'the San liao of Lû' quite clear; but there are difficulties in the way of our believing that it proceeded from Khung An-kwo. No mention is made of him in it, whereas, according to the current narrations, the tablets with the tadpole characters were first deciphered by him; nor is the name of the emperor to whom Khung 3ze-hui presented the tablets given. No doubt, however, this emperor was K'ao, with whom Ho Kwang was a favourite. If the preface were genuine, of course An-kwo was alive after 3ze-hui went to court with the tablets. Now, the tablets were discovered in the period Thien-han, B. C. 100-97, and K'ao reigned from B. C. 86 to 74. An-kwo died at the age of sixty, but in what year we are not told. He had studied the Shih under Shân Kung, whose death can hardly be placed later than in B. C. 135. If An-kwo were born in B. C. 150, he would have been more than sixty years old—the age assigned to him at his death—at the accession of K'ao. I cannot believe, therefore, that the preface in the Japanese Hsião was written by him; and if we reject the preface, we must also reject the commentary before which it stands.

The text of the Hsião in the work is nearly identical with that of Sze-mâ Kwang, mentioned below on p. 458; but to the chapters there are prefixed the headings (which Kwang did not adopt), that cannot be traced farther back than the Thang dynasty. This might be got over, but the commentary throws no new light on the text. 'It is shallow and poor,' say the editors of the Catalogue Raisonné, 'and not in the style of the Han scholars.' I must think with them that Khung An-kwo's commentary, purporting to have been preserved in Japan is a forgery.

is possible that the difficulty would disappear, if the details of the discovery and the subsequent dealing with the tablets had come down to us complete.

Certainly, in the first century B. C. there were two copies of the Hsião King in the Imperial Library of Han. If those copies, catalogued by Liû Hin, were the actual text, presented by Yen Kăn, and a faithful transcript in the current Han characters of the ancient text discovered in the wall of Confucius' old lecture hall, we should be able to say that

Can we rely
fully on the
copies cata-
logued by Liû
Hin?

the evidence for the recovery of the Hsião, as it had existed during the Kâu dynasty, was as satisfactory as we could desire; but there are some considerations that are in the way

of our doing so.

According to the records of Sui, after the old text came into the possession of the court, and the differences between it and the text earlier recovered were observed, Liû Hsiang (B.C. 80-9), the father of Hin, was charged by the emperor (K'ang, B.C. 32-7) to compare the two. The result of his examination of them was that 'he removed from the modern text what was excessive and erroneous, and fixed the number of the chapters at eighteen.' It does not appear that previously there was any division of Kăn's copy into chapters. What Hsiang did in the case of the old text we are not told. A note by Yen Sze-kû of the Thang dynasty, appended to Hin's Catalogue, quotes from him that 'one chapter of the modern text was divided into two in the old, another into three, and that the old had one chapter which did not appear in the other.' This missing chapter, it is understood, was the one beginning, 'Inside the smaller doors leading to the inner apartments,' which I have appended, from the current old text, to my translation of the classic as published by Hsüan Jung; and yet the Sui account says that that chapter was in the Hsião of K'ang-sun, one of the four early commentators on the modern text.

The copies catalogued by Hin were made after the examination and revision of the two texts by his father. There are suspicious resemblances between the style and method of the present classic and those of the original works of

Hsiang that have come down to us. It is impossible to say, from the want of information, what liberties he took with the documents put into his charge. The differences between the two texts as we now have them are trivial. I believe that the changes made in them by Hsiang were not important; but having them as they came from his revision, we have them at second hand, and this has afforded ground for the dealing with them by K'ü Hsi and others in the manner which will be described in the next chapter.

2. I have said above (p. 450) that for the text of the classic,—the modern text, that is,—as we now have it, we are indebted to the labours of the emperor Hsüan Tsung of the Tang dynasty. K'ü Í-tsun, of the K'ien-lung period (1736-1795), in his work on the classics and the writings on them, has adduced the titles of eighty-six different works on our classic, that appeared between Khung An-kwo and Hsüan Tsung. Not a single one of all these now survives; but the enumeration of them shows that the most distinguished scholars during the intervening centuries exercised their powers on the treatise, and would keep a watch on one another in the preservation of the text. Moreover, several of the works continued through the Tang dynasty, and on into that of Sung. The Catalogue of the Sui Library contains the titles of nineteen in its list.

The emperor Hsüan says, in his preface, that in the making of his commentary he had freely used the commentaries of six earlier writers, whom he names. They were, Wei K'áo, Wang Sû, Yü Fan, and Liú Sháo, all of our second and third centuries; Liú Hsüan, of our sixth century, who laboured on the commentary of Khung An-kwo, which, as I have already stated, is said to have been discovered in his time and presented to him; and Lû K'hang, rather earlier than Liú, who dealt critically with the commentary attributed to K'ang Khang-k'hang. 'But,' says the imperial author, 'if a comment be right in reason, why need we enquire from whom it came? We have therefore taken those six writers, considered wherein

From Khung
An-kwo to
the emperor
Hsüan Tsung.

Hsüan Tsung's
work.

they agreed and differed, and decided between their interpretations by reference to the general scope of the five (great) King. In compendious style, but with extensive examination of the subject, we have made the meaning of the classic clear.'

The emperor says nothing himself about the differences between the ancient and modern texts, though we know that that subject was vehemently agitated among the scholars of his court. The text as commented on by him is in eighteen chapters, which do not include the chapter to which I have referred on p. 455 as having been in the copy of *Kang-sun* in the first century B.C. It is said, and on sufficient authority, that this chapter was excluded through the influence of the scholar and minister *Sze-má Kăn*. To each of his chapters the emperor prefixed a brief heading or argument, which I have retained in the translation. These headings, probably, were selected by him from a variety proposed by the scholars about the court.

The text employed in this imperial commentary might now be considered as sufficiently secured. It was engraved, in less than a century after, on the stone tablets of *Thang*, which were completed in the year 837, and set up in *Hsi-an*, the *Thang* capital, where they remain, very little damaged, to this day¹. And not only so. The emperor was so pleased with the commentary which he had made, that he caused the whole of it to be engraved on four large tablets or pillars of stone in 745. They are still to be seen at *Hsi-an*, in front of the Confucian College.

¹ These tablets are commonly said to contain the thirteen classics (*Shih-san King*). They contained, however, only twelve different works,—the *Yi*, the *Shû*, the *Shih*, the *Kâu Lî*, the *Í Lî*, the *Lî Kî*, and the amplifications of the *K'un K'ü*,—by *3o K'hiu-ming*, by *Kung-yang*, and by *Kü-liang*. These form 'the nine King.' In addition to these there were the *Lun Yü*, the *Hsiáo King*, and the *R Yâ*. According to *Kü Yen-wû* (1613-1682), the characters on the tablets were in all 650,252. Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 19) estimates that our English Bible contains between 900,000 and 950,000 words. The first Psalm, in what is called the Delegates' version, very good and concise, contains 100 Chinese characters, and in our English version 130 words. The classics of the *Thang* tablets, if the translator were a master of both languages, might be rendered in English so as to form a volume not quite so large as our Bible.

It is hardly necessary to say more on the preservation of the Hsião King. In A. D. 996 the second emperor of the Sung dynasty gave orders for an annotated edition of it to be prepared. This was finally completed in 1001, under the superintendence of Hsing Ping (932-1010), with a large critical apparatus, and a lengthened exposition, both of the text and of Hsüan Tsung's explanation. This work has ever since been current in China.

CHAPTER III.

CRITICISM OF THE HSIÃO SINCE THE THANG DYNASTY.

I. Notwithstanding the difficulty about one chapter which has been pointed out on p. 455, Hsüan Tsung's text was generally accepted as the representative of that in modern characters, recovered in the second century B. C. There were still those, however, who continued to advocate the claims of 'the old text.' Sze-mâ Kwang, a distinguished minister and scholar of the Sung dynasty (1009-1086), presented to the court in 1054 his 'Explanations of the Hsião King according to the Old Text,' arguing, in his preface and in various memorials, for the correctness of that text, as recovered by Liü Hsüan in the sixth century. Fan Tsü-yü (1041-1098), a scholar of the same century, and in other things a collaborateur of Kwang, produced, towards the end of his life, an 'Exposition of the Hsião King according to the Old Text.' He says in his preface:— 'Though the agreement between the ancient and modern texts is great, and the difference small, yet the ancient deserves to be preferred, and my labour upon it may not be without some little value¹.'

¹ In the Hsião King, as now frequently published in China, either separately by itself, or bound up with K'ü Hsi's Hsião Hsiao, 'the Teaching for the Young,' we find the old text, without distinction of chapters. The commentaries of Hsüan Tsung and Sze-mâ Kwang, and the exposition of Fan Tsü-yü, however, follow one another at the end of the several clauses and paragraphs.

2. But our classic had still to pass the ordeal of the sceptical criticism that set in during the Sung dynasty. The most notable result of this sceptical criticism. Views of K'ü Hsi. was 'the Hsiáo King Expurgated,' published by K'ü Hsi in 1186. He tells us that when he first saw a statement by Hû Hung (a minister in the reign of K'ao Jung, 1127-1162), that the quotations from the Book of Poetry in the Hsiáo were probably of later introduction into the text, he was terror-struck. Prolonged examination, however, satisfied him that there were good grounds for Hû's statement, and that other portions of the text were also open to suspicion. He found, moreover, that another earlier writer, Wang Ying-kh'ân, in the reign of Hsiáo Jung (1163-1189), had come to the conclusion that much of the Hsiáo had been fabricated or interpolated in the Han dynasty. The way was open for him to give expression to his convictions, without incurring the charge of being the first to impugn the accepted text.

The fact was, as pointed out by the editors of the Catalogue Raisonné of the Imperial Library of the present dynasty, that K'ü had long entertained the views which he indicated in his expurgated edition of the Hsiáo, and his references to Hû and Wang were simply to shield his own boldness. He divided the treatise into one chapter of classical text, and fourteen chapters of illustration and commentary. But both parts were freely expurgated. His classical text embraces the first six chapters in my translation, and is supposed by him to form one continuous discourse by Confucius. The rest of the treatise should not be attributed to the sage at all. The bulk of it may have come from 3äng-ze, or from members of his school, but large interpolations were made by the Han scholars. Adopting the old text, K'ü discarded from it altogether 223 characters.

Attention will be called, under the several chapters, to

Some portions also are in a different order from the arrangement of Hsüan Jung and Hsing Ping, which I have followed in my translation. As has been already said, the difference between its text and that of the Tang emperor is slight,—hardly greater than the variations in the different recensions of our Gospels and the other books of the New Testament.

some of the passages which he suppressed, and to the reasons, generally satisfactory, which he advanced for his procedure. Evidently he was influenced considerably by the way in which *K'häng Î* (1033-1107), whom he called 'his master,' had dealt with the old text of 'the Great Learning;' but he made his innovations with a bolder pencil and on a more extensive plan, not merely altering the arrangement of paragraphs, and supplementing what was plainly defective, but challenging the genuineness of large portions of the treatise, and removing them without scruple.

Under the Yüan dynasty, *Wû K'häng* (1249-1333), the greatest of its scholars, followed in the wake of *K'häng*. *Wû K'häng*. of *K'ü Hsi*, yet with the independence characteristic of himself. As *K'ü* had preferred the old text, *Wû* decided—and, I believe, more correctly—in favour of the modern, arguing that the copy of *Khung An-kwo's* text and commentary, said to have been recovered and published in the sixth century by *Liü Hsüan*, was a fabrication. He adopted, therefore, *Hsüan Jung's* text as the basis of his revision, which appeared with the title of 'the Hsião King, in paragraphs and sentences¹.' He adopted *K'ü's* division of the treatise into classical text and commentary. The chapter of classical text is the same as *K'ü's*; the chapters of commentary are only twelve. He discarded, of course, the chapter peculiar to the old text, which has been referred to more than once, united *Hsüan Jung's* eleventh chapter with another, and arranged the other chapters differently from *K'ü*. His revision altogether had 246 characters fewer than the old text.

3. *K'ü Î-tsun* gives the titles of nearly 120 works on our classic that appeared after the volume of *Wû K'häng*, bringing its literary history down to the end of the Ming dynasty. The scholars of the present dynasty have not been less abundant in their labours on it than their predecessors. Among the col-

¹ The title of this work in the Catalogue of the Imperial Libraries is 'Settlement of the Text of the Hsião King.'

lected works of Máo K'hi-ling (1623-1713) is one called 'Questions about the Hsiáo King,' in which, with his usual ability, and, it must be added, his usual acrimony, he defends the received text. He asserts—and in this he is correct—that there is no difference of any importance between the ancient and modern texts; when he asserts further that there never was any such difference, what he affirms is incapable of proof. He pours scorn on K'ü Hsi and Wü K'häng; but he is not so successful in defending the integrity of the Hsiáo as I have allowed him to be in vindicating the portions of the Shû that we owe to Khung An-kwo.

The Hsiáo King has always been a favourite with the emperors of China. Before Hsüan Sung took it in hand, the first and eighth emperors of the eastern K'in dynasty (317-419), the first and third of the Liang (502-556), and the ninth of the northern Wei (386-534) had published their labours upon it. The Manchâu rulers of the present dynasty have signalled themselves in this department. In 1656 the first emperor produced in one chapter his 'Imperial Commentary on the Hsiáo King,' and in 1728 the third published a 'Collection of Comments' on it. Between them was the long reign known to us as the Khang-hsi period (1662-1722), during which there appeared under the direction of the second emperor, the most distinguished of his line, his 'Extensive Explanation of the Hsiáo King,' in 100 chapters. The only portion of the text which it gives in full is K'ü Hsi's chapter of Confucian text; but most of the topics touched on in K'ü's supplementary chapters, added, as he supposed, by some later hand, are dealt with in the course of the work, the whole of which will amply repay a careful study.

4. It will have been seen that the two great scholars, K'ü Hsi and Wü K'häng, who have taken the greatest liberties with the text of our classic, allow that there is a Confucian element in it, and that more than a fifth part of the whole, containing, even as expurgated by K'ü, about 400 characters, may be correctly ascribed to the sage. I agree with them

Conclusion
regarding the
genuineness
and integrity
of the Hsiáo.

in this. All the rest of the treatise, to whomsoever it may be ascribed, from Ǵǵng-ǵze, the immediate disciple of Confucius, down to Liû Hsiang (B. C. 80-9), took its present form in the first century before our Christian era. The reader will fail to see in it a close connexion between the different chapters, and think that the author or authors try to make more of Filial Piety than can be made of it. The whole, however, is a valuable monument of antiquity, and an exhibition of the virtue which Chinese moralists and rulers, from the most ancient times, have delighted to celebrate as the fundamental principle of human virtue, the great source of social happiness, and the bond of national strength and stability.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION.

In preparing the translation of the Hsião King for the present work, I have made frequent reference to four earlier translations.

Two of them were made by myself;—the one about thirty years ago, simply as an exercise for my own improvement in Chinese; the other four years ago, when I was anxious to understand fully the Confucian teaching on the subject of Filial Piety, but without reference to my earlier version.

The third is a translation in the fourth volume of the Chinese Repository, pp. 345-353 (1835), for the accuracy of which much cannot be said. Very few notes are appended to it. The fourth is in the '*Mémoires concernant les Chinois*' (Paris, 1779), being part of a long treatise on the '*Ancient and Modern Doctrine of the Chinese about Filial Piety*,' by P. Cibot. In a preliminary notice to his version of our classic, he says:—'P. Noël formerly translated the Hsião King into Latin. Our translation will necessarily be different from his. He laboured on the old text, and we on the new, which the scholars of the Imperial College have adopted. Besides this, he has

launched out into paraphrase, and we have made it our business to present the text in French such as it is in Chinese.' I have not been able to refer to P. Noël's translation in preparing that now given to the public ; but I had his work before me when writing out my earliest version. The difference between the old and modern texts is too slight to affect the character of translations of them, but P. Noël's version is decidedly periphrastic. The title of his work is : — 'SINENSIS IMPERII LIBRI CLASSICI SEX, nimirum Adulorum Schola, Immutabile Medium, Liber sententiarum, Mencius, Filialis Observantia, Parvulorum Schola, e Sinico idiomate in Latinum traducti à P. Fr. Noël, S. J. (Prague, 1711).' The present version, I believe, gives the text in English, such as it is in Chinese, more accurately and closely than P. Cibot's does in French.

THE HSIÃO KING.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOPE AND MEANING OF THE TREATISE.

(ONCE), when *Kung-nî*¹ was unoccupied, and his disciple *Šǎng*² was sitting by in attendance on him, the Master said, 'Šǎn, the ancient kings had a perfect virtue and all-embracing rule of conduct, through which they were in accord with all under heaven. By the practice of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you know what it was³?' *Šǎng* rose from his mat, and said, 'How

¹ *Kung-nî* was the designation or marriage-name of Confucius. We find it twice in the Doctrine of the Mean (chh. 2 and 30), applied to the sage by *Šze-sze*, his grandson, the reputed author of that treatise. By his designation, it is said, a grandson might speak of his grandfather, and therefore some scholars contend that the Classic of Filial Piety should also be ascribed to *Šze-sze*; but such a canon cannot be considered as sufficiently established. On the authorship of the Classic, see the Introduction, p. 451.

² *Šǎng-ze*, named *Šǎn*, and styled *Šze-yü*, was one of the most distinguished of the disciples of Confucius. He was a favourite with the sage, and himself a voluminous writer. Many incidents and sayings are related, illustrative of his filial piety, so that it was natural for the master to enter with him on the discussion of that virtue. He shares in the honour and worship still paid to Confucius, and is one of his 'Four Assessors' in his temples.

³ Both the translator in the Chinese Repository and P. Cibot have rendered this opening address of Confucius very imperfectly.

should I, Shǎn, who am so devoid of intelligence, be able to know this?' The Master said, '(It was filial piety). Now filial piety is the root of (all) virtue¹, and (the stem) out of which grows (all moral) teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents; and we must not presume to injure or wound them:—this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the (filial) course, so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents:—this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service

The former has:—'Do you understand how the ancient kings, who possessed the greatest virtue and the best moral principles, rendered the whole empire so obedient that the people lived in peace and harmony, and no ill-will existed between superiors and inferiors?' The other:—'Do you know what was the pre-eminent virtue and the essential doctrine which our ancient monarchs taught to all the empire, to maintain concord among their subjects, and banish all dissatisfaction between superiors and inferiors?' P. Cibot comes the nearer to the meaning of the text, but he has neglected the characters corresponding to 'through which they were in accord with all under heaven,' that are expounded clearly enough by Hsüan Jung. The sentiment of the sage is, as he has tersely expressed it in the Doctrine of the Mean (ch. 13), that the ancient kings 'governed men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them.'

1 'All virtue' means the five virtuous principles, the constituents of humanity, 'benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and fidelity.' Of these, benevolence is the chief and fundamental, so that Mencius says (VII, ii, ch. 16), 'Benevolence is man.' In man's nature, therefore, benevolence is the root of filial piety; while in practice filial piety is the root of benevolence. Such is the way in which K'ü Hsü and other critical scholars reconcile the statements of the text here and elsewhere with their theory as to the constituents of humanity.

of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of the character.

‘It is said in the Major Odes of the Kingdom,
“Ever think of your ancestor,
Cultivating your virtue¹.”’

CHAPTER II.

FILIAL PIETY IN THE SON OF HEAVEN.

He who loves his parents will not dare (to incur the risk of) being hated by any man, and he who reveres his parents will not dare (to incur the risk of) being contemned by any man². When the love and reverence (of the Son of Heaven) are thus carried to the utmost in the service of his parents, the lessons of his virtue affect all the people, and he becomes

¹ See the Shih King, III, i, ode 2, stanza 4. *K'ü Hsü* commences his expurgation of our classic with casting out this concluding paragraph; and rightly so. Such quotations of the odes and other passages in the ancient classics are not after the manner of Confucius. The application made of them, moreover, is often far-fetched, and away from their proper meaning.

² The thing thus generally stated must be understood specially of the sovereign, and only he who stands related to all other men can give its full manifestation. Previous translators have missed the peculiarity of the construction in each of the clauses. Thus P. Cibot gives:—‘He who loves his parents will not dare to hate any one,’ &c. But in the second member we have a well-known form in Chinese to give the force of the passive voice. Attention is called to this in the Extensive Explanation of the Hsiáo (see p. 461):—‘*Wü yü zǎn* does not mean merely to hate men; it indicates an anxious apprehension lest the hatred of men should light on me, and my parents thereby be involved in it.’

a pattern to (all within) the four seas¹:—this is the filial piety of the Son of Heaven².

It is said in (the Marquis of) Fû on Punishments³,
 'The One man will have felicity, and the millions
 of the people will depend on (what ensures his hap-
 piness).'

CHAPTER III.

FILIAL PIETY IN THE PRINCES OF STATES.

Above others, and yet free from pride, they dwell on high, without peril; adhering to economy, and carefully observant of the rules and laws, they are full, without overflowing. To dwell on high without peril is the way long to preserve nobility; to be full without overflowing is the way long to preserve riches. When their riches and nobility do not leave their persons, then they are able to preserve the altars of their land and grain, and to secure the harmony of their people and men in office⁴:—this is the filial piety of the princes of states.

¹ Chinese scholars make 'the people' to be the subjects of the king, and 'all within the four seas' to be the barbarous tribes outside the four borders of the kingdom, between them and the seas or oceans within which the habitable earth was contained—according to the earliest geographical conceptions. All we have to find in the language is the unbounded, the universal, influence of 'the Son of Heaven.'

² The appellation 'Son of Heaven' for the sovereign was unknown in the earliest times of the Chinese nation. It cannot be traced beyond the Shang dynasty.

³ See the Shû, V, xxvii, 4, and the note on the name of that Book, p. 254.

⁴ In the Chinese Repository we have for this:—'They will be able to protect their ancestral possessions with the produce of their lands;' 'They will make sure the supreme rank to their

It is said in the Book of Poetry¹,
 'Be apprehensive, be cautious,
 As if on the brink of a deep abyss,
 As if treading on thin ice.'

CHAPTER IV. FILIAL PIETY IN HIGH MINISTERS AND GREAT OFFICERS.

They do not presume to wear robes other than those appointed by the laws of the ancient kings²; nor to speak words other than those sanctioned by their speech; nor to exhibit conduct other than that exemplified by their virtuous ways. Thus none of their words being contrary to those sanctions, and none of their actions contrary to the (right) way,

families.' But it is better to retain the style of the original. The king had a great altar to the spirit (or spirits) presiding over the land. The colour of the earth in the centre of it was yellow; that on each of its four sides differed according to the colours assigned to the four quarters of the sky. A portion of this earth was cut away, and formed the nucleus of a corresponding altar in each feudal state, according to their position relative to the capital. The prince of the state had the prerogative of sacrificing there. A similar rule prevailed for the altars to the spirits presiding over the grain. So long as a family ruled in a state, so long its chief offered those sacrifices; and the extinction of the sacrifices was an emphatic way of describing the ruin and extinction of the ruling House.

¹ See the Shih, II, v, ode 1, stanza 6.

² The articles of dress, to be worn by individuals according to their rank, from the sovereign downwards, in their ordinary attire, and on special occasions, were the subject of attention and enactment in China from the earliest times. We find references to them in the earliest books of the Shû (Part II, Books iii, iv). The words to be spoken, and conduct to be exhibited, on every varying occasion, could not be so particularly described; but the example of the ancient kings would suffice for these, as their enactments for the dress.

from their mouths there comes no exceptionable speech, and in their conduct there are found no exceptionable actions. Their words may fill all under heaven, and no error of speech will be found in them. Their actions may fill all under heaven, and no dissatisfaction or dislike will be awakened by them. When these three things—(their robes, their words, and their conduct)—are all complete as they should be, they can then preserve their ancestral temples¹:—this is the filial piety of high ministers and great officers.

It is said in the Book of Poetry²,

‘He is never idle, day or night,
In the service of the One man.’

CHAPTER V. FILIAL PIETY IN INFERIOR OFFICERS.

As they serve their fathers, so they serve their mothers, and they love them equally. As they serve their fathers, so they serve their rulers, and they reverence them equally. Hence love is what is chiefly rendered to the mother, and reverence is what is chiefly rendered to the ruler, while both of these things are given to the father. Therefore when they serve their ruler with filial piety they are loyal; when they serve their superiors with reverence they are obedient. Not failing in this loyalty

¹ Their ancestral temples were to the ministers and grand officers what the altars of their land and grain were to the feudal lords. Every great officer had three temples or shrines, in which he sacrificed to the first chief of his family or clan; to his grandfather, and to his father. While these remained, the family remained, and its honours were perpetuated.

² See the Shih, III, iii, ode 6, stanza 4.

and obedience in serving those above them, they are then able to preserve their emoluments and positions, and to maintain their sacrifices¹:—this is the filial piety of inferior officers².

It is said in the Book of Poetry³,

‘Rising early and going to sleep late,
Do not disgrace those who gave you birth.’

CHAPTER VI.

FILIAL PIETY IN THE COMMON PEOPLE.

They follow the course of heaven (in the revolving seasons); they distinguish the advantages

¹ These officers had their ‘positions’ or places, and their pay. They had also their sacrifices, but such as were private or personal to themselves, so that we have not much information about them.

² The Chinese Repository has here, ‘Such is the influence of filial duty when performed by scholars;’ and P. Cibot, ‘Voilà sommairement ce qui caractérise la Piété Filiale du Lettré.’ But to use the term ‘scholar’ here is to translate from the standpoint of modern China, and not from that of the time of Confucius. The Shih of feudal China were the younger sons of the higher classes, and men that by their ability were rising out of the lower, and who were all in inferior situations, and looking forward to offices of trust in the service of the royal court, or of their several states. Below the ‘great officers’ of ch. 4, three classes of Shih—the highest, middle, lowest—were recognised, all intended in this chapter. When the feudal system had passed away, the class of ‘scholars’ gradually took their place. Shih (士) is one of the oldest characters in Chinese, but the idea expressed in its formation is not known. Confucius is quoted in the Shwo Wăn as making it to be from the characters for one (一) and ten (十). A very old definition of it is—‘The denomination of one entrusted with affairs.’

³ See the Shih, II, iii, ode 2, stanza 6.

afforded by (different) soils¹; they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure;—in order to nourish their parents:—this is the filial piety of the common people.

Therefore from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, there never has been one whose filial piety was without its beginning and end on whom calamity did not come.

CHAPTER VII.

FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO THE THREE POWERS².

The disciple ǰǎng said, 'Immense indeed is the greatness of filial piety!' The Master replied³,

¹ These two sentences describe the attention of the people to the various processes of agriculture, as conditioned by the seasons and the qualities of different soils.

With this chapter there ends what *K'ü Hsi* regarded as the only portion of the *Hsiáo* in which we can rest as having come from Confucius. So far, it is with him a continuous discourse that proceeded from the sage. And there is, in this portion, especially when we admit *K'ü*'s expurgations, a certain sequence and progress, without logical connexion, in the exhibition of the subject which we fail to find in the chapters that follow.

² 'The Three Powers' is a phrase which is first found in two of the Appendixes to the *Yi King*, denoting Heaven, Earth, and Man, as the three great agents or agencies in nature, or the circle of being.

³ The whole of the reply of Confucius here, down to 'the advantages afforded by earth,' is found in a narrative in the *So Kwan*, under the twenty-fifth year of duke *K'áo* (B.C. 517), with the important difference that the discourse is there about 'ceremonies,' and not about filial piety. Plainly, it is an interpolation in the *Hsiáo*, and is rightly thrown out by *K'ü* and *Wü K'ǎng*. To my own mind it was a relief to find that the passage was not genuine, and had not come from Confucius. The discourse in the *So Kwan*, which is quite lengthy, these sentences being only the com-

‘Yes, filial piety is the constant (method) of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man¹. Heaven and earth invariably pursue the course (that may be thus described), and the people take it as their pattern. (The ancient kings) imitated the brilliant luminaries of heaven, and acted in accordance with the (varying) advantages afforded by earth, so that they were in accord with all under heaven; and in consequence their teachings, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, secured perfect order.

mencement of it, is more than sufficiently fanciful; but it is conceivable that what is here predicated of filial piety might be spoken of ceremonies, while I never could see what it could have to do with filial piety, or filial piety with it. After the long discourse in the *30 Kwan* one of the interlocutors in it exclaims, ‘Immense, indeed, is the greatness of ceremonies!’—the same terms with which *3äng-ze* is made to commence this chapter, saving that we have ‘ceremonies’ instead of ‘filial piety.’ There can be no doubt that the passage is interpolated; and yet the first part of it is quoted by Pan Kû (in our first century), in a note to Liû Hin’s Catalogue, and also in the Amplification of the First Precept of the Khang-hsî Sacred Edict (in our eighteenth century). Pan Kû may not have been sufficiently acquainted with the *30 Kwan* to detect the forgery; that Chinese scholars should still quote the description as applicable to filial piety shows how liable they are to be carried away by fine-sounding terms and mysterious utterances.

P. Cibot gives a correct translation of the first part in a note, but adds that it carries the sense of the text much too high, and would bring it into collision with the prejudices of the west, and he has preferred to hold to the more common explanation:—‘Ce qu’est la régularité des monuments des astres pour le firmament, la fertilité des campagnes pour la terre, la Piété Filiale l’est constamment pour les peuples!’

¹ An amusing translation of this sentence is found in Samuel Johnson’s ‘Oriental Religions, China,’ p. 208, beginning, ‘Filial Piety is the Book of Heaven!’ Mr. Johnson does not say where he got this version.

'The ancient kings, seeing how their teachings¹ could transform the people, set before them therefore an example of the most extended love, and none of the people neglected their parents; they set forth to them (the nature of) virtue and righteousness, and the people roused themselves to the practice of them; they went before them with reverence and yielding courtesy, and the people had no contentions; they led them on by the rules of propriety and by music, and the people were harmonious and benignant; they showed them what they loved and what they disliked, and the people understood their prohibitions.

'It is said in the Book of Poetry²,
"Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand-Master Yin,
And the people all look up to you."'

CHAPTER VIII. FILIAL PIETY IN GOVERNMENT.

The Master said, 'Anciently, when the intelligent kings by means of filial piety ruled all under heaven, they did not dare to receive with disrespect the ministers of small states;—how much less would they do so to the dukes, marquises, counts, and barons!' Thus it was that they got (the princes of) the myriad states with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the (sacrificial) services to their royal predecessors³.

¹ Sze-mâ Kwang changes the character for 'teachings' here into that for 'filial piety.' There is no external evidence for such a reading; and the texture of the whole treatise is so loose that we cannot insist on internal evidence.

² See the Shih, II, iv, ode 7, stanza 1.

³ Under the K'áu dynasty there were five orders of nobility, and the states belonging to their rulers varied proportionally in size.

‘The rulers of states did not dare to slight wifeless men and widows;—how much less would they slight their officers and the people! Thus it was that they got all their people with joyful hearts (to assist them) in serving the rulers, their predecessors¹.

‘The heads of clans did not dare to slight their servants and concubines;—how much less would they slight their wives and sons! Thus it was that they got their men with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the service of their parents.

‘In such a state of things, while alive, parents reposed in (the glory of) their sons; and, when sacrificed to, their disembodied spirits enjoyed their offerings². Therefore all under heaven peace and harmony prevailed; disasters and calamities did not occur; misfortunes and rebellions did not arise.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry³,

“To an upright, virtuous conduct

All in the four quarters of the state render obedient homage.”’

There were besides many smaller states attached to these. The feudal lords at stated times appeared at the royal court, and one important duty which then devolved on them was to take part in the sacrificial services of the sovereign in the ancestral temple.

¹ These services were also the sacrifices in the ancestral temples of the rulers of the states and of the chiefs of clans,—the feudal princes and the ministers and great officers of chapters 3 and 4.

² In the Chinese Repository we read here:—‘Parents enjoyed tranquillity while they lived, and after their decease sacrifices were offered to their disembodied spirits.’ To the same effect P. Cibot:—‘Les pères et mères étoient heureux pendant la vie, et après leur mort leurs âmes étoient consolées par des Tsî (sacrifices).’ I believe that I have caught the meaning more exactly.

³ See the Shih, III, iii, ode 2, stanza 2.

CHAPTER IX. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAGES¹.

The disciple Jǎng said, 'I venture to ask whether in the virtue of the sages there was not something greater than filial piety.' The Master replied, 'Of all (creatures with their different) natures produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the noblest. Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven². The duke of K'âu was the man who (first) did this³.

¹ 'The sages' here must mean the sage sovereigns of antiquity, who had at once the highest wisdom and the highest place.

² See a note on p. 99 on the meaning of the phrase 'the fellow of God,' which is the same as that in this chapter, translated 'the correlate of God.' P. Cibot goes at length into a discussion of the idea conveyed by the Chinese character P'ei, but without coming to any definite conclusion; and indeed Tâi Thung, author of the dictionary Liû Shû Kû, says that 'its original significance has baffled investigation, while its classical usage is in the sense of "mate," "fellow."' The meaning here is the second assigned to it on p. 99. In the Chinese Repository we find:—'As a mark of reverence there is nothing more important than to place the father on an equality with heaven;' which is by no means the idea, while the author further distorts the meaning by the following note:—'T'ien, "Heaven," and Shang T'î, the "Supreme Ruler," seem to be perfectly synonymous; and whatever ideas the Chinese attach to them, it is evident that the noble lord of K'âu regarded his ancestors, immediate and remote, as their equals, and paid to the one the same homage as the other. In thus elevating mortals to an equality with the Supreme Ruler, he is upheld and approved by Confucius, and has been imitated by myriads of every generation of his countrymen down to the present day.'

³ It is difficult to say in what the innovation of the duke of K'âu

‘Formerly the duke of *Kâu* at the border altar sacrificed to *Hâu-kî* as the correlate of Heaven, and in the Brilliant Hall he honoured king *Wăn*, and sacrificed to him as the correlate of God¹. The

consisted. The editors of the *Extensive Explanation* of the *Hsiáo* say:—‘According to commentators on our classic, Shun thinking only of the virtue of his ancestor did not sacrifice to him at the border altar. The sovereigns of *Hsiâ* and *Yin* were the first to sacrifice there to their ancestors; but they had not the ceremony of sacrificing to their fathers as the correlates of Heaven. This began with the duke of *Kâu*.’ To this explanation of the text the editors demur, and consider that the noun ‘father’ in the previous sentence should be taken, in the case of the duke of *Kâu*, both of *Hâu-kî* and king *Wăn*.

¹ The reader of the translations from the *Shih* must be familiar with *Hâu-kî*, as the ancestor to whom the kings of *Kâu* traced their lineage, and with king *Wăn*, as the acknowledged founder of their dynasty in connexion with his son, king *Wû*. Was any greater honour done to *Hâu-kî* in making him the correlate of Heaven than to king *Wăn* in making him the correlate of God? We must say, No. As is said in the *Extensive Explanation*, ‘The words Heaven and God are different, but their meaning is one and the same.’ The question is susceptible of easy determination. Let me refer the reader to the translations from the *Shih* on pp. 317 and 329. The tenth piece on the latter was sung, at the border sacrifice to Heaven, in honour of *Hâu-kî*; and the first four lines of it are to the effect—

‘O thou, accomplished, great *Hâu-kî*!
To thee alone ’twas given
To be, by what we trace to thee,
The correlate of Heaven;’

while the fifth and sixth lines are—

‘God had the wheat and barley meant
To nourish all mankind.
None would have fathomed His intent,
But for thy guiding mind.’

The seventh piece on the former page was used at the sacrifice, in the Brilliant Hall, to king *Wăn*, as ‘the correlate of God.’ The first three lines have been versified by—

consequence was that from (all the states) within the four seas, every (prince) came in the discharge of his duty to (assist in those) sacrifices. In the virtue of the sages what besides was there greater than filial piety?

'Now the feeling of affection grows up at the parents' knees, and as (the duty of) nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe. The sages proceeded from the (feeling of) awe to teach (the duties of) reverence, and from (that of) affection to teach (those of) love. The teachings of the sages, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigo-

'My offerings here are given,
A ram, a bull.
Accept them, mighty Heaven,
All-bountiful;'

and the sixth and seventh lines by—

'From Wăn comes blessing rich;
Now on the right
He owns those gifts to which
Him I invite.'

Since 'Heaven' and 'God' have the same reference, why are they used here as if there were some opposition between them? The nearest approach to an answer to this is found also in the *Extensive Explanation*, derived mainly from *K'ân Hsiang-tão*, of the Sung dynasty, and to the following effect:—'Heaven (Tien) just is God (Tî). Heaven is a term specially expressive of honour, and Hâu-kî was made the correlate of Heaven, because he was remote, far distant from the worshipper. God is a term expressive of affection, and king Wăn was made the correlate of God, because he was nearer to, the father of, the duke of K'âu.' Hsiang-tão concludes by saying that the sacrifice at the border altar was an old institution, while that in the Brilliant Hall was first appointed by the duke of K'âu. According to this view, Heaven would approximate to the name for Deity in the absolute,—Jehovah, as explained in Exodus xv. 14; while Tî is God, 'our Father in heaven.'

rous, was effective. What they proceeded from was the root (of filial piety implanted by Heaven).

'The relation and duties between father and son, (thus belonging to) the Heaven-conferred nature, (contain in them the principle of) righteousness between ruler and subject¹. The son derives his life from his parents, and no greater gift could possibly be transmitted; his ruler and parent (in one), his father deals with him accordingly, and no generosity could be greater than this. Hence, he who does not love his parents, but loves other men, is called a rebel against virtue; and he who does not revere his parents, but reveres other men, is called a rebel against propriety. When (the ruler) himself thus acts contrary to (the principles) which should place him in accord (with all men), he presents nothing for the people to imitate. He has nothing to do with what is good, but entirely and only with what is injurious to virtue. Though he may get (his will, and be above others), the superior man does not give him his approval.

¹ We find for this in the Chinese Repository:—'The feelings which ought to characterise the intercourse between father and son are of a heavenly nature, resembling the bonds which exist between a prince and his ministers.' P. Cibot gives:—'*Les rapports immuable de père et de fils découlent de l'essence même du Tien, et offrent la première idée de prince et de sujet;*' adding on the former clause this note:—'*Les commentateurs ne disent que des mots sur ces paroles; mais comment pourroient ils les bien expliquer, puisqu'ils ne sauroient en entrevoir le sens supreme et ineffable? Quelques-uns ont pris le parti de citer le texte de Táo-teh King (ch. 42), "Le Táo est vie et unité; le premier a engendré le second; les deux ont produit le troisième; le trois ont fait toutes choses;" c'est-à-dire, qu'ils ont tâché d'expliquer un texte qui les passe, par un autre où ils ne comprennent rien.'* But there is neither difficulty in the construction of the text here, nor mystery in its meaning.

‘It is not so with the superior man. He speaks, having thought whether the words should be spoken; he acts, having thought whether his actions are sure to give pleasure. His virtue and righteousness are such as will be honoured; what he initiates and does is fit to be imitated; his deportment is worthy of contemplation; his movements in advancing or retiring are all according to the proper rule. In this way does he present himself to the people, who both revere and love him, imitate and become like him. Thus he is able to make his teaching of virtue successful, and his government and orders to be carried into effect ¹.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry ²,

“The virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment.”

CHAPTER X. AN ORDERLY DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTS OF FILIAL PIETY.

The Master said, ‘The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows:—In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents.

¹ This paragraph may be called a mosaic, formed by piecing together passages from the *30 Kwan*.

² See the *Shih*, I, xiv, ode 3, stanza 3.

'He who (thus) serves his parents, in a high situation, will be free from pride; in a low situation, will be free from insubordination; and among his equals, will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons.

'If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork¹ to nourish his parents, he is not filial.'

CHAPTER XI. FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO THE FIVE PUNISHMENTS.

The Master said, 'There are three thousand offences against which the five punishments are directed², and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial.

'When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority; when the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of (all) law; when filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These (three things) pave the way to anarchy.'

CHAPTER XII. AMPLIFICATION OF 'THE ALL-EMBRACING RULE OF CONDUCT' IN CHAPTER I.

The Master said, 'For teaching the people to be affectionate and loving there is nothing better than Filial Piety; for teaching them (the observance of) propriety and submissiveness there is nothing better than Fraternal Duty; for changing their manners

¹ Compare with this the Confucian Analects, II, vii.

² See the Shû, p. 43, and especially pp. 255, 256.

and altering their customs there is nothing better than Music ; for securing the repose of superiors and the good order of the people there is nothing better than the Rules of Propriety.

‘ The Rules of Propriety are simply (the development of) the principle of Reverence. Therefore the reverence paid to a father makes (all) sons pleased ; the reverence paid to an elder brother makes (all) younger brothers pleased ; the reverence paid to a ruler makes (all) subjects pleased¹. The reverence paid to one man makes thousands and myriads of men pleased. The reverence is paid to a few, and the pleasure extends to many ;—this is what is meant by an “ All-embracing Rule of Conduct.” ’

CHAPTER XIII. AMPLIFICATION OF ‘ THE PERFECT VIRTUE ’ IN CHAPTER I.

The Master said, ‘ The teaching of filial piety by the superior man² does not require that he should go to family after family, and daily see the members of each. His teaching of filial piety is a tribute of reverence to all the fathers under heaven ; his teaching of fraternal submission is a tribute of reverence to all the elder brothers under heaven ; his teaching of the duty of a subject is a tribute of reverence to all the rulers under heaven.

¹ We must understand that the ‘ reverence ’ here is to be understood as paid by the sovereign. In reverencing his father (or an uncle may also in Chinese usage be so styled), he reverences the idea of fatherhood, and being ‘ in accord with the minds of all under heaven,’ his example is universally powerful. And we may reason similarly of the other two cases of reverence specified.

² The *Kün-ze*, or ‘ superior man,’ here must be taken of the sovereign. P. Cibot translates it by ‘ un prince.’

' It is said in the Book of Poetry¹,
 " The happy and courteous sovereign
 Is the parent of the people."

' If it were not a perfect virtue, how could it be recognised as in accordance with their nature by the people so extensively as this ?'

CHAPTER XIV. AMPLIFICATION OF 'MAKING OUR NAME FAMOUS' IN CHAPTER I.

The Master said, ' The filial piety with which the superior man serves his parents may be transferred as loyalty to the ruler ; the fraternal duty with which he serves his elder brother may be transferred as submissive deference to elders ; his regulation of his family may be transferred as good government in any official position. Therefore, when his conduct is thus successful in his inner (private) circle, his name will be established (and transmitted) to future generations.'

CHAPTER XV. FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO REPROOF AND REMONSTRANCE.

The disciple Ǻng said, ' I have heard your instructions on the affection of love, on respect and reverence, on giving repose to (the minds of) our parents, and on making our name famous ;—I would venture to ask if (simple) obedience to the orders of one's father can be pronounced filial piety.' The Master replied, ' What words are these ! what words are these ! Anciently, if the Son of Heaven had seven ministers who would remonstrate with him,

¹ See the Shih, III, ii, ode 7, stanza 1. The two lines of the Shih here are, possibly, not an interpolation.

although he had not right methods of government, he would not lose his possession of the kingdom; if the prince of a state had five such ministers, though his measures might be equally wrong, he would not lose his state; if a great officer had three, he would not, in a similar case, lose (the headship of) his clan; if an inferior officer had a friend who would remonstrate with him, a good name would not cease to be connected with his character; and the father who had a son that would remonstrate with him would not sink into the gulf of unrighteous deeds¹. Therefore when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned, a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father, nor a minister from remonstrating with his ruler. Hence, since remonstrance is required in the case of unrighteous conduct, how can (simple) obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety²?

CHAPTER XVI. THE INFLUENCE OF FILIAL PIETY AND THE RESPONSE TO IT.

The Master said, 'Anciently, the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence; they served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination³. They pursued

¹ The numbers 7, 5, 3, 1 cannot be illustrated by examples, nor should they be insisted on. The higher the dignity, the greater would be the risk, and the stronger must be the support that was needed.

² Compare the Analects, IV, xviii, and the Lî Kî, X, i, 15.

³ This chapter is as difficult to grasp as the seventh, which treated of Filial Piety in Relation to 'the Three Powers.' It is indeed a sequel to that. Heaven and Earth appear as two Powers, or as

the right course with reference to their (own) seniors and juniors, and therefore they secured the regulation of the relations between superiors and inferiors (throughout the kingdom).

'When Heaven and Earth were served with intelligence and discrimination, the spiritual intelligences displayed (their retributive power¹).

'Therefore even the Son of Heaven must have some whom he honours ; that is, he has his uncles of his surname. He must have some to whom he concedes the precedence ; that is, he has his cousins, who bear the same surname, and are older than himself. In the ancestral temple he manifests the utmost reverence, showing that he does not forget his parents ; he cultivates his person and is careful of his conduct, fearing lest he should disgrace his predecessors.

'When in the ancestral temple he exhibits the

a dual Power, taking the place of Heaven or God. We can in a degree follow the treatise in transferring the reverence paid by a son to his father to loyalty shown by him to his ruler ; but it is more difficult to understand the development of filial piety into religion that is here assumed and described. Was it not the pressing of this virtue too far, the making more of it than can be made, that tended to deprave religion during the *K'au* dynasty, and to mingle with the earlier monotheism a form of nature-worship ?

Hsing Ping, in his 'Correct Meaning,' makes the 'discrimination' here to be 'an ability to distinguish the advantages of the earth ;'—showing how he had the sixth and seventh chapters in his mind.

¹ 'The Spiritual Intelligences' here are Heaven and Earth conceived of as Spiritual Beings. They responded to the sincere service of the intelligent kings, as Hsing Ping says, with 'the harmony of the active and passive principles of nature, seasonable winds and rain, the absence of epidemic sickness and plague, and the repose of all under heaven.' Compare with this what is said in 'the Great Plan' of the *Shû*, pp. 147, 148.

utmost reverence, the spirits of the departed manifest themselves¹. Perfect filial piety and fraternal duty reach to (and move) the spiritual intelligences, and diffuse their light on all within the four seas;—they penetrate everywhere.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry²,
 “From the west to the east,
 From the south to the north,
 There was not a thought but did him homage.”’

CHAPTER XVII. THE SERVICE OF THE RULER.

The Master said, ‘The superior man³ serves his ruler in such a way, that when at court in his presence his thought is how to discharge his loyal duty to the utmost; and when he retires from it, his thought is how to amend his errors. He carries out with deference the measures springing from his excellent qualities, and rectifies him (only) to save him from what are evil. Hence, as the superior and inferior, they are able to have an affection for each other.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry⁴,
 “In my heart I love him;
 And why should I not say so?
 In the core of my heart I keep him,
 And never will forget him.”’

¹ The reader will have noticed many instances of this, or what were intended to be instances of it, in the translations from the Shih, pp. 365-368, &c.

² See the Shih, III, i, ode 10, stanza 6.

³ ‘The superior man’ here can only be the good and intelligent officer in the royal domain or at a feudal court.

⁴ See the Shih, II, viii, ode 4, stanza 4.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FILIAL PIETY IN MOURNING FOR PARENTS.

The Master said, 'When a filial son is mourning for a parent, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing; in the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance; his words are without elegance of phrase; he cannot bear to wear fine clothes; when he hears music, he feels no delight; when he eats a delicacy, he is not conscious of its flavour:—such is the nature of grief and sorrow.

'After three days he may partake of food; for thus the people are taught that the living should not be injured on account of the dead, and that emaciation must not be carried to the extinction of life:—such is the rule of the sages. The period of mourning does not go beyond three years, to show the people that it must have an end.

'An inner and outer coffin are made; the grave-clothes also are put on, and the shroud; and (the body) is lifted (into the coffin). The sacrificial vessels, round and square, are (regularly) set forth, and (the sight of them) fills (the mourners) with (fresh) distress¹. The women beat their breasts, and the men stamp with their feet, wailing and weeping, while they sorrowfully escort the coffin to the grave. They consult the tortoise-shell to determine the grave and the ground about it, and

¹ These vessels were arranged every day by the coffin, while it continued in the house, after the corpse was put into it. The practice was a serving of the dead as the living had been served. It is not thought necessary to give any details as to the other different rites of mourning which are mentioned. They will be found, with others, in the translations from the *Lî Kî*.

there they lay the body in peace. They prepare the ancestral temple (to receive the tablet of the departed), and there present offerings to the disembodied spirit. In spring and autumn they offer sacrifices, thinking of the deceased as the seasons come round.

‘The services of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when dead :—these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son’s service of his parents is completed.’

The above is the Classic of Filial Piety, as published by the emperor Hsüan in A.D. 722, with the headings then prefixed to the eighteen chapters. Subsequently, in the eleventh century, Sze-mâ Kwang (A.D. 1009–1086), a famous statesman and historian, published what he thought was the more ancient text of the Classic in twenty-two chapters, with ‘Explanations’ by himself, without indicating, however, the different chapters, and of course without headings to them. This work is commonly published along with an ‘Exposition’ of his views, by Fan 3ü-yü, one of his contemporaries and friends. The differences between his text and that of the Thang emperor are insignificant. He gives, however, one additional chapter, which would be the nineteenth of his arrangement. It is as follows :—‘Inside the smaller doors leading to the inner apartments are to be found all the rules (of government). There is awe for the father, and also for the elder brother. Wife and children, servants and concubines are like the common people, serfs, and underlings.’

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.					Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.			II Class.	III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	.	𐬩	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	.	.	.	.	𐬪	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	.	.	ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	.	.	𐬫	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	k
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	.	.	𐬬	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	kh
15 Media	.	g	.	.	.	𐬭	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	.	.	𐬮	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	.
17 " Nasalis	ñ	.	.	.	.	𐬯	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬨 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	י	י
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		स	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	z		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .		त	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	ת	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		ल	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .		स	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	ש	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (S)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	48 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	49 " aspirata	b
41 " aspirata	dh	50 Media	bh
42 Nasalis	n	51 " aspirata	
43 Semivocalis	r	52 Tenuissima	m
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	w
45 " diacritica		54 Semivocalis	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	f
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	v
		57 " lenis	
		58 Anusvāra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	II Class.									
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	ā
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	init.	...	...	...	ā
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			...	...	...	...	...	...	ī
5 " longa	ā	(a)		...	...	...	...	...	...	ī
6 Palatalis brevis	i			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	ē
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	ai
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	ei, ēi
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	āu

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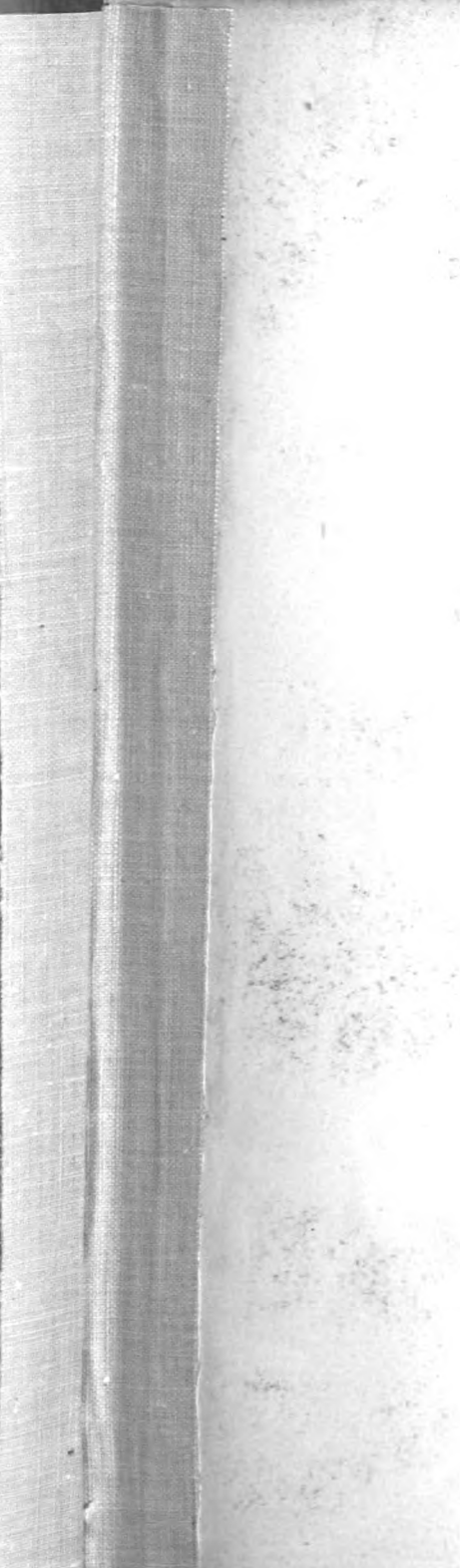
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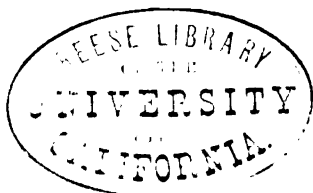
THE TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART II

THE YÎ KING



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PREFACE.

I wrote out a translation of the Yî King, embracing both the Text and the Appendixes, in 1854 and 1855; and have to acknowledge that when the manuscript was completed, I knew very little about the scope and method of the book. I laid the volumes containing the result of my labour aside, and hoped, believed indeed, that the light would by and by dawn, and that I should one day get hold of a clue that would guide me to a knowledge of the mysterious classic.

Before that day came, the translation was soaked, in 1870, for more than a month in water of the Red Sea. By dint of careful manipulation it was recovered so as to be still legible; but it was not till 1874 that I began to be able to give to the book the prolonged attention necessary to make it reveal its secrets. Then for the first time I got hold, as I believe, of the clue, and found that my toil of twenty years before was of no service at all.

What had tended more than anything else to hide the nature of the book from my earlier studies was the way in which, with the Text, ordinarily and, as I think, correctly ascribed to king Wăn and his son Tan, there are interspersed, under each hexagram, the portions of the Appendixes I, II, and IV relating to it. The student at first thinks this an advantage. He believes that all the Appendixes were written by Confucius, and combine with the text to form one harmonious work; and he is glad to have the sentiments of 'the three sages' brought together. But I now perceived that the composition of the Text and of the Appendixes, allowing the Confucian authorship of the latter, was separated by about 700 years, and that their subject-matter was often incongruous. My first step towards a right understanding of the Yî was to study the Text by itself and as complete in itself. It was easy to

do this because the imperial edition of 1715, with all its critical apparatus, keeps the Text and the Appendixes separate.

The wisdom of the course thus adopted became more apparent by the formation of eight different concordances, one for the Text, and one for each of the Appendixes. They showed that many characters in the Appendixes, and those especially which most readily occur to sinologists as characteristic of the *Yi*, are not to be found in the Text at all. A fuller acquaintance, moreover, with the tone and style of the Appendixes satisfied me that while we had sufficient evidence that the greater part of them was not from Confucius, we had no evidence that any part was his, unless it might be the paragraphs introduced by the compiler or compilers as sayings of 'the Master.'

Studying the Text in the manner thus described, I soon arrived at the view of the meaning and object of the *Yi*, which I have described in the second chapter of the Introduction; and I was delighted to find that there was a substantial agreement between my interpretations of the hexagrams and their several lines and those given by the most noted commentators from the Han dynasty down to the present. They have not formulated the scheme so concisely as I have done, and they were fettered by their belief in the Confucian authorship of the Appendixes; but they held the same general opinion, and were similarly controlled by it in construing the Text. Any sinologist who will examine the *Yü Kih Zăh Kiang Yi King Kieh I*, prepared by one of the departments of the Han Lin college, and published in 1682, and which I have called the 'Daily Lessons,' or 'Lectures,' will see the agreement between my views and those underlying its paraphrase.

After the clue to the meaning of the *Yi* was discovered, there remained the difficulty of translating. The peculiarity of its style makes it the most difficult of all the Confucian classics to present in an intelligible version. I suppose that there are sinologists who will continue, for a time at least, to maintain that it was intended by its

author or authors, whoever they were, merely as a book of divination; and of course the oracles of divination were designedly wrapped up in mysterious phraseology. But notwithstanding the account of the origin of the book and its composition by king Wăn and his son, which I have seen reason to adopt, they, its authors, had to write after the manner of diviners. There is hardly another work in the ancient literature of China that presents the same difficulties to the translator.

When I made my first translation of it in 1854, I endeavoured to be as concise in my English as the original Chinese was. Much of what I wrote was made up, in consequence, of so many English words, with little or no mark of syntactical connexion. I followed in this the example of P. Regis and his coadjutors (Introduction, page 9) in their Latin version. But their version is all but unintelligible, and mine was not less so. How to surmount this difficulty occurred to me after I had found the clue to the interpretation;—in a fact which I had unconsciously acted on in all my translations of other classics, namely, that the written characters of the Chinese are not representations of words, but symbols of ideas, and that the combination of them in composition is not a representation of what the writer would say, but of what he thinks. It is vain therefore for a translator to attempt a literal version. When the symbolic characters have brought his mind en rapport with that of his author, he is free to render the ideas in his own or any other speech in the best manner that he can attain to. This is the rule which Mencius followed in interpreting the old poems of his country:—‘We must try with our thoughts to meet the scope of a sentence, and then we shall apprehend it.’ In the study of a Chinese classical book there is not so much an interpretation of the characters employed by the writer as a participation of his thoughts;—there is the seeing of mind to mind. The canon hence derived for a translator is not one of license. It will be his object to express the meaning of the original as exactly and concisely as possible. But it will be necessary for him to introduce a word or two

now and then to indicate what the mind of the writer supplied for itself. What I have done in this way will generally be seen enclosed in parentheses, though I queried whether I might not dispense with them, as there is nothing in the English version which was not, I believe, present in the writer's thought. I hope, however, that I have been able in this way to make the translation intelligible to readers. If, after all, they shall conclude that in what is said on the hexagrams there is often 'much ado about nothing,' it is not the translator who should be deemed accountable for that, but his original.

I had intended to append to the volume translations of certain chapters from *K'ü Hsî* and other writers of the Sung dynasty; but this purpose could not be carried into effect for want of space. It was found necessary to accompany the version with a running commentary, illustrating the way in which the teachings of king Wăn and his son are supposed to be drawn from the figures and their several lines; and my difficulty was to keep the single *Yî* within the limits of one volume. Those intended translations therefore are reserved for another opportunity; and indeed, the Sung philosophy did not grow out of the *Yî* proper, but from the Appendixes to it, and especially from the third of them. It is more Tâoistic than Confucian.

When I first took the *Yî* in hand, there existed no translation of it in any western language but that of P. Regis and his coadjutors, which I have mentioned above and in various places of the Introduction. The authors were all sinologists of great attainments; and their view of the Text as relating to the transactions between the founders of the *K'âu* dynasty and the last sovereign of the Shang or Yin, and capable of being illustrated historically, though too narrow, was an approximation to the truth. The late M. Mohl, who had edited the work in 1834, said to me once, 'I like it; for I come to it out of a sea of mist, and find solid ground.' No sufficient distinction was made in it, however, between the Text and the Appendixes; and in discussing the third and following Appendixes the translators

were haunted by the name and shade of Confucius. To the excessive literalness of the version I have referred above.

In 1876 the Rev. Canon McClatchie, M.A., published a version at Shanghai with the title, 'A Translation of the Confucian Yî King, or the "Classic of Changes," with Notes and Appendix.' This embraces both the Text and the Appendixes, the first, second, and fourth of the latter being interspersed along with the Text, as in the ordinary school editions of the classic. So far as I can judge from his language, he does not appear to be aware that the first and second Appendixes were not the work of king Wăn and the duke of Kâu, but of a subsequent writer—he would say of Confucius—explaining their explanations of the entire hexagrams and their several lines. His own special object was 'to open the mysteries of the Yî by applying to it the key of Comparative Mythology.' Such a key was not necessary; and the author, by the application of it, has found sundry things to which I have occasionally referred in my notes. They are not pleasant to look at or dwell upon; and happily it has never entered into the minds of Chinese scholars to conceive of them. I have followed Canon McClatchie's translation from paragraph to paragraph and from sentence to sentence, but found nothing which I could employ with advantage in my own.

Long after my translation had been completed, and that of the Text indeed was printed, I received from Shanghai the third volume of P. Angelo Zottoli's '*Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*,' which had appeared in 1880. About 100 pages of it are occupied with the Yî. The Latin version is a great improvement on that in the work of Regis; but P. Zottoli translates only the Text of the first two hexagrams, with the portions of the first, second, and fourth Appendixes relating to them; and other six hexagrams with the explanations of king Wăn's Thwan and of the Great Symbolism. Of the remaining fifty-six hexagrams only the briefest summary is given; and then follow the Appendixes III, V, VI, and VII at length. The author has done his work well.

His general view of the *Yî* is stated in the following sentences:—‘*Ex Fû-hsi figuris, Wăn regis definitionibus, Kâu ducis symbolis, et Confucii commentariis, Liber conficitur, qui a mutationibus, quas duo elementa in hexagrammatum compositione inducunt, Yî (Mutator) vel Yî King (Mutationum Liber) appellatur. Quid igitur tandem famosus iste Yî King? Paucis accipe: ex linearum qualitate continua vel intercisa; earumque situ, imo, medio, vel supremo; mutuaque ipsarum relatione, occursu, dissidio, convenientia; ex ipso scilicet trigrammatum corpore seu forma, tum ex trigrammatum symbolo seu imagine, tum ex trigrammatum proprietate seu virtute, tum etiam aliquando ex unius ad alterum hexagramma varietate, eruitur aliqua imago, deducitur aliqua sententia, quoddam veluti oraculum continens, quod sorte etiam consulere possis ad documentum obtinendum, moderandae vitae solvendove dubio consentaneum. Ita liber juxta Confucii explicationem in scholis tradi solitam. Nil igitur sublime aut mysteriosum, nil foedum aut vile hic quaeras; argutulum potius lusum ibi video ad instructiones morales politicasque eliciendas, ut ad satietatem usque in Sinicis passim classicis, obvias, planas, naturales; tantum, cum liber iste, ut integrum legenti textum facile patebit, ad sortilegii usum deductus fuerit, per ipsum jam summum homo obtinebit vitae beneficium, arcanam cum spiritibus communicationem secretamque futurorum eventuum cognitionem; theurgus igitur visus est iste liber, totus lux, totus spiritus, hominisque vitae accommodatissimus; indeque laudes a Confucio ei tributas, prorsus exaggeratas, in hujus libri praesertim appendice videre erit, si vere tamen, ut communis fert opinio, ipse sit hujus appendicis auctor.*’

There has been a report for two or three years of a new translation of the *Yî*, or at least of a part of it, as being in preparation by M. Terrien de Lacouperie, and Professor R. K. Douglas of the British Museum and King’s College, London. I have alluded on pages 8, 9 of the Introduction to some inaccurate statements about native commentaries on the *Yî* and translations of it by foreigners, made in connexion with this contemplated version. But I did not know

what the projected undertaking really was, till I read a letter from M. Terrien in the 'Athenæum' of the 21st January of this year. He there says that the joint translation 'deals only with the oldest part of the book, the short lists of characters which follow each of the sixty-four headings, and leaves entirely aside the explanations and commentaries attributed to Wen Wang, K'âu Kung, Confucius, and others, from 1200 B. C. downwards, which are commonly embodied as an integral part of the classic;' adding, 'The proportion of the primitive text to these additions is about one-sixth of the whole.' But if we take away these explanations and commentaries attributed to king Wăn, the duke of K'âu, and Confucius, we take away the whole Yî. There remain only the linear figures attributed to Fû-hsî, without any lists of characters, long or short, without a single written character of any kind whatever. The projectors have been misled somehow about the contents of the Yî; and unless they can overthrow all the traditions and beliefs about them, whether Chinese or foreign, their undertaking is more hopeless than the task laid on the children of Israel by Pharaoh, that they should make bricks without straw.

I do not express myself thus in any spirit of hostility. If, by discoveries in Accadian or any other long-buried and forgotten language, M. Terrien de Lacouperie can throw new light on the written characters of China or on its speech, no one will rejoice more than myself; but his ignorance of how the contents of the classic are made up does not give much prospect of success in his promised translation.

In the preface to the third volume of these 'Sacred Books of the East,' containing the Shû King, Shih King, and Hsiao King, I have spoken of the Chinese terms Tî and Shang Tî, and shown how I felt it necessary to continue to render them by our word God, as I had done in all my translations of the Chinese classics since 1861. My doing so gave offence to some of the missionaries in China and others; and in June, 1880, twenty-three gentlemen addressed a letter to Professor F. Max Müller, complaining

that, in such a work edited by him, he should allow me to give my own private interpretation of the name or names in question instead of translating them or transferring them. Professor Müller published the letter which he had received, with his reply to it, in the 'Times' newspaper of Dec. 30, 1880. Since then the matter has rested, and I introduce it again here in this preface, because, though we do not meet with the name in the Yî so frequently as in the Shû and Shih, I have, as before, wherever it does occur, translated it by God. Those who object to that term say that Shang Tî might be rendered by 'Supreme Ruler' or 'Supreme Emperor,' or by 'Ruler (or Emperor) on high;' but when I examined the question, more than thirty years ago, with all possible interest and all the resources at my command, I came to the conclusions that Tî, on its first employment by the Chinese fathers, was intended to express the same concept which our fathers expressed by God, and that such has been its highest and proper application ever since. There would be little if any difference in the meaning conveyed to readers by 'Supreme Ruler' and 'God;' but when I render Tî by God and Shang Tî by the Supreme God, or, for the sake of brevity, simply by God, I am translating, and not giving a private interpretation of my own. I do it not in the interests of controversy, but as the simple expression of what to me is truth; and I am glad to know that a great majority of the Protestant missionaries in China use Tî and Shang Tî as the nearest analogue for God.

It would be tedious to mention the many critical editions and commentaries that I have used in preparing the translation. I have not had the help of able native scholars, which saved time and was otherwise valuable when I was working in the East on other classics. The want of this, however, has been more than compensated in some respects by my copy of the 'Daily Lectures on the Yî,' the full title of which is given on page xiv. The friend who purchased it for me five years ago in Canton was obliged to content himself with a second-hand copy; but I found that the

previous owner had been a ripe scholar who freely used his pencil in pursuing his studies. It was possible, from his punctuation, interlineations, and many marginal notes, to follow the exercises of his mind, patiently pursuing his search for the meaning of the most difficult passages. I am under great obligations to him; and also to the *K'au Yî Keh Kung*, the great imperial edition of the present dynasty, first published in 1715. I have generally spoken of its authors as the Khang-hsî editors. Their numerous discussions of the meaning, and ingenious decisions, go far to raise the interpretation of the *Yî* to a science.

J. L.

OXFORD,
16th March, 1882.

THE YÎ KING
OR
BOOK OF CHANGES.

THE YĪ KING

OR

BOOK OF CHANGES.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE YĪ KING FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY B.C. TO
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

1. Confucius is reported to have said on one occasion, 'If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the YĪ, and might then escape falling into great errors¹.' The utterance is referred by the best critics to the closing period of Confucius' life, when he had returned from his long and painful wanderings among the States, and was settled again in his native Lû. By this time he was nearly seventy, and it seems strange, if he spoke seriously, that he should have thought it possible for his life to be prolonged other fifty years. So far as that specification is concerned, a corruption of the text is generally admitted. My reason for adducing the passage has simply been to prove from it the existence of a YĪ King in the time of Confucius. In the history of him by Sze-mâ K'ien it is stated that, in the closing years of his life, he became fond of the YĪ, and wrote various appendixes to it, that he read his copy of it so much that the leathern thongs (by which the tablets containing it were bound together) were thrice worn out, and that he said, 'Give me several years (more), and I should be master of the YĪ².' The ancient books on which Confucius had delighted

¹ Confucian Analects, VII, xvi.

² The Historical Records; Life of Confucius, p. 12.

to discourse with his disciples were those of History, Poetry, and Rites and Ceremonies¹; but ere he passed away from among them, his attention was much occupied also by the YĪ as a monument of antiquity, which in the prime of his days he had too much neglected.

2. *K'zien* says that Confucius wrote various appendixes to the YĪ, specifying all but two of the treatises, which go

The YĪ is now made up of the Text which Confucius saw and the Appendixes ascribed to him.

by the name of 'the Ten Appendixes,' and are, with hardly a dissentient voice, attributed to the sage. They are published along with the older Text, which is based on still older lineal figures, and are received by most Chinese readers, as well as by foreign Chinese scholars,

as an integral portion of the YĪ King. The two portions should, however, be carefully distinguished. I will speak of them as the Text and the Appendixes.

3. The YĪ happily escaped the fires of *Shin*, which proved so disastrous to most of the ancient literature of China in

The YĪ escaped the fires of *Shin*.

B.C. 213. In the memorial which the premier *Lî Sze* addressed to his sovereign, advising that the old books should be consigned to

the flames, an exception was made of those which treated of 'medicine, divination, and husbandry².' The YĪ was held to be a book of divination, and so was preserved.

In the catalogue of works in the imperial library, prepared by *Liû Hin* about the beginning of our era, there is an enumeration of those on the YĪ and its Appendixes,—the books of thirteen different authors or schools, comprehended in 294 portions of larger or smaller dimensions³. I need not follow the history and study of the YĪ into the line of the centuries since the time of *Liû Hin*. The imperial *Khang-hsi* edition of it, which appeared in 1715, contains quotations from the commentaries of 218 scholars, covering, more or less closely, the time from the second century B.C. to our seventeenth century. I may venture to say that

¹ *Analects*, VII, xvii.

² *Legge's Chinese Classics*, I, prolegomena, pp. 6-9.

³ *Books of the Earlier Han; History of Literature*, pp. 1, 2.

those 218 are hardly a tenth of the men who have tried to interpret the remarkable book, and solve the many problems to which it gives rise.

4. It may be assumed then that the Yî King, properly so called, existed before Confucius, and has come down to us as correctly as any other of the ancient books of China; and it might also be said, as correctly as any of the old

The Yî before
Confucius,
and when it
was made.

monuments of Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin literature. The question arises of how far before Confucius we can trace its existence. Of course an inquiry into this point will not include the portions or appendixes attributed to the sage himself. Attention will be called to them by and by, when I shall consider how far we are entitled, or whether we are at all entitled, to ascribe them to him. I do not doubt, however, that they belong to what may be called the Confucian period, and were produced some time after his death, probably between B.C. 450 and 350. By whomsoever they were written, they may be legitimately employed in illustration of what were the prevailing views in that age on various points connected with the Yî. Indeed, but for the guidance and hints derived from them as to the meaning of the text, and the relation between its statements and the linear figures, there would be great difficulty in making out any consistent interpretation of it.

- (i) The earliest mention of the classic is found in the Official Book of the K'âu dynasty, where it is said that, among the duties of 'the Grand Diviner,' 'he had charge of the rules for the three Yî (systems of Changes), called the Lien-shan, the Kwei-jhang, and the Yî of K'âu; that in each of them the regular (or primary) lineal figures were 8, which were multiplied, in each, till they amounted to 64.' The date of the Official Book has not been exactly ascertained. The above passage can hardly be reconciled with the opinion of the majority of Chinese critics that it was the work of the duke of K'âu, the consolidator and legislator of the dynasty so called; but I think there must have been the groundwork of it at a very early date. When that was composed or compiled, there

The Yî men-
tioned in the
Official Book
of K'âu.

was existing, among the archives of the kingdom, under the charge of a high officer, 'the YĪ of K'âu,'—what constitutes the Text of the present YĪ; the Text, that is, as distinguished from the Appendixes. There were two other YĪ, known as the Lien-shan and the Kwei-ḡhang. It would be a waste of time to try to discover the meaning of these designations. They are found in this and another passage of the Official Book; and nowhere else. Not a single trace of what they denoted remains, while we possess 'the YĪ of K'âu' complete¹.

(ii) In the Supplement of 30 K'üü-ming to 'the Spring and Autumn,' there is abundant evidence that divination by the YĪ was frequent, throughout the states of China, before the time of Con-

The YĪ men-
tioned in the
30 K'hwān.

fucius. There are at least eight narratives of such a practice, between the years B.C. 672 and 564, before he was born; and five times during his life-time the divining stalks and the book were had recourse to on occasions with which he had nothing to do. In all these cases the text of the YĪ, as we have it now, is freely quoted. The 'Spring and Autumn' commences in B.C. 722. If it extended back to the rise of the K'âu dynasty, we should, no doubt, find

¹ See the K'âu Kwan (or Lî), Book XXIV, parr. 3, 4, and 27. Biot (Le Tcheou Lî, vol. ii, pp. 70, 71) translates the former two paragraphs thus:— 'Il (Le Grand Augure) est préposé aux trois méthodes pour les changements (des lignes divinatoires). La première est appelée Liaison des montagnes (Lien-shan); la seconde, Retour et Conservation (Kwei-ḡhang); la troisième, Changements des K'âu. Pour toutes il y a huit lignes symboliques sacrées, et soixante-quatre combinaisons de ces lignes.'

Some tell us that by Lien-shan was intended Fû-hsi, and by Kwei-ḡhang Hwang Tî; others, that the former was the YĪ of the Hsiâ dynasty, and the latter that of Shang or Yin. A third set will have it that Lien-shan was a designation of Shān Nāng, between Fû-hsi and Hwang Tî. I should say myself, as many Chinese critics do say, that Lien-shan was an arrangement of the lineal symbols in which the first figure was the present 52nd hexagram, K'ân , consisting of the trigram representing mountains doubled; and that Kwei-ḡhang was an arrangement where the first figure was the present 2nd hexagram, K'hwān , consisting of the trigram representing the earth doubled,—with reference to the disappearance and safe keeping of plants in the bosom of the earth in winter. All this, however, is only conjecture.

accounts of divination by the *Yi* interspersed over the long intervening period. For centuries before Confucius appeared on the stage of his country, the *Yi* was well known among the various feudal states, which then constituted the Middle Kingdom¹.

(iii) We may now look into one of the Appendixes for its testimony to the age and authorship of the Text. The third Appendix is the longest, and the most important². In the 49th paragraph of the second Section of it it is said:—

‘Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the *Yi* began to flourish? Was not he who made it (or were not they who made it) familiar with anxiety and calamity?’

The highest antiquity commences, according to Chinese writers, with *Fû-hsi*, B.C. 3322; and the lowest with Confucius in the middle of the sixth century B.C. Between these is the period of middle antiquity, extending a comparatively short time, from the rise of the *Kâu* dynasty, towards the close of the twelfth century B.C., to the Confucian era. According to this paragraph it was in this period that our *Yi* was made.

The 69th paragraph is still more definite in its testimony:—

‘Was it not in the last age of the Yin (dynasty), when the virtue of *Kâu* had reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king *Wăn* and (the tyrant) *Kâu*, that (the study of) the *Yi* began to flourish? On this account the explanations (in the book) express (a feeling of) anxious apprehension, (and teach) how peril may be turned into security, and easy carelessness is sure to meet with overthrow.’

The dynasty of Yin was superseded by that of *Kâu* in B.C. 1122. The founder of *Kâu* was he whom we call king *Wăn*, though he himself never occupied the throne. The

¹ See in the 30 *Khwan*, under the 22nd year of duke *Kwang* (B.C. 672); the 1st year of *Min* (661); and in his 2nd year (660); twice in the 15th year of *Hsi* (645); his 25th year (635); the 12th year of *Hsüan* (597); the 16th year of *Kháng* (575); the 9th year of *Hsiang* (564); his 25th year (548); the 5th year of *Kháo* (537); his 7th year (535); his 12th year (530); and the 9th year of *Âi* (486).

² That is, the third as it appears farther on in this volume in two Sections. With the Chinese critics it forms the fifth and sixth Appendixes, or ‘Wings,’ as they are termed.

troubles between him and the last sovereign of Yin reached their height in B. C. 1143, when the tyrant threw him into prison in a place called Yû-li, identified as having been in the present district of Thang-yin, department of K'ang-teh, province of Ho-nan. Wăn was not kept long in confinement. His friends succeeded in appeasing the jealousy of his enemy, and securing his liberation in the following year. It follows that the Yî, so far as we owe it to king Wăn, was made in the year B.C. 1143 or 1142, or perhaps that it was begun in the former year and finished in the latter¹.

But the part which is thus ascribed to king Wăn is only a small portion of the Yî. A larger share is attributed to his son Tan, known as the duke of K'âu, and in it we have allusions to king Wû, who succeeded his father Wăn, and was really the first sovereign of the dynasty of K'âu². There are passages, moreover, which must be understood of events in the early years of the next reign. But the duke of K'âu died in the year B. C. 1105, the 11th of king K'iang. A few years then before that time, in the last decade of the twelfth century B.C., the Yî King, as it has come down to us, was complete³.

5. We have thus traced the text of the Yî to its authors, the famous king Wăn in the year 1143 B. C., and his equally famous son, the duke of K'âu, in between thirty and forty years later. It can thus boast of a great antiquity; but a general opinion has prevailed that it belonged to a period still more distant. Only two translations of it have been made by European scholars. The first was executed by Regis and other Roman Catholic missionaries in the beginning of last century, though it was given to the public only

The Yî is not
the most
ancient of
the Chinese
books.

¹ Sze-mâ K'ien (History of the K'âu Dynasty, p. 3) relates that, 'when he was confined in Yû-li, Wăn increased the 8 trigrams to 64 hexagrams.'

² E.g., hexagrams XVII, 1. 6; XLVI, 1. 4. Tan's authorship of the symbolism is recognised in the 30 K'awan, B. C. 540.

³ P. Regis (vol. ii, p. 379) says: 'Vel nihil vel parum errabit qui dicet opus Yî King fuisse perfectum anno quinto K'iang Wang, seu anno 1109 aut non ultra annum 1108, ante aerae Christianae initium; quod satis in rebus non omnino certis.' But the fifth year of king K'iang was B. C. 1111.

in 1834 by the late Jules Mohl, with a title commencing 'Y-King, antiquissimus Sinarum liber¹.' The language of the other European translator of it, the Rev. Canon McClatchie of Shanghâi, whose work appeared in 1876, is still more decided. The first sentence of his Introduction contains two very serious misstatements, but I have at present to do only with the former of them;—that 'the Yî King is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar veneration, . . . as being the most ancient of their classical writings.' The Shû is the oldest of the Chinese classics, and contains documents more than a thousand years earlier than king Wăn. Several pieces of the Shih King are also older than anything in the Yî; to which there can thus be assigned only the third place in point of age among the monuments of Chinese literature. Existing, however, about 3000 years ago, it cannot be called modern. Unless it be the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, an equal antiquity cannot be claimed for any portion of our Sacred Scriptures.

It will be well to observe here also how much older the
 The Text Text is than the Appendixes. Supposing
 much older them to be the work of Confucius, though
 than the it will appear by and by that this assumption
 Appendixes.

¹ It has been suggested that 'Antiquissimus Sinarum liber' may mean only 'A very ancient book of the Chinese,' but the first sentence of the Preface to the work commences:—'Inter omnes constat librorum Sinicorum, quos classicos vocant, primum et antiquissimum esse Y-King.'

At the end of M. De Guignes' edition of P. Gaubil's translation of the Shû, there is a notice of the Yî King sent in 1738 to the Cardinals of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide by M. Claude Visdelou, Bishop of Claudiopolis. M. De Guignes says himself, 'L' Y-King est le premier des Livres Canoniques des Chinois.' But P. Visdelou writes more guardedly and correctly:—'Pour son ancienneté, s'il en faut croire les Annales des Chinois, il a été commencé quarante-six siècles avant celui-ci. Si cela est vrai, comme toute la nation l'avoue unanimement, on peut à juste titre l'appeler le plus ancien des livres.' But he adds, 'Ce n'étoit pas proprement un livre, ni quelque chose d'approchant; c'étoit une énigme très obscure, et plus difficile cent fois à expliquer que celle du sphinx.'

P. Couplet expresses himself much to the same effect in the prolegomena (p. xviii) to the work called 'Confucius Sinarum Philosophus,' published at Paris in 1687 by himself and three other fathers of the Society of Jesus (Intorcetta, Herdritch, and Rougemont). Both they and P. Visdelou give an example of a portion of the text and its interpretation, having singularly selected the same hexagram,—the 15th, on Humility.

can be received as only partially correct, if indeed it be received at all, the sage could not have entered on their composition earlier than B.C. 483, 660 years later than the portion of the text that came from king Wăn, and nearly 630 later than what we owe to the duke of K'âu. But during that long period of between six and seven centuries changes may have arisen in the views taken by thinking men of the method and manner of the Yî; and I cannot accept the Text and the Appendixes as forming one work in any proper sense of the term. Nothing has prevented the full understanding of both, so far as parts of the latter can be understood, so much as the blending of them together, which originated with Pi Kih of the first Han dynasty. The common editions of the book have five of the Appendixes (as they are ordinarily reckoned) broken up and printed side by side with the Text; and the confusion thence arising has made it difficult, through the intermixture of incongruous ideas, for foreign students to lay hold of the meaning.

6. Native scholars have of course been well aware of the difference in time between the appearance of the Text and the Appendixes; and in the Khang-hsi edition of them the two are printed separately. Labours of native scholars on the Yî. Only now and then, however, has any critic ventured to doubt that the two parts formed one homogeneous whole, or that all the appendixes were from the style or pencil of Confucius. Hundreds of them have brought a wonderful and consistent meaning out of the Text; but to find in it or in the Appendixes what is unreasonable, or any inconsistency between them, would be to impeach the infallibility of Confucius, and stamp on themselves the brand of heterodoxy.

At the same time it is an unfair description of what they have accomplished to say, as has An imperfect description of their labours. been done lately, that since the fires of Shih, 'the foremost scholars of each generation have edited the Text (meaning both the Text and the Appendixes), and heaped commentary after commentary upon it; and one and all have arrived at the somewhat

lame conclusion that its full significance is past finding out¹. A multitude of the native commentaries are of the highest value, and have left little to be done for the elucidation of the Text; and if they say that a passage in an Appendix is 'unfathomable' or 'incalculable,' it is because their authors shrink from allowing, even to themselves, that the ancient sages intermeddled, and intermeddled unwisely, with things too high for them.

When the same writer who thus speaks of native scholars goes on to say that 'in the same way a host of European Chinese scholars have made translations of the Yî, and have, if possible, made confusion worse confounded,' he only shows how imperfectly he had made himself acquainted with the subject. 'The host of European Chinese scholars who have made translations of the Yî' amount to two,—the same two mentioned by me above on pp. 6, 7. The translation of Regis and his coadjutors² is indeed capable of improvement; but their work as a whole, and especially the prolegomena, dissertations, and notes, supply a mass of correct and valuable information. They had nearly succeeded in unravelling the confusion, and solving the enigma of the Yî.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE TEXT. THE LINEAL FIGURES AND THE EXPLANATION OF THEM.

1. Having described the Yî King as consisting of a text in explanation of certain lineal figures, and of appendixes to it, and having traced the composition of the former to

¹ See a communication on certain new views about the Yî in the 'Times' of April 20, 1880; reprinted in Trübner's American, European, and Oriental Literary Record, New Series, vol. i, pp. 125-127.

² Regis' coadjutors in the work were the Fathers Joseph de Mailla, who turned the Chinese into Latin word for word, and compared the result with the Mantâu version of the Yî; and Peter du Tartre, whose principal business was to supply the historical illustrations. Regis himself revised all their work and enlarged it, adding his own dissertations and notes. See Prospectus Operis, immediately after M. Mohl's Preface.

its authors in the twelfth century B.C., and that of the latter to between six and seven centuries later at least, I proceed to give an account of what we find in the Text, and how it is deduced from the figures.

The subject-matter of the Text may be briefly represented as consisting of sixty-four short essays, enigmatically and symbolically expressed, on important themes, mostly of a moral, social, and political character, and based on the same number of lineal figures, each made up of six lines, some of which are whole and the others divided.

The first two and the last two may serve for the present as a specimen of those figures:  ; and  .

 ¹. The Text says nothing about their origin and formation. There they are. King Wăn takes them up, one after another, in the order that suits himself, determined, evidently, by the contrast in the lines of each successive pair of hexagrams, and gives their significance, as a whole, with some indication, perhaps, of the action to be taken in the circumstances which he supposes them to symbolise, and whether that action will be lucky or unlucky. Then the duke of K'âu, beginning with the first or bottom line, expresses, by means of a symbolical or emblematical illustration, the significance of each line, with a similar indication of the good or bad fortune of action taken in connexion with it. The king's interpretation of the whole hexagram will be found to be in harmony with the combined significance of the six lines as interpreted by his son.

Both of them, no doubt, were familiar with the practice of divination which had prevailed in China for more than a thousand years, and would copy closely its methods and style. They were not divining themselves, but their words became oracles to subsequent ages, when men divined by the hexagrams, and sought by means of what was said under them to ascertain how it would be with them in the

¹ See Plate I at the end of the Introduction.

future, and learn whether they should persevere in or withdraw from the courses they were intending to pursue.

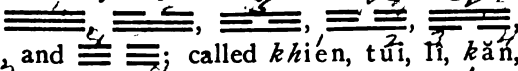
2. I will give an instance of the lessons which the lineal figures are made to teach, but before I do so, it will be

The origin of
the lineal
figures.

necessary to relate what is said of their origin, and of the rules observed in studying and interpreting them. For information on these points we must have recourse to the Appendixes; and in reply to the question by whom and in what way the figures were formed, the third, of which we made use in the last chapter, supplies us with three different answers.

(i) The 11th paragraph of Section ii says:—

‘Anciently, when the rule of all under heaven was in the hands of Páo-hsi, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky; and looking down, he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He marked the ornamental appearances on birds and beasts, and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight lineal figures of three lines each, to exhibit fully the spirit-like and intelligent operations (in nature), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.’

Páo-hsi is another name for Fû-hsi, the most ancient personage who is mentioned with any definiteness in Chinese history, while much that is fabulous is current about him. His place in chronology begins in B.C. 3322, 5203 years ago. He appears in this paragraph as the deviser of the eight kwâ or trigrams. The processes by which he was led to form them, and the purposes which he intended them to serve, are described, but in vague and general terms that do not satisfy our curiosity. The eight figures, however, were ; called *khiên*, *túi*, *lí*, *kǎn*, *sùn*, *khán*, *kǎn*, and *khwán*; and representing heaven or the sky; water, especially a collection of water as in a marsh or lake; fire, the sun, lightning; thunder; wind and wood; water, especially as in rain, the clouds, springs, streams in defiles, and the moon; a hill or mountain; and the earth. To each of these figures is assigned a certain attribute or quality which should be suggested by the

natural object it symbolises; but on those attributes we need not enter at present.

(ii) The 70th and 71st paragraphs of Section i give another account of the origin of the trigrams:—

‘In (the system of) the YĪ there is the Great Extreme, which produced the two $\hat{I}$ (Elementary Forms). These two Forms produced the four Hsiang (Emblematic Symbols); which again produced the eight Kwâ (or Trigrams). The eight Kwâ served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination there ensued the (prosecution of the) great business of life.’

The two elementary Forms, the four emblematic Symbols, and the eight Trigrams can all be exhibited with what may be deemed certainty. A whole line (—) and a divided (— —) were the two $\hat{I}$. These two lines placed over themselves, and each of them over the other, formed the four Hsiang: $\equiv$; $\equiv$; $\equiv$; $\equiv$. The same two lines placed successively over these Hsiang, formed the eight Kwâ, exhibited above.

Who will undertake to say what is meant by ‘the Great Extreme’ which produced the two elementary Forms? Nowhere else does the name occur in the old Confucian literature. I have no doubt myself that it found its way into this Appendix in the fifth (? or fourth) century B.C. from a Tâoist source. Kû Hsi, in his ‘Lessons on the YĪ for the Young,’ gives for it the figure of a circle,—thus, $\bigcirc$; observing that he does so from the philosopher Kâu (A.D. 1017–1073)¹, and cautioning his readers against thinking that such a representation came from Fû-hsi himself. To me the circular symbol appears very unsuccessful. ‘The Great Extreme,’ it is said, ‘divided and produced two lines,—a whole line and a divided line.’ But I do not understand how this could be. Suppose it possible for the circle to unroll itself;

¹ Kâu-ze, called Kâu Tun-f and Kâu Mâu-shuh, and, still more commonly, from the rivulet near which was his favourite residence, Kâu Lien-khî. Mayers (Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 23) says:—‘He held various offices of state, and was for many years at the head of a galaxy of scholars who sought for instruction in matters of philosophy and research:—second only to Kû Hsi in literary repute.’

—we shall have one long line, ————. If this divide itself, we have two whole lines; and another division of one of them is necessary to give us the whole and the divided lines of the lineal figures. The attempt to fashion the Great Extreme as a circle must be pronounced a failure.

But when we start from the two lines as bases, the formation of all the diagrams by a repetition of the process indicated above is easy. The addition to each of the trigrams of each of the two fundamental lines produces 16 figures of four lines; dealt with in the same way, these produce 32 figures of five lines; and a similar operation with these produces the 64 hexagrams, each of which forms the subject of an essay in the text of the Yî. The lines increase in an arithmetical progression whose common difference is 1, and the figures in a geometrical progression whose common ratio is 2. This is all the mystery in the formation of the lineal figures; this, I believe, was the process by which they were first formed; and it is hardly necessary to imagine them to have come from a sage like Fû-hsî. The endowments of an ordinary man were sufficient for such a work. It was possible even to shorten the operation by proceeding at once from the trigrams to the hexagrams, according to what we find in Section i, paragraph 2:—

‘A strong and a weak line were manipulated together (till there were the 8 trigrams), and those 8 trigrams were added each to itself and to all the others (till the 64 hexagrams were formed).’

It is a moot question who first multiplied the figures from the trigrams universally ascribed to Fû-hsî to the 64 hexagrams of the Yî. The more common view is that it was king Wăn; but K'ü Hsî, when he was questioned on the subject, rather inclined to hold that Fû-hsî had multiplied them himself, but declined to say whether he thought that their names were as old as the figures themselves, or only dated from the twelfth century B.C.¹ I will not venture to controvert

¹ K'ü-jze K'wan shû, or Digest of Works of K'ü-jze, chap. 26 (the first chapter on the Yî), art. 16.

his opinion about the multiplication of the figures, but I must think that the names, as we have them now, were from king Wăn.

✓ No Chinese writer has tried to explain why the framers stopped with the 64 hexagrams, instead of going on to
 Why the 128 figures of 7 lines, 256 of 8, 512 of 9, and
 figures were not continued so on indefinitely. No reason can be given
 after 64. for it, but the cumbrousness of the result, and
 the impossibility of dealing, after the manner of king Wăn, with such a mass of figures.

(iii) The 73rd paragraph of Section i, with but one paragraph between it and the two others which we have been considering, gives what may be considered a third account of the origin of the lineal figures :—

‘Heaven produced the spirit-like things (the tortoise and the divining plant), and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by so many changes and transformations, and the sages imitated them (by means of the YĪ). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures, from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the scheme or map, and the Lo gave forth the writing, of (both of) which the sages took advantage.’

The words with which we have at present to do are—
 ‘The Ho (that is, the Yellow River) gave forth the Map.’ This map, according to tradition and popular belief, contained a scheme which served as a model to Fû-hsî in making his 8 trigrams. Apart from this passage in the YĪ King, we know that Confucius believed in such a map, or spoke at least as if he did¹. In the ‘Record of Rites’ it is said that ‘the map was borne by a horse²;’ and the thing, whatever it was, is mentioned in the Shû as still preserved at court, among other curiosities, in B.C. 1079³. The story of it, as now current, is this, that ‘a dragon-horse’ issued from the Yellow River, bearing on its back an arrangement of marks, from which Fû-hsî got the idea of the trigrams.

¹ Analects IX, viii.

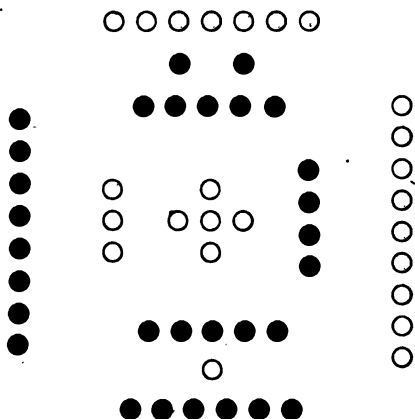
² Lĭ K’î VIII, iv, 16.

³ Shû V, xxii, 19.

All this is so evidently fabulous that it seems a waste of time to enter into any details about it. My reason for doing so is a wish to take advantage of the map in giving such a statement of the rules observed in interpreting the figures as is necessary in this Introduction.

The map that was preserved, it has been seen, in the eleventh century B.C., afterwards perished, and though there

The form of was much speculation about its form from the the River Map. time that the restoration of the ancient classics was undertaken in the Han dynasty, the first delineation of it given to the public was in the reign of Hui Jung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125)¹. The most approved scheme of it is the following:—



It will be observed that the markings in this scheme are small circles, pretty nearly equally divided into dark and light. All of them whose numbers are odd are light circles,—1, 3, 5, 7, 9; and all of them whose numbers are even are dark,—2, 4, 6, 8, 10. This is given as the origin of what is said in paragraphs 49 and 50 of Section i about the numbers of heaven and earth. The difference in the colour of the circles occasioned the distinction of them and of what they

¹ See Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, pp. 56, 57.

signify into Yin and Yang, the dark and the bright, the moon-like and the sun-like; for the sun is called the Great Brightness (Thái Yang), and the moon the Great Obscurity (Thái Yin). I shall have more to say in the next chapter on the application of these names. Fû-hsî in making the trigrams, and king Wăn, if it was he who first multiplied them to the 64 hexagrams, found it convenient to use lines instead of the circles:—the whole line (——) for the bright circle (○), and the divided line (— —) for the dark (●). The first, the third, and the fifth lines in a hexagram, if they are 'correct' as it is called, should all be whole, and the second, fourth, and sixth lines should all be divided. Yang lines are strong (or hard), and Yin lines are weak (or soft). The former indicate vigour and authority; the latter, feebleness and submission. It is the part of the former to command; of the latter to obey.

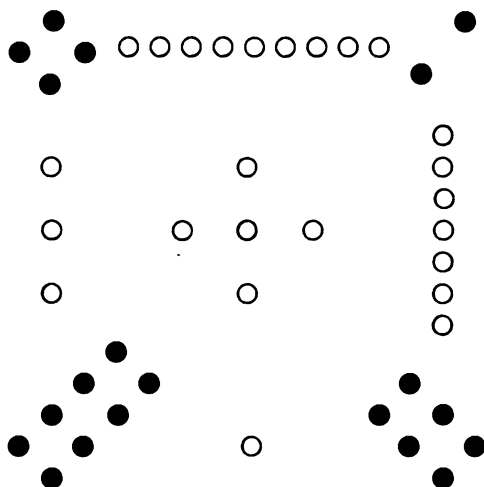
The lines, moreover, in the two trigrams that make up the hexagrams, and characterise the subjects which they represent, are related to one another by their position, and have their significance modified accordingly. The first line and the fourth, the second and the fifth, the third and the sixth are all correlates; and to make the correlation perfect the two members of it should be lines of different qualities, one whole and the other divided. And, finally, the middle lines of the trigrams, the second and fifth, that is, of the hexagrams, have a peculiar value and force. If we have a whole line (——) in the fifth place, and a divided line (— —) in the second, or vice versâ, the correlation is complete. Let the subject of the fifth be the sovereign or a commander-in-chief, according to the name and meaning of the hexagram, then the subject of the second will be an able minister or a skilful officer, and the result of their mutual action will be most beneficial and successful. It is specially important to have a clear idea of the name of the hexagram, and of the subject or state which it is intended to denote. The significance of all the lines comes thus to be of various application, and will differ in different hexagrams.

I have thus endeavoured to indicate how the lineal figures were formed, and the principal rules laid down for the interpretation of them. The details are wearying, but my position is like that of one who is called on to explain an important monument of architecture, very bizarre in its conception and execution. A plainer, simpler structure might have answered the purpose better, but the architect had his reasons for the plan and style which he adopted. If the result of his labours be worth expounding, we must not grudge the study necessary to detect his processes of thought, nor the effort and time required to bring the minds of others into sympathy with his.

My own opinion, as I have intimated, is, that the second account of the origin of the trigrams and hexagrams is the true one. However the idea of the whole and divided lines arose in the mind of the first framer, we must start from them; and then, manipulating them in the manner described, we arrive, very easily, at all the lineal figures, and might proceed to multiply them to billions. We cannot tell who devised the third account of their formation from the map or scheme on the dragon-horse of the Yellow River¹. Its object, no doubt, was to impart a supernatural character to the trigrams and produce a religious veneration for them. It may be doubted whether the scheme as it is now fashioned be the correct one,—such as it was in the *Kâu* dynasty. The paragraph where it is mentioned, goes on to say—‘The Lo produced the writing.’ This writing was a scheme of the same character as the Ho map, but on the back of a tortoise, which emerged from the river Lo, and showed it to the Great Yü, when he was engaged in his celebrated work of draining off the waters of the flood, as related in the *Shû*. To the hero sage it suggested ‘the Great Plan,’ an interesting but mystical document of the same classic, ‘a Treatise,’ according to Gaubil, ‘of Physics, Astrology, Divination, Morals, Politics, and Religion,’ the great model for the government of the

¹ Certainly it was not Confucius. See on the authorship of the Appendixes, and especially of Appendix III, in the next chapter.

kingdom. The accepted representation of this writing is the following :—



But substituting numbers for the number of marks, we have

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

This is nothing but the arithmetical puzzle, in which the numbers from 1 to 9 are arranged so as to make 15 in whatever way we add them¹. If we had the original form of 'the River Map,' we should probably find it a numerical trifle, not more difficult, not more supernatural, than this magic square.

3. Let us return to the YĪ of *K'âu*, which, as I have said above on p. 10, contains, under each of the 64 hexagrams, a brief essay of a moral, social, or political character, symbolically expressed.

¹ For this dissection, which may also be called *reductio ad absurdum*, of the Lo writing, I was indebted first to P. Regis. See his *Y-King I*, p. 60. But *K'û Hsi* also has got it in the Appendix to his 'Lessons on the YĪ for the Young.'

To understand it, it will be necessary to keep in mind the circumstances in which king Wăn addressed himself to the study of the lineal figures. The kingdom, under the sovereigns of the Yin or Shang dynasty, was utterly disorganised and demoralised. A brother of the reigning king thus described its condition :—

State of the
country in
time of king
Wăn.

‘The house of Yin can no longer exercise rule over the land. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in a former age, but through mad addiction to drink we have destroyed the effects of his virtue. The people, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws. There is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The lesser people rise up and commit violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is sinking in ruin; its condition is like that of one crossing a large stream, who can find neither ford nor bank ¹.’

This miserable state of the nation was due very much to the character and tyranny of the monarch. When the son of Wăn took the field against him, he thus denounced him in ‘a Solemn Declaration’ addressed to all the states :—

The character
of the
monarch.

‘Shâu, the king of Shang, treats all virtue with contemptuous slight, and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in a (winter-)morning; he cut out the heart of the good man ². His power has been shown in killing and murdering. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He neglects the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. He has discontinued the offerings

¹ The Shû IV, xi, 1, 2.

² These were well-known instances of Shâu's wanton cruelty. Observing some people one winter's day wading through a stream, he ordered their legs to be cut through at the shank-bone, that he might see the marrow which could so endure the cold. ‘The good man’ was a relative of his own, called Pi-kan. Having enraged Shâu by the sternness of his rebukes, the tyrant ordered his heart to be cut out, that he might see the structure of a sage's heart.

in the ancestral temple. He makes (cruel) contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary ingenuity to please his wife¹.—God will no longer bear with him, but with a curse is sending down his ruin².

Such was the condition of the nation, such the character of the sovereign. Meanwhile in the west of the kingdom, The lords of Kâu; and especially king Wăn. in a part of what is now the province of Shensi, lay the principality of Kâu, the lords of which had long been distinguished for their ability and virtue. Its present chief, now known to us as king Wăn, was K'hang, who had succeeded to his father in B.C. 1185. He was not only lord of Kâu, but had come to be a sort of viceroy over a great part of the kingdom. Equally distinguished in peace and war, a model of all that was good and attractive, he conducted himself with remarkable wisdom and self-restraint. Princes and people would have rejoiced to follow him to attack the tyrant, but he shrank from exposing himself to the charge of being disloyal. At last the jealous suspicion of Shâu was aroused. Wăn, as has been already stated, was thrown into prison in B.C. 1143, and the order for his death might arrive at any moment. Then it was that he occupied himself with the lineal figures.

The use of those figures—of the trigrams at least—had long been practised for the purposes of divination. The employment of the divining stalks is indicated in 'the Counsels of the Great Yü,' one of the earliest Books of the Shû³, and a whole section in 'the Great Plan,' also a Book of the Shû, and referred to the times of the Hsiâ dynasty, describes how 'doubts were to be examined' by means of the tortoise-shell and the stalks⁴. Wăn could not but be familiar with divination as an institution of his

¹ We do not know what these contrivances were. But to please his wife, the infamous Tâ-kî, Shâu had made 'the Heater' and 'the Roaster,' two instruments of torture. The latter was a copper pillar laid above a pit of burning charcoal, and made slippery; culprits were forced to walk along it.

² The Shû V, i, Sect. iii, 2, 3.

³ Shû II, ii, 18.

⁴ Shû V, iv, 20-31.

country¹. Possibly it occurred to him that nothing was more likely to lull the suspicions of his dangerous enemy than the study of the figures; and if his keepers took notice of what he was doing, they would smile at his lines, and the sentences which he appended to them.

King Wăn in prison, occupied with the lineal figures.

I like to think of the lord of K'âu, when incarcerated in Yü-li, with the 64 figures arranged before him. Each hexagram assumed a mystic meaning, and glowed with a deep significance. He made it tell him of the qualities of various objects of nature, or of the principles of human society, or of the condition, actual and possible, of the kingdom. He named the figures, each by a term descriptive of the idea with which he had connected it in his mind, and then he proceeded to set that idea forth, now with a note of exhortation, now with a note of warning. It was an attempt to restrict the follies of divination within the bounds of reason. The last but one of the Appendixes bears the name of 'Sequence of the Diagrams.' I shall have to speak of it more at length in the next chapter. I only remark at present that it deals, feebly indeed, with the names of the hexagrams in harmony with what I have said about them, and tries to account for the order in which they follow one another. It does all this, not critically as if it needed to be established, but in the way of expository statement, relating that about which there was no doubt in the mind of the author.

But all the work of prince K'ang or king Wăn in the Yi thus amounts to no more than 64 short paragraphs.

Work of the duke of K'âu on the separate lines.

We do not know what led his son Tan to enter into his work and complete it as he did. Tan was a patriot, a hero, a legislator, and a philosopher. Perhaps he took the lineal figures in hand as a tribute of filial duty. What had been done for the whole hexagram he would do for each line, and make it clear that all the six lines 'bent one way their precious influence,' and blended their rays in the globe of light which his father had made each figure give forth.

¹ In the Book of Poetry we have Wăn's grandfather (Than-fü, III, i, ode 3. 3) divining, and his son (king Wü, III, i, ode 10. 7) doing the same.

But his method strikes us as singular. Each line seemed to become living, and suggested some phenomenon in nature or some case of human experience, from which the wisdom or folly, the luckiness or unluckiness, indicated by it could be inferred. It cannot be said that the duke carried out his plan in a way likely to interest any one but a hsien shǎng who is a votary of divination, and admires the style of its oracles. According to our notions, a framer of emblems should be a good deal of a poet, but those of the Yĭ only make us think of a dryasdust. Out of more than 350, the greater number are only grotesque. We do not recover from the feeling of disappointment till we remember that both father and son had to write 'according to the trick,' after the manner of diviners, as if this lineal augury had been their profession.

4. At length I come to illustrate what I have said on the subject-matter of the Yĭ by an example. It shall be the

The seventh
hexagram.

treatment of the seventh hexagram (䷎),

which king Wǎn named Sze, meaning Hosts.

The character is also explained as meaning 'multitudes;' and in fact, in a feudal kingdom, the multitudes of the people were all liable to become its army, when occasion required, and the 'host' and the 'population' might be interchangeable terms. As Froude expresses it in the introductory chapter to his History of England, 'Every man was regimented somewhere.'

The hexagram Sze is composed of the two trigrams Khan (䷁) and Khwǎn (䷊), exhibiting waters collected on the earth; and in other symbolisms besides that of the Yĭ, waters indicate assembled multitudes of men. The waters on which the mystical Babylon sits in the Apocalypse are explained as 'peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues.' I do not positively affirm that it was by this interpretation of the trigrams that king Wǎn saw in ䷎ the feudal hosts of his country collected, for neither from him nor his son do we learn, by their direct affirmation, that they had any acquaintance with the trigrams of Fû-hsî. The name which he gave

the figure shows, however, that he saw in it the feudal hosts in the field. How shall their expedition be conducted that it may come to a successful issue?

Looking again at the figure, we see that it is made up of five divided lines, and of one undivided. The undivided line occupies the central place in the lower trigram,—the most important place, next to the fifth, in the whole hexagram. It will represent, in the language of the commentators, 'the lord of the whole figure;' and the parties represented by the other lines may be expected to be of one mind with him or obedient to him. He must be the leader of the hosts. If he were on high, in the fifth place, he would be the sovereign of the kingdom. This is what king Wăn says:—

'Sze indicates how (in the case which it supposes), with firmness and correctness, and (a leader of) age and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.'

This is a good auspice. Let us see how the duke of Kâu expands it.

He says:—

'The first line, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If those (rules) be not good, there will be evil.'

We are not told what the rules for a military expedition were. Some commentators understand them of the reasons justifying the movement,—that it should be to repress and punish disorder and rebellion. Others, with more likelihood, take them to be the discipline or rules laid down to be observed by the troops. The line is divided, a weak line in a strong place, 'not correct:' this justifies the caution given in the duke's second sentence.

The Text goes on:—

'The second line, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the hosts. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him his charge.'

This does not need any amplification. The duke saw in the strong line the symbol of the leader, who enjoyed

the full confidence of his sovereign, and whose authority admitted of no opposition.

On the third line it is said :—

‘The third line, divided, shows how the hosts may possibly have many commanders :—(in such a case) there will be evil.’

The third place is odd, and should be occupied by a strong line, instead of which we have a weak line in it. But it is at the top of the lower trigram, and its subject should be in office or activity. There is suggested the idea that its subject has vaulted over the second line, and wishes to share in the command and honour of him who has been appointed sole commander-in-chief. The lesson in the previous line is made of none effect. We have a divided authority in the expedition. The result can only be evil.

On the fourth line the duke wrote :—

‘The fourth line, divided, shows the hosts in retreat : there is no error.’

The line is also weak, and victory cannot be expected ; but in the fourth place a weak line is in its correct position, and its subject will do what is right in his circumstances. He will retreat, and a retreat is for him the part of wisdom. When safely affected, where advance would be disastrous, a retreat is as glorious as victory.

Under the fifth line we read :—

‘The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields which it is advantageous to seize (and destroy). There will be no error. If the oldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.’

We have an intimation in this passage that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. The ‘birds in the fields’ are emblematic of plunderers and invaders, whom it will be well to destroy. The fifth line symbolises the chief authority, but here he is weak or humble, and has given all power and authority to execute judgment into the hands of the commander-in-chief, who is the oldest son ; and in the subject of line 3 we have an example of the younger men who would cause evil if allowed to share his power.

Finally, on the sixth line the duke wrote :—

‘The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges (to the men who have distinguished themselves), appointing some to be rulers of states, and others to be chiefs of clans. But small men should not be employed (in such positions).’

The action of the hexagram has been gone through. The expedition has been conducted to a successful end. The enemy has been subdued. His territories are at the disposal of the conqueror. The commander-in-chief has done his part well. His sovereign, ‘the great ruler,’ comes upon the scene, and rewards the officers who have been conspicuous by their bravery and skill, conferring on them rank and lands. But he is warned to have respect in doing so to their moral character. Small men, of ordinary or less than ordinary character, may be rewarded with riches and certain honours; but land and the welfare of its population should not be given into the hands of any who are not equal to the responsibility of such a trust.

The above is a specimen of what I have called the essays that make up the *Yi of Kâu*. So would king Wăn and his son have had all military expeditions conducted in their country 3000 years ago. It seems to me that the principles which they lay down might find a suitable application in the modern warfare of our civilised and Christian Europe. The inculcation of such lessons cannot have been without good effect in China during the long course of its history.

Sze is a fair specimen of its class. From the other 63 hexagrams lessons are deduced, for the most part equally good and striking. But why, it may be asked, why should they be conveyed to us by such an array of lineal figures, and in such a farrago of emblematic representations? It is not for the foreigner to insist on such a question. The Chinese have not valued them the less because of the antiquated dress in which their lessons are arrayed. Hundreds of their commentators have evolved and developed their meaning with a minuteness of detail and felicity of illustration that leave nothing to be desired. It is for foreign students of Chinese to gird up their loins for the

mastery of the book instead of talking about it as mysterious and all but inexplicable.

Granting, however, that the subject-matter of the YĪ is what has been described, very valuable for its practical wisdom, but not drawn up from an abysmal deep of philosophical speculation, it may still be urged, 'But in all this we find nothing to justify the name of the book as YĪ King, the "Classic of Changes." Is there not something more, higher or deeper, in the Appendixes that have been ascribed to Confucius, whose authority is certainly not inferior to that of king Wăn, or the duke of K'âu?' To reply fully to this question will require another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE APPENDIXES.

I. Two things have to be considered in this chapter:—the authorship of the Appendixes, and their contents. The Text is ascribed, without dissentient voice, to king Wăn, the founder of the K'âu dynasty, and his son Tan, better known as the duke of K'âu; and I have, in the preceding chapters, given reasons for accepting that view. As regards the portion ascribed to king Wăn, the evidence of the third of the Appendixes and the statement of Sze-mâ K'ien are as positive as could be desired; and as regards that ascribed to his son, there is no ground for calling in question the received tradition. The Appendixes have all been ascribed to Confucius, though not with entirely the same unanimity. Perhaps I have rather intimated my own opinion that this view cannot be sustained. I have pointed out that, even if it be true, between six and seven centuries elapsed after the Text of the classic appeared before the Appendixes were written; and I have said that, considering this fact, I cannot regard its two parts as a homogeneous whole, or as constituting one book in the ordinary acceptation of that name. Before entering on the question of the authorship, a very brief statement of the nature and number of the Appendixes will be advantageous.

Subjects of
the chapter.

✓ 2. They are reckoned to be ten, and called the Shih Yî or 'Ten Wings.' They are in reality not so many; but the

Number and
nature of the
Appendixes.

Text is divided into two sections, called the Upper and Lower, or, as we should say, the first and second, and then the commentary on each section is made to form a separate Appendix. I have found it more convenient in the translation which follows to adopt a somewhat different arrangement.

My first Appendix, in two sections, embraces the first and second 'wings,' consisting of remarks on the paragraphs by king Wăn in the two parts of the Text.

My second Appendix, in two sections, embraces the third and fourth 'wings,' consisting of remarks on the symbolism of the duke of Kâu in his explanation of the individual lines of the hexagrams.

My third Appendix, in two sections, embraces the fifth and sixth 'wings,' which bear the name in Chinese of 'Appended Sentences,' and constitute what is called by many 'the Great Treatise.' Each wing has been divided into twelve chapters of very different length, and I have followed this arrangement in my sections. This is the most important Appendix. It has less of the nature of commentary than the previous four wings. While explaining much of what is found in the Text, it diverges to the origin of the trigrams, the methods pursued in the practice of divination, the rise of many arts in the progress of civilisation, and other subjects.

My fourth Appendix, also in two sections, forms the seventh 'wing.' It is confined to an amplification of the expositions of the first and second hexagrams by king Wăn and his son, purporting to show how they may be interpreted of man's nature and doings.

My fifth Appendix is the eighth 'wing,' called 'Discourses on the Trigrams.' It treats of the different arrangement of these in respect of the seasons of the year and the cardinal points by Fû-hsi and king Wăn. It contains also one paragraph, which might seem to justify the view that there is a mythology in the Yî.

My sixth Appendix, in two sections, is the ninth 'wing,'—

'a Treatise on the Sequence of the Hexagrams,' intended to trace the connexion of meaning between them in the order in which they follow one another in the Text of king Wăn.

My seventh Appendix is the tenth 'wing,' an exhibition of the meaning of the 64 hexagrams, not taken in succession, but promiscuously and at random, as they approximate to or are opposed to one another in meaning.

3. Such are the Appendixes of the YĪ King. We have
The author-ship of the Appendixes. to enquire next who wrote them, and especially whether it be possible to accept the dictum that they were all written by Con-

fucius. If they have come down to us, bearing unmistakably the stamp of the mind and pencil of the great sage, we cannot but receive them with deference, not to say with reverence. If, on the contrary, it shall appear that with great part of them he had nothing to do, and that it is not certain that any part of them is from him, we shall feel entirely at liberty to exercise our own judgment on their contents, and weigh them in the balances of our reason.

None of the Appendixes, it is to be observed, bear the superscription of Confucius. There is not a
 / There is no superscription of Confucius on any of the Appendixes. single sentence in any one of them ascribing it to him. I gave in the first chapter, on p. 2, the earliest testimony that these treatises were produced by him. It is that of Sze-mâ *K'ien*, whose 'Historical Records' must have appeared about the year 100 before our era. He ascribes all the Appendixes, except the last two of them, which he does not mention at all, expressly to Confucius; and this, no doubt, was the common belief in the fourth century after the sage's death.

But when we look for ourselves into the third and fourth Appendixes—the fifth, sixth, and seventh 'wings'—both of which are specified by *K'ien*, we find it impossible to receive his statement about them. What is remarkable in both parts of the third is, the frequent occurrence of the formula, 'The Master said,' familiar to all readers of the Confucian Analects. Of course, the

The third and fourth Appendixes evidently not from Confucius.

sentence following that formula, or the paragraph covered by it, was, in the judgment of the writer, in the language of Confucius; but what shall we say of the portions preceding and following? If he were the author of them, he would not thus be distinguishing himself from himself. The formula occurs in the third Appendix at least twenty-three times. Where we first meet with it, *K'ü Hsi* has a note to the effect that 'the Appendixes having been all made by Confucius, he ought not to be himself introducing the formula, "The Master said;" and that it may be presumed, wherever it occurs, that it is a subsequent addition to the Master's text.' One instance will show the futility of this attempt to solve the difficulty. The tenth chapter of Section i commences with the 59th paragraph:—

'In the *Yi* there are four things characteristic of the way of the sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations, to guide us in speaking; on its changes, for the initiation of our movements; on its emblematic figures, for definite action, as in the construction of implements; and on its prognostications, for our practice of divination.'

This is followed by seven paragraphs expanding its statements, and we come to the last one of the chapter which says,—'The Master said, "Such is the import of the statement that there are four things in the *Yi*, characteristic of the way of the sages."' I cannot understand how it could be more fully conveyed to us that the compiler or compilers of this Appendix were distinct from the Master whose words they quoted, as it suited them, to confirm or illustrate their views.

In the fourth Appendix, again, we find a similar occurrence of the formula of quotation. It is much shorter than the third, and the phrase, 'The Master said,' does not come before us so frequently; but in the thirty-six paragraphs that compose the first section we meet with it six times.

Moreover, the first three paragraphs of this Appendix are older than its compilation, which could not have taken place till after the death of Confucius, seeing it professes to quote his words. They are taken in fact from a narrative of the 30 *Kwan*, as having been spoken by a marchioness-

dowager of Lû fourteen years before Confucius was born. To account for this is a difficult task for the orthodox critics among the Chinese literati. Kû Hsi attempts to perform it in this way:—that anciently there was the explanation given in these paragraphs of the four adjectives employed by king Wăn to give the significance of the first hexagram; that it was employed by Mû Kiang of Lû; and that Confucius also availed himself of it, while the chronicler used, as he does below, the phraseology of 'The Master said,' to distinguish the real words of the sage from such ancient sayings. But who was 'the chronicler?' No one can tell. The legitimate conclusion from Kû's criticism is, that so much of the Appendix as is preceded by 'The Master said' is from Confucius,—so much and no more. I am thus obliged to come to the conclusion that Confucius had nothing to do with the composition of these two Appendixes, and that they were not put together till after his death. I have no pleasure in differing from the all but unanimous opinion of Chinese critics and commentators. What is called 'the destructive criticism' has no attractions for me; but when an opinion depends on the argument adduced to support it, and that argument turns out to be of no weight, you can no longer set your seal to this, that the opinion is true. This is the position in which an examination of the internal evidence as to the authorship of the third and fourth Appendixes has placed me. Confucius could not be their author. This conclusion weakens the

Bearing of
the conclusion
as to the third
and fourth on
the other
Appendixes.

confidence which we have been accustomed to place in the view that 'the ten wings' were to be ascribed to him unhesitatingly. The view has broken down in the case of three of them;—possibly there is no sound reason

for holding the Confucian origin of the other seven.

I cannot henceforth maintain that origin save with bated breath. This, however, can be said for the first two Appendixes in my arrangement, that there is no evidence against their being Confucian like the fatal formula, 'The Master said.' So it is with a good part of my fifth Appendix; but the concluding paragraphs of it, as well as the seventh

Appendix, and the sixth also in a less degree, seem too trivial to be the production of the great man. As a translator of every sentence both in the Text and the Appendixes, I confess my sympathy with P. Regis, when he condenses the fifth Appendix into small space, holding that the 8th and following paragraphs are not worthy to be translated. 'They contain,' he says, 'nothing but the mere enumeration of things, some of which may be called Yang, and others Yin, without any other cause for so thinking being given. Such a method of procedure would be unbecoming any philosopher, and it cannot be denied to be unworthy of Confucius, the chief of philosophers¹.'

I could not characterise Confucius as 'the chief of philosophers,' though he was a great moral philosopher, and has been since he went out and in among his disciples, the best teacher of the Chinese nation. But from the first time my attention was directed to the Yi, I regretted that he had stooped to write the parts of the Appendixes now under remark. It is a relief not to be obliged to receive them as his. Even the better treatises have no other claim to that character besides the voice of tradition, first heard nearly 400 years after his death.

4. I return to the Appendixes, and will endeavour to give a brief, but sufficient, account of their contents.

The first bears in Chinese the name of Thwan *K'wan*, 'Treatise on the Thwan,' thwan being the name given

The first Appendix. to the paragraphs in which Wǎn expresses his sense of the significance of the hexagrams.

He does not tell us why he attaches to each hexagram such and such a meaning, nor why he predicates good fortune or bad fortune in connexion with it, for he speaks oracularly, after the manner of a diviner. It is the object of the writer of this Appendix to show the processes of king Wǎn's thoughts in these operations, how he looked at the component trigrams with their symbolic intimations, their attributes and qualities, and their linear composition, till he could not think otherwise of the figures than he did. All these considerations are sometimes taken into account,

¹ Regis' Y-King. vol. ii, p. 576.

and sometimes even one of them is deemed sufficient. In this way some technical characters appear which are not found in the Text. The lines, for instance, and even whole trigrams are distinguished as *kang* and *zâu*, 'hard or strong' and 'weak or soft.' The phrase *Kwei-shăn*, 'spirits,' or 'spiritual beings,' occurs, but has not its physical signification of 'the contracting and expanding energies or operations of nature.' The names *Yin* and *Yang*, mentioned above on pp. 15, 16, do not present themselves.

I delineated, on p. 11, the eight trigrams of *Fû-hsi*, and gave their names, with the natural objects they are said to represent, but did not mention the attributes, the virtues, ascribed to them. Let me submit here a table of them, with those qualities, and the points of the compass to which they are referred. I must do this because king *Wăn* made a change in the geographical arrangement of them, to which reference is made perhaps in his text and certainly in this treatise. He also is said to have formed an entirely different theory as to the things represented by the trigrams, which it will be well to give now, though it belongs properly to the fifth Appendix.

FÛ-HSI'S TRIGRAMS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
<i>k'ien</i>	<i>tui</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>k'ăn</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>kh'ân</i>	<i>k'ăn</i>	<i>khw'ăn</i>
Heaven, the sky.	Water, collected as in a marsh or lake.	Fire, as in lightning; the sun.	Thunder.	The wind; wood.	Water, as in rain, clouds, springs, streams, and defiles. The moon.	Hills, or mountains.	The earth.
S.	S. E.	E.	N. E.	S. W.	W.	N. W.	N.
Untiring strength; power.	Pleasure; complacent satisfaction.	Brightness; elegance.	Moving, exciting power.	Flexibility; penetration.	Peril; difficulty.	Resting; the act of arresting.	Capaciousness; submission.

The natural objects and phenomena thus represented are found up and down in the Appendixes. It is impossible to believe that the several objects were assigned to the several figures on any principles of science, for there is no indication of science in the matter: it is difficult even, to suppose that they were assigned on any comprehensive scheme of thought. Why are tui and khân used to represent water in different conditions, while khân, moreover, represents the moon? How is sun set apart to represent things so different as wind and wood? At a very early time the Chinese spoke of 'the five elements,' meaning water, fire, wood, metal, and earth; but the trigrams were not made to indicate them, and it is the general opinion that there is no reference to them in the Yî¹.

Again, the attributes assigned to the trigrams are learned mainly from this Appendix and the fifth. We do not readily get familiar with them, nor easily accept them all. It is impossible for us to tell whether they were a part of the jargon of divination before king Wăn, or had grown up between his time and that of the author of the Appendixes.

King Wăn altered the arrangement of the trigrams so that not one of them should stand at the same point of the compass as in the ancient plan. He made them also representative of certain relations among themselves, as if they composed a family of parents and children. It will be sufficient at present to give a table of his scheme.

KING WĂN'S TRIGRAMS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
lî	sun	khân	kăn	khân	khien	tui	khwân
Second daughter.	Oldest daughter.	Oldest son.	Youngest son.	Second son.	Father.	Youngest daughter.	Mother.
S.	S. E.	E.	N. E.	N.	N. W.	W.	S. W.

¹ See K'ao Yi's Hsi Yü Shung Khâo, Book I, art. 3 (1790).

There is thus before us the apparatus with which the writer of the Appendix accomplishes his task. Let me select one of the shortest instances of his work. The fourteenth hexagram is , called Tâ Yû, and meaning 'Possessing in great abundance.' King Wăn saw in it the symbol of a government prosperous and realising all its proper objects; but all that he wrote on it was 'Tâ Yû (indicates) great progress and success.' Unfolding that view of its significance, the Appendix says:—

'In Tâ Yû the weak (line) has the place of honour, is grandly central, and (the strong lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes its name of "Possession of what is great." The attributes (of its constituent trigrams, *kên* and *li*) are strength and vigour, elegance and brightness. (The ruling line in it) responds to (the ruling line in the symbol of) heaven, and its actings are (consequently all) at the proper times. Thus it is that it is said to indicate great progress and success.'

In a similar way the paragraphs on all the other 63 hexagrams are gone through; and, for the most part, with success. The conviction grows upon the student that the writer has on the whole apprehended the mind of king Wăn.

I stated, on p. 32, that the name *kwei-shăn* occurs in this Appendix. It has not yet, however, received the semi-physical, semi-metaphysical signification which the comparatively modern scholars of the Sung dynasty give to it. There are two passages where it is found;—the second paragraph on *Kên*, the fifteenth hexagram, and the third on *Făng*, the fifty-fifth. By consulting them the reader will be able to form an opinion for himself. The term *kwei* denotes specially the human spirit disembodied, and *shăn* is used for spirits whose seat is in heaven. I do not see my way to translate them, when used binomially together, otherwise than by spiritual beings or spiritual agents.

Kû Hsî once had the following question suggested by the second of these passages put to him:—'Kwei-shăn is a name for the traces of making and transformation; but when it is said that (the interaction of) heaven and earth

is now vigorous and abundant, and now dull and void, growing and diminishing according to the seasons, that constitutes the traces of making and transformation; why should the writer further speak of the Kwei-shǎn?' He replied, 'When he uses the style of "heaven and earth," he is speaking of the result generally; but in ascribing it to the Kwei-shǎn, he is representing the traces of their effective interaction, as if there were men (that is, some personal agency) bringing it about¹.' This solution merely explains the language away. When we come to the fifth Appendix, we shall understand better the views of the period when these treatises were produced.

The single character shǎn is used in explaining the thwān on Kwân, the twentieth hexagram, where we read:—

'In Kwân we see the spirit-like way of heaven, through which the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.'

The author of the Appendix delights to dwell on the changing phenomena taking place between heaven and earth, and which he attributes to their interaction; and he was penetrated evidently with a sense of the harmony between the natural and spiritual worlds. It is this sense, indeed, which vivifies both the thwān and the explanation of them.

5. We proceed to the second Appendix, which professes to do for the duke of Kâu's symbolical exposition of the several lines what the Thwān Kwan does for the entire figures. The work here, however, is accomplished with less trouble and more briefly. The whole bears the name of Hsiang Kwan, 'Treatise on the Symbols' or 'Treatise on the Symbolism (of the Yî).'

¹ See the 'Collected Comments' on hexagram 55 in the Khang-hsi edition of the Yî (App. I). 'The traces of making and transformation' mean the ever-changing phenomena of growth and decay. Our phrase 'Vestiges of Creation' might be used to translate the Chinese characters. See the remarks of the late Dr. Medhurst on the hexagrams 15 and 55 in his 'Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese,' pp. 107-112. In hexagram 15, Canon McClatchie for kwei-shǎn gives 'gods and demons;' in hexagram 55, 'the Demon-gods.'

If there were reason to think that it came in any way from Confucius, I should fancy that I saw him sitting with a select class of his disciples around him. They read the duke's Text column after column, and the master drops now a word or two, and now a sentence or two, that illuminate the meaning. The disciples take notes on their tablets, or store his remarks in their memories, and by and by they write them out with the whole of the Text or only so much of it as is necessary. Whoever was the original lecturer, the Appendix, I think, must have grown up in this way.

It would not be necessary to speak of it at greater length, if it were not that the six paragraphs on the symbols of the duke of Kâu are always preceded by one which is called 'the Great Symbolism,' and treats of the trigrams composing the hexagram, how they go together to form the six-lined figure, and how their blended meaning appears in the institutions and proceedings of the great men and kings of former days, and of the superior men of all time. The paragraph is for the most part, but by no means always, in harmony with the explanation of the hexagram by king Wăn, and a place in the Thwan Kwan would be more appropriate to it. I suppose that, because it always begins with the mention of the two symbolical trigrams, it is made, for the sake of the symmetry, to form a part of the treatise on the Symbolism of the Yî.

I will give a few examples of the paragraphs of the Great Symbolism. The first hexagram  is formed

The Great Symbolism. by a repetition of the trigram *K'ien* , representing heaven, and it is said on it:— 'Heaven in its motion (gives) the idea of strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity.'

The second hexagram  is formed by a repetition of the trigram *Khwăn* , representing the earth, and it is said on it:— 'The capacious receptivity of the earth is what is denoted by Khwăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue, supports men and things.'

The forty-fourth hexagram, called Kâu , is formed by the trigrams Sun , representing wind, and K'ien , representing heaven or the sky, and it is said on it:—‘(The symbol of) wind, beneath that of the sky, forms Kâu. In accordance with this, the sovereign distributes his charges, and promulgates his announcements throughout the four quarters (of the kingdom).’

The fifty-ninth hexagram, called Hwân , is formed by the trigrams Khân , representing water, and Sun , representing wind, and it is said on it:—‘(The symbol of) water and (that of wind) above it form Hwân. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, presented offerings to God, and established the ancestral temple.’ The union of the two trigrams suggested to king Wăn the idea of dissipation in the alienation of men from the Supreme Power, and of the minds of parents from their children; a condition which the wisdom of the ancient kings saw could best be met by the influences of religion.

One more example. The twenty-sixth hexagram, called Tâ K'û , is formed of the trigrams K'ien, representing heaven or the sky, and K'ân , representing a mountain, and it is said on it:—‘(The symbol of) heaven in the midst of a mountain forms Tâ K'û. The superior man, in accordance with this, stores largely in his memory the words of former men and their conduct, to subserve the accumulation of his virtue.’ We are ready to exclaim and ask, ‘Heaven, the sky, in the midst of a mountain! Can there be such a thing?’ and K'û Hsi will tell us in reply, ‘No, there cannot be such a thing in reality; but you can conceive it for the purpose of the symbolism.’

From this and the other examples adduced from the Great Symbolism, it is clear that, so far as its testimony bears on the subject, the trigrams of Fû-hsi did not receive their form and meaning with a deep intention that they should serve as the basis of a philosophical scheme concerning the constitution of heaven and earth and all that

is in them. In this Appendix they are used popularly, just as one

‘Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.’

The writer moralises from them in an edifying manner. There is ingenuity, and sometimes instruction also, in what he says, but there is no mystery. Chinese scholars and gentlemen, however, who have got some little acquaintance with western science, are fond of saying that all the truths of electricity, heat, light, and other branches of European physics, are in the eight trigrams. When asked how then they and their countrymen have been and are ignorant of those truths, they say that they have to learn them first from western books, and then, looking into the YĪ, they see that they were all known to Confucius more than 2000 years ago. The vain assumption thus manifested is childish; and until the Chinese drop their hallucination about the YĪ as containing all things that have ever been dreamt of in all philosophies, it will prove a stumbling-block to them, and keep them from entering on the true path of science.

6. We go on to the third Appendix in two sections, being the fifth and sixth ‘wings,’ and forming what is called ‘The Great Treatise.’ It will appear singular to the reader, as it has always done to myself, that neither in the Text, nor in the first two Appendixes, does the character called YĪ, which gives its name to the classic, once appear. It is the symbol of ‘change,’ and is formed from the character for ‘the sun’ placed over that for ‘the moon’¹. As the sun gives place to the moon, and the moon to the sun, so is change always proceeding in the phenomena of nature and the experiences of society. We meet with the character nearly fifty times in this Appendix; —applied most commonly to the Text of our classic, so that YĪ King or YĪ Shū is ‘the Classic or Book of Changes.’ It is also applied often to the changes in the lines of the

¹ 易 = 日, the sun, placed over 勿, a form of the old 月 (= 月), the moon.

figures, made by the manipulations of divination, apart from any sentence or oracle concerning them delivered by king Wăn or his son.¹ There is therefore the system of the Yî as well as the book of the Yî. The definition of the name which is given in one paragraph will suit them both:—‘Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change¹.’ In nature there is no vacuum. When anything is displaced, what displaces it takes the empty room. And in the lineal figures, the strong and the weak lines push each other out.

Now the remarkable thing asserted is, that the changes in the lines of the figures and the changes of external phenomena show a wonderful harmony and concurrence. We read:—

Harmony between the lines ever changing and the changes in external phenomena.

‘The Yî was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth².’

‘There is a similarity between the sage and heaven and earth; and hence there is no contrariety in him to them. His knowledge embraces all things, and his course is intended to be helpful to all under the sky; and therefore he falls into no error. He acts according to the exigency of circumstances, without being carried away by their current; he rejoices in Heaven, and knows its ordinations; and hence he has no anxieties. He rests in his own (present) position, and cherishes the spirit of generous benevolence; and hence he can love (without reserve)³.’

‘(Through the Yî) he embraces, as in a mould or enclosure, the transformations of heaven and earth without any error; by an ever-varying adaptation he completes (the nature of) all things without exception; he penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other correlated phenomena). It is thus that his operation is spirit-like, unconditioned by place, while the changes (which he produces) are not restricted to any form.’

One more quotation:—

‘The sage was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be

¹ III, i, 29 (chap. 5. 6).

² III, i, 20 (chap. 4. 1).

³ III, i, 22.

figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character¹.'

All that is thus predicated of the sage, or ancient sages, though the writer probably had Fû-hsî in his mind, is more than sufficiently extravagant, and reminds us of the language in 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' that 'the sage, able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of heaven and earth, may with heaven and earth form a ternion².'

I quoted largely, in the second chapter, from this Appendix the accounts which it gives of the formation of the lineal figures. There is no occasion to return to that subject. Let us suppose the figures formed. They seem to have

the significance, when looked at from certain points of view, which have been determined for us by king Wăn and the duke of K'áu. But this does not amount to divination. How can the lines be made to serve this purpose? The Appendix professes to tell us.

Before touching on the method which it describes, let me observe that divination was practised in China from a very early time. I will not say 5,200 years ago, in the days of Fû-hsî, for I cannot repress doubts of his historical personality; but as soon as we tread the borders of something like credible history, we find it existing. In the Shû King, in a document that purports to be of the twenty-third century B.C.³, divination by means of the tortoise-shell is mentioned; and somewhat later we find that method continuing, and also divination by the lineal figures, manipulated by means of the stalks of a plant⁴, the *Ptarmica Sibirica*⁵, which is still cultivated on and about the grave of Confucius, where I have myself seen it growing.

The object of the divination, it should be acknowledged, was not to discover future events absolutely, as if they could be known beforehand⁶, but

¹ III, i, 38 (chap. 8. 1).

² Doctrine of the Mean, chap. xxii.

³ The Shû II, ii, 18.

⁴ The Shû V, iv, 20, 31.

⁵ See Williams' Syllabic Dictionary on the character 蓍.

⁶ Canon McClatchie (first paragraph of his Introduction) says:—'The YĪ is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar veneration . . . as containing a mine of

to ascertain whether certain schemes, and conditions of events contemplated by the consulter, would turn out luckily or unluckily. But for the actual practice the stalks of the plant were necessary; and I am almost afraid to write that this Appendix teaches that they were produced by Heaven of such a nature as to be fit for the purpose. 'Heaven,' it says, in the 73rd paragraph of Section i, quoted above on p. 14, 'Heaven produced the spirit-like things.' The things were the tortoise and the plant, and in paragraph 68, the same quality of being *shăn*, or 'spirit-like,' is ascribed to them. Occasionally, in the field of Chinese literature, we meet with doubts as to the efficacy of divination, and the folly of expecting any revelation of the character of the future from an old tortoise-shell and a handful of withered twigs¹; but when this Appendix was made, the writer had not attained to so much common sense. The stalks were to him 'spirit-like,' possessed of

knowledge, which, if it were possible to fathom it thoroughly, would, in their estimation, enable the fortunate possessor to foretell all future events.' This misstatement does not surprise me so much as that Morrison, generally accurate on such points, should say (Dictionary, Part II, i, p. 1020, on the character 易):—

'Of the odd and even numbers, the *kwâ* or lines of *Fû-hsi* are the visible signs; and it being assumed that these signs answer to the things signified, and from a knowledge of all the various combinations of numbers, a knowledge of all possible occurrences in nature may be previously known.' The whole article from which I take this sentence is inaccurately written. The language of the Appendix on the knowledge of the future given by the use of the *Yi* is often incautious, and a cursory reader may be misled; to a careful student, however, the meaning is plain. The second passage of the *Shû*, referred to above, treats of 'the Examination of Doubts,' and concludes thus:—'When the tortoise-shell and the stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in stillness, and active operations will be unlucky.'

¹ A remarkable instance is given by *Liú K'í* (of the Ming dynasty, in the fifteenth century) in a story about *Shão Phing*, who had been marquis of *Tung-ling* in the time of *Shin*, but was degraded under *Han*. Having gone once to *Sze-mâ Ki-kû*, one of the most skilful diviners of the country, and wishing to know whether there would be a brighter future for him, *Sze-mâ* said, 'Ah! is it the way of Heaven to love any (partially)? Heaven loves only the virtuous. What intelligence is possessed by spirits? They are intelligent (only) by their connexion with men. The divining stalks are so much withered grass; the tortoise-shell is a withered bone. They are but things, and man is more intelligent than things. Why not listen to yourself instead of seeking (to learn) from things?' The whole piece is in many of the collections of *Kû Wăn*, or *Elegant Writing*.



a subtle and invisible virtue that fitted them for use in divining.

Given the stalks with such virtue, the process of manipulating them so as to form the lineal figures is described (Section i, chap. 9, parr. 49-58), but it will take the student much time and thought to master the various operations.

Formation
of the lineal
figures by the
divining
stalks.

Forty-nine stalks were employed, which were thrice manipulated for each line, so that it took eighteen manipulations to form a hexagram. The lines were determined by means of the numbers derived from the River Map or scheme. Odd numbers gave strong or undivided lines, and even numbers gave the weak or divided. An important part was played in combining the lines, and forming the hexagrams by the four emblematic symbols, to which the numbers 9, 8, 7, 6 were appropriated¹. The figures having been formed, recourse was had for their interpretation to the thwan of king Wăn, and the emblematic sentences of the duke of Kâu. This was all the part which numbers played in the divination by the YĪ, helping the operator to make up his lineal figure. An analogy has often been asserted between the numbers of the YĪ and the numbers of Pythagoras; and certainly we might make ten, and more than ten, antinomies from these Appendixes in startling agreement with the ten principia of the Pythagoreans. But if Aristotle was correct in holding that Pythagoras regarded numbers as entities, and maintained that Number was the Beginning (Principle, ἀρχή) of things, the cause of their material existence, and of their

¹ These numbers are commonly derived from the River Scheme, in the outer sides of which are the corresponding marks:— ●●●●●●, opposite to ●●; ○○○○○○, opposite to ○; ●●●●●●, opposite to ●●●; and ○○○○○○○○, opposite to ○○○. Hence the number 6 is assigned to ≡≡≡, 7 to ≡≡≡≡, 8 to ≡≡≡≡≡, and 9 to ≡≡≡≡≡≡. Hence also, in connexion with the formation of the figures by manipulation of the stalks, 9 becomes the number symbolical of the undivided line, as representing K'ien ≡≡≡≡≡≡, and 6 of the divided line, as representing Khwân ≡≡≡≡. But the late delineation of the map, as given on p. 15, renders all this uncertain, so far as the scheme is concerned. The numbers of the hsiang, however, may have been fixed, must have been fixed indeed, at an early period.

modifications and different states, then the doctrine of the philosopher of Samos was different from that of the Yî¹, in which numbers come in only as aids in divining to form the hexagrams. Of course all divination is vain, nor is the method of the Yî less absurd than any other. The Chinese themselves have given it up in all circles above those of the professional quacks, and yet their scholars continue to maintain the unfathomable science and wisdom of these appended treatises!

It is in this Appendix that we first meet with the names yin and yang², of which I have spoken briefly on pp. 15, 16. Up to this point, instead of them, the names for the two elementary forms of the lines have been kang and zâu, which I have translated by 'strong and weak,' and which also occur here ten times. The following attempt to explain these different names appears in the fifth Appendix, paragraph 4:—

'Anciently when the sages made the Yî, it was with the design that its figures should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things), and the ordinances appointed (for them by Heaven). With this view they exhibited in them the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling them the strong (or hard) and the weak (or soft); and the way of man, under the names of benevolence and righteousness. Each (trigram) embraced those three Powers, and being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines.'

However difficult it may be to make what is said here intelligible, it confirms what I have affirmed of the significance of the names yin and yang, as meaning bright and dark, derived from the properties of the sun and moon. We may use for these adjectives a variety of others, such as active and inactive, masculine and feminine, hot and cold, more or less analogous to them; but there arise the important questions,—Do we find yang and yin not merely used to indicate the quality of what they are applied

¹ See the account of Pythagoras and his philosophy in Lewes' History of Philosophy, pp. 18–38 (1871).

² See Section i, 24, 32, 35; Section ii, 28, 29, 30, 35.

to, but at the same time with substantival force, denoting what has the quality which the name denotes? Had the doctrine of a primary matter of an ethereal nature, now expanding and showing itself full of activity and power as yang, now contracting and becoming weak and inactive as yin:—had this doctrine become matter of speculation when this Appendix was written? The Chinese critics and commentators for the most part assume that it had. P. Regis, Dr. Medhurst, and other foreign Chinese scholars repeat their statements without question. I have sought in vain for proof of what is asserted. It took more than a thousand years after the closing of the YĪ to fashion in the Confucian school the doctrine of a primary matter. We do not find it fully developed till the era of the Sung dynasty, and in our eleventh and twelfth centuries¹. To find it in the YĪ is the logical, or rather illogical, error of putting 'the last first.' Neither creation nor cosmogony was before the mind of the author whose work I am analysing. His theme is the YĪ,—the ever-changing phenomena of nature and experience. There is nothing but this in the 'Great Treatise' to task our powers;—nothing deeper or more abstruse.

¹ As a specimen of what the ablest Sung scholars teach, I may give the remarks (from the 'Collected Comments') of Kū Kān (of the same century as Kū Hsi, rather earlier) on the 4th paragraph of Appendix V:—'In the YĪ there is the Great Extreme. When we speak of the yin and yang, we mean the air (or ether) collected in the Great Void. When we speak of the Hard and Soft, we mean that ether collected, and formed into substance. Benevolence and righteousness have their origin in the great void, are seen in the ether substantiated, and move under the influence of conscious intelligence. Looking at the one origin of all things we speak of their nature; looking at the endowments given to them, we speak of the ordinations appointed (for them). Looking at them as (divided into) heaven, earth, and men, we speak of their principle. The three are one and the same. The sages wishing that (their figures) should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things) and the ordinances appointed (for them), called them (now) yin and yang, (now) the hard and the soft, (now) benevolence and righteousness, in order thereby to exhibit the ways of heaven, earth, and men; it is a view of them as related together. The trigrams of the YĪ contain the three Powers; and when they are doubled into hexagrams, there the three Powers unite and are one. But there are the changes and movements of their (several) ways, and therefore there are separate places for the yin and yang, and reciprocal uses of the hard and the soft.'

As in the first Appendix, so in this, the name *kwei-shǎn* occurs twice; in paragraphs 21 and 50 of Section i. In the former instance, each part of the name has its significance. *Kwei* denotes the animal soul or nature, and *Shǎn*, the intellectual soul, the union of which constitutes the living rational man. I have translated them, it will be seen, by 'the *anima* and the *animus*.' Canon McClatchie gives for them 'demons and gods;' and Dr. Medhurst said on the passage, 'The *kwei-shǎns* are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life. . . . The *kwei-shǎns* are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending *shǎn*, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled *kwei*, which reverts to earth and nonentity¹.'

This is pretty much the same view as my own, though I would not here use the phraseology of 'expanding and contracting.' Canon McClatchie is consistent with himself, and renders the characters by 'demons and gods.'

In the latter passage it is more difficult to determine the exact meaning. The writer says, that 'by the odd numbers assigned to heaven and the even numbers assigned to earth, the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement;' meaning that by means of the numbers the spirit-like lines might be formed on a scale sufficient to give a picture of all the changing phenomena, taking place, as if by a spiritual agency, in nature. Medhurst contents himself on it with giving the explanation of *K'û Hsî*, that 'the *kwei-shǎns* refer to the contractions and expandings, the recedings and approachings of the productive and completing powers of the even and odd numbers².' Canon McClatchie does not follow his translation of the former passage and give here 'demons and gods,' but we have 'the Demon-god (i.e. *Shang Ti*)³.' I shall refer to this version when considering the fifth Appendix.

¹ Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese, pp. 111, 112.

² Theology of the Chinese, p. 122.

³ Translation of the *Yi King*, p. 312.

The single character shăn occurs more than twenty times;—used now as a substantive, now as an adjective, and again as a verb. I must refer the reader to the translation and notes for its various significance, subjoining in a note a list of the places where it occurs¹.

Shan alone.

Much more might be said on the third Appendix, for the writer touches on many other topics, antiquarian and speculative, but a review of them would help us little in the study of the leading subject of the YĪ. In passing on to the next treatise, I would only further say that the style of this and the author's manner of presenting his thoughts often remind the reader of 'the Doctrine of the Mean.' I am surprised that 'the Great Treatise' has never been ascribed to the author of that Doctrine, 3ze-sze, the grandson of Confucius, whose death must have taken place between B.C. 400 and 450.

7. The fourth Appendix, the seventh 'wing' of the YĪ, need not detain us long. As I stated on p. 27, it is confined to an exposition of the Text on the first and second hexagrams, being an attempt to show that what is there affirmed of heaven and earth may also be applied to man, and that there is an essential agreement between the qualities ascribed to them, and the benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom, which are the four constituents of his moral and intellectual nature.

The fourth
Appendix.

It is said by some of the critics that Confucius would have treated all the other hexagrams in a similar way, if his life had been prolonged, but we found special grounds for denying that Confucius had anything to do with the composition of this Appendix; and, moreover, I cannot think of any other figure that would have afforded to the author the same opportunity of discoursing about man. The style and method are after the manner of 'the Doctrine of the Mean' quite as much as those of 'the Great Treatise.' Several paragraphs, moreover, suggest to us the magniloquence of Mencius. It is said, for instance, by 3ze-sze, of

¹ Section i, 23, 32, 57, 58, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 73, 76, 81; Section ii, 11, 15, 33, 34, 41, 45.

the sage, that 'he is the equal or correlate of Heaven ¹,' and in this Appendix we have the sentiment expanded into the following:—

'The great man is he who is in harmony in his attributes with heaven and earth; in his brightness with the sun and moon; in his orderly procedure with the four seasons; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous with the spiritual agents. He may precede Heaven, and Heaven will not act in opposition to him; he may follow Heaven, but will act only as Heaven at the time would do. If Heaven will not act in opposition to him, how much less will man! how much less will the spiritual agents ²!'

One other passage may receive our consideration:—

'The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery ³.'

The language makes us think of the retribution of good and evil as taking place in the family, and not in the individual; the judgment is long deferred, but it is inflicted at last, lighting, however, not on the head or heads that most deserved it. Confucianism never falters in its affirmation of the difference between good and evil, and that each shall have its appropriate recompense; but it has little to say of the where and when and how that recompense will be given. The old classics are silent on the subject of any other retribution besides what takes place in time. About the era of Confucius the view took definite shape that, if the issues of good and evil, virtue and vice, did not take effect in the experience of the individual, they would certainly do so in that of his posterity. This is the prevailing doctrine among the Chinese at the present day; and one of the earliest expressions, perhaps the earliest expression, of it was in the sentence under our notice that has been copied from this Appendix into almost every moral treatise that circulates in China. A wholesome and an important truth it is, that 'the sins of parents are visited

¹ *Kung-yung* xxxi, 4.

² Section i, 34. This is the only paragraph where *kwei-shān* occurs.

³ Section ii, 5.

on their children;' but do the parents themselves escape the curse? It is to be regretted that this short treatise, the only 'wing' of the YĪ professing to set forth its teachings concerning man as man, does not attempt any definite reply to this question. I leave it, merely observing that it has always struck me as the result of an after-thought, and a wish to give to man, as the last of 'the Three Powers,' a suitable place in connexion with the YĪ. The doctrine of 'the Three Powers' is as much out of place in Confucianism as that of 'the Great Extreme.' The treatise contains several paragraphs interesting in themselves, but it adds nothing to our understanding of the Text, or even of the object of the appended treatises, when we try to look at them as a whole.

8. It is very different with the fifth of the Appendixes,
The fifth Appendix. which is made up of 'Remarks on the Trigrams.' It is shorter than the fourth, consisting of only 22 paragraphs, in some of which the author rises to a height of thought reached nowhere else in these treatises, while several of the others are so silly and trivial, that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to believe that they are the production of the same man. We find in it the earlier and later arrangement of the trigrams,—the former, that of Fû-hsi, and the latter, that of king Wăn; their names and attributes; the work of God in nature, described as a progress through the trigrams; and finally a distinctive, but by no means exhaustive, list of the natural objects, symbolised by them.

It commences with the enigmatic declaration that 'Anciently, when the sages made the YĪ,' (that is, the lineal
First paragraph. figures, and the system of divination by them), 'in order to give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced (the rules for the use of) the divining plant.' Perhaps this means no more than that the lineal figures were made to 'hold the mirror up to nature,' so that men by the study of them would understand more of the unseen and spiritual operations, to which the phenomena around them were owing, than they could otherwise do.

The author goes on to speak of the Fû-hsi trigrams, and passes from them to those of king Wăn in paragraph 8. That and the following two are very remarkable; but before saying anything of them, I will go on to the 14th, which is the only passage that affords any ground for saying that there is a mythology in the Yî. It says:—

‘*Khien* is (the symbol of) heaven, and hence is styled father. *Khwan* is (the symbol of) earth, and hence is styled mother. *Kăn* (shows) the first application (of *khwan* to *khien*), resulting in getting (the first of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence we call it the oldest son. *Sun* (shows) a first application (of *khien* to *khwan*), resulting in getting (the first of) its female (or divided lines), and hence we call it the oldest daughter. *Khân* (shows) a second application (of *khwan* to *khien*), and *Lî* a second (of *khien* to *khwan*), resulting in the second son and second daughter. In *Kăn* and *Tui* we have a third application (of *khwan* to *khien* and of *khien* to *khwan*), resulting in the youngest son and youngest daughter.’

From this language has come the fable of a marriage between *Khien* and *Khwan*, from which resulted the six other trigrams, considered as their three sons and three daughters; and it is not to be wondered at, if some men of active and ill-regulated imaginations should see Noah and his wife in those two primary trigrams, and in the others their three sons and the three sons’ wives. Have we not in both cases an ogdoad? But I have looked in the paragraph in vain for the notion of a marriage-union between heaven and earth.

It does not treat of the genesis of the other six trigrams by the union of the two, but is a rude attempt to explain their forms when they were once existing¹. According to the idea of changes, *Khien* and *Khwan* are continually varying their forms by their interaction. As here represented, the

¹ This view seems to be in accordance with that of Wû K’ang (of the Yüan dynasty), as given in the ‘Collected Comments’ of the Khang-hsi edition. The editors express their approval of it in preference to the interpretation of K’ü Hsi, who understood the whole to refer to the formation of the lineal figures, the ‘application’ being ‘the manipulation of the stalks to find the proper line.’

other trigrams are not 'produced'¹ by a marriage-union, but from the application, literally the seeking, of one of them—of *Khwăn* as much as of *K'ien*—addressed to the other².

This way of speaking of the trigrams, moreover, as father and mother, sons and daughters, is not so old as *Fû-hsi*; nor have we any real proof that it originated with king *Wăn*. It is not of 'the highest antiquity.' It arose some time in 'middle antiquity,' and was known in the era of the Appendixes; but it had not prevailed then, nor has it prevailed since, to discredit and supersede the older nomenclature. We are startled when we come on it in the place which it occupies. And there it stands alone. It is not entitled to more attention than the two paragraphs that precede it, or the eight that follow it, none of which were thought by P. Regis worthy to be translated. I have just said that it stands 'alone.' Its existence, however, seems to me to be supposed in the fourth chapter, paragraphs 28–30, of the third Appendix, Section ii; but there only the trigrams of 'the six children' are mentioned, and nothing is said of 'the parents.' *K'ăn*, *khân*, and *k'ăn* are referred to as being yang, and sun, *lî*, and *tui aś* being yin. What is said about them is trifling and fanciful.

Leaving the question of the mythology of the *YĪ*, of which I am myself unable to discover a trace, I now call attention to paragraphs 8–10, where the author speaks of the work of God in nature in all the year as a progress through the trigrams, and as being effected by His Spirit. The description assumes the peculiar arrangement of the trigrams, ascribed to king *Wăn*, and which I have exhibited above, on page 33³. Father Regis adopts the general view

Operation of
God in nature
throughout
the year.

¹ But the Chinese term *Shăng* 生, often rendered 'produced,' must not be pressed, so as to determine the method of production, or the way in which one thing comes from another.

² The significance of the mythological paragraph is altogether lost in Canon McClatchie's version:—'*K'ien* is Heaven, and hence he is called Father; *Khwăn* is Earth, and hence she is called Mother; *K'ăn* is the first male, and hence he is called the eldest son,' &c. &c.

³ The reader will understand the difference in the two arrangements better by a reference to the circular representations of them on Plate III.

of Chinese critics that Wăn purposely altered the earlier and established arrangement, as a symbol of the disorganisation and disorder into which the kingdom had fallen¹. But it is hard to say why a man did something more than 3000 years ago, when he has not himself said anything about it. So far as we can judge from this Appendix, the author thought that king Wăn altered the existing order and position of the trigrams with regard to the cardinal points, simply for the occasion,—that he might set forth vividly his ideas about the springing, growth, and maturity in the vegetable kingdom from the labours of spring to the cessation from toil in winter. The marvel is that in doing this he brings God upon the scene, and makes Him in the various processes of nature the ‘all and in all.’

The 8th paragraph says :—

‘God comes forth in Kăn (to his producing work) ; He brings (His processes) into full and equal action in Sun ; they are manifested to one another in Lî ; the greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn ; He rejoices in Tui ; He struggles in K’hen ; He is comforted and enters into rest in Khân ; and he completes (the work of) the year in Kăn.’

God is here named Tî, for which P. Regis gives the Latin ‘Supremus Imperator,’ and Canon McClatchie, after him, ‘the Supreme Emperor.’ I contend that ‘God’ is really the correct translation in English of Tî ; but to render it here by ‘Emperor’ would not affect the meaning of the paragraph. Kû Hsi says that ‘by Tî is intended the Lord and Governor of heaven ;’ and Khung Ying-tâ, about five centuries earlier than Kû, quotes Wang Pî, who died A.D.

¹ E. g. I, 23, 24 :—‘Observant etiam philosophi (lib. 15 Sinicæ philosophiæ Sing-lî) principem Wăn-wang antiquum octo symbolorum, unde aliae figurae omnes perdent, ordinem invertisse ; quo ipsa imperii suis temporibus subversio graphice exprimi poterat, mutatis e naturali loco, quem genesis dederat, iis quatuor figuris, quae rerum naturalium pugnis ac dissociationibus, quas posterior labentis anni pars afferre solet, velut in antecessum, repraesentandis idoneae videbantur ; v. g. si symbolum  Lî, ignis, supponatur loco symboli  Khân, aquae, utriusque elementi inordinatio principi visa est non minus apta ad significandas ruinas et clades reipublicae male ordinatae, quam naturales ab hieme aut imminente aut saeviente rerum generatorum corruptiones.’ See also pp. 67, 68.

249, to the effect that 'Tî is the lord who produces (all) things, the author of prosperity and increase.'

I must refer the reader to the translation in the body of the volume for the 9th paragraph, which is too long to be introduced here. As the 8th speaks directly of God, the 9th, we are told, 'speaks of all things following Him, from spring to winter, from the east to the north, in His progress throughout the year.' In words strikingly like those of the apostle Paul, when writing his Epistle to the Romans, Wan *K'ung-jung* (of the Khang-hsi period) and his son, in their admirable work called, 'A New Digest of Collected Explanations of the Yî King,' say :—'God (Himself) cannot be seen ; we see Him in the things (which He produces).' The first time I read these paragraphs with some understanding, I thought of Thomson's Hymn on the Seasons, and I have thought of it in connexion with them a hundred times since. Our English poet wrote :—

'These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
Is full of Thee. Forth in the pleasing spring
Thy beauty walks, Thy tenderness and love.
Then comes Thy glory in the summer months,
With light and heat refulgent. Then Thy sun
Shoots full perfection through the swelling year.
Thy bounty shines in autumn unconfined,
And spreads a common feast for all that lives.
In winter awful Thou!'

Prudish readers have found fault with some of Thomson's expressions, as if they savoured of pantheism. The language of the Chinese writer is not open to the same captious objection. Without poetic ornament, or swelling phrase of any kind, he gives emphatic testimony to God as renewing the face of the earth in spring, and not resting till He has crowned the year with His goodness.

And there is in the passage another thing equally wonderful. The 10th paragraph commences :—'When we speak of Spirit, we mean the subtle presence (and operation of God) with all things ;' and the writer goes on to illustrate this sentiment from the action and influences symbolised

by the six 'children,' or minor trigrams,—water and fire, thunder and wind, mountains and collections of water. *K'ü Hsi* says, that there is that in the paragraph which he does not understand. Some Chinese scholars, however, have not been far from descrying the light that is in it. Let *Liang Yin*, of our fourteenth century, be adduced as an example of them. He says:—'The spirit here simply means God. God is the personality (literally, the body or substantiality) of the Spirit; the Spirit is God in operation. He who is lord over and rules all things is God; the subtle presence and operation of God with all things is by His Spirit.' The language is in fine accord with the definition of *shān* or spirit, given in the 3rd Appendix, Section i, 32.

I wish that the Treatise on the Trigrams had ended with the 10th paragraph. The writer had gradually risen to a noble elevation of thought from which he plunges
 Concluding paragraphs. into a slough of nonsensical remarks which it would be difficult elsewhere to parallel. I have referred on p. 31 to the judgment of P. Regis about them. He could not receive them as from Confucius, and did not take the trouble to translate them, and transfer them to his own pages. My plan required me to translate everything published in China as a part of the *Yi King*; but I have given my reasons for doubting whether any portion of these Appendixes be really from Confucius. There is nothing that could better justify the supercilious disregard with which the classical literature of China is frequently treated than to insist on the concluding portion of this treatise as being from the pencil of its greatest sage. I have dwelt at some length on the 14th paragraph, because of its mythological semblance; but among the eight paragraphs that follow it, it would be difficult to award the palm for silliness. They are descriptive of the eight trigrams, and each one enumerates a dozen or more objects of which its subject is symbolical. The writer must have been fond of and familiar with horses. *K'ien*, the symbol properly of heaven, suggests to him the idea of a good horse; an old horse; a lean horse; and a piebald. *K'ăn*, the symbol of thunder, suggests the

idea of a good neigher; of the horse with white hind-legs; of the prancing horse; and of one with a white star in his forehead. Khân, the symbol of water, suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; and of one with a shambling step. The reader will think he has had enough of these symbolisings of the trigrams. I cannot believe that the earlier portions and this concluding portion of the treatise were by the same author. If there were any evidence that paragraphs 8 to 10 were by Confucius, I should say that they were worthy, even more than worthy, of him; what follows is mere drivel. Horace's picture faintly portrays the inconsistency between the parts:—

'Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.'

In reviewing the second of these Appendixes, I was led to speak of the original significance of the trigrams, in opposition to the views of some Chinese who pretend that they can find in them the physical truths discovered by the researches of western science. May I not say now, after viewing the phase of them presented in these paragraphs, that they were devised simply as aids to divination, and partook of the unreasonableness and uncertainty belonging to that?

9. The sixth Appendix is the Treatise on the Sequence of the Hexagrams, to which allusion has been made more

The sixth Appendix. than once. It is not necessary to dwell on it at length. King Wăn, it has been seen, gave a name to each hexagram, expressive of the idea—some moral, social, or political truth—which he wished to set forth by means of it; and this name enters very closely into its interpretation. The author of this treatise endeavours to explain the meaning of the name, and also the sequence of the figures, or how it is that the idea of the one leads on to that of the next. Yet the reader must not expect to find in the 64 a chain 'of linked sweetness long drawn out.' The connexion between any two is generally sufficiently close; but on the whole the essays, which I have said they form, resemble 'a heap of orient pearls at random strung.' The changeableness of human

affairs is a topic never long absent from the writer's mind. He is firmly persuaded that 'the fashion of the world passeth away.' Union is sure to give place to separation, and by and by that separation will issue in re-union.

There is nothing in the treatise to suggest anything about its authorship; and as the reader will see from the notes, we are perplexed occasionally by meanings given to the names that differ from the meanings in the Text.

10. The last and least Appendix is the seventh, called

The seventh Appendix. 34 Kwá Kwan, or 'Treatise on the Lineal Figures taken promiscuously,'—not with regard to any sequence, but as they approximate, or are opposed, to one another in meaning. It is in rhyme, moreover, and this, as much as the meaning, determined, no doubt, the grouping of the hexagrams. The student will learn nothing of value from it; it is more a 'jeu d'esprit' than anything else.

THE YÎ KING.

TEXT. SECTION I.

I. THE *KHIEN* HEXAGRAM.



Explanation of the entire figure by king Wăn.

Khien (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm.

Explanation of the separate lines by the duke of *Kâu*.

1. In the first (or lowest) line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon lying hid (in the deep). It is not the time for active doing.

2. In the second line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon appearing in the field. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

3. In the third line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the superior man active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening still careful and apprehensive. (The position is) dangerous, but there will be no mistake.

4. In the fourth line, undivided, (we see its subject as the dragon looking) as if he were leaping up, but still in the deep. There will be no mistake.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon on the wing in the sky. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

6. In the sixth (or topmost) line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon exceeding the proper limits. There will be occasion for repentance.

7. (The lines of this hexagram are all strong and undivided, as appears from) the use of the number nine. If the host of dragons (thus) appearing were to divest themselves of their heads, there would be good fortune.

The Text under each hexagram consists of one paragraph by king Wăn, explaining the figure as a whole, and of six (in the case of hexagrams 1 and 2, of seven) paragraphs by the duke of Kâu, explaining the individual lines. The explanatory notices introduced above to this effect will not be repeated. A double space will be used to mark off the portion of king Wăn from that of his son.

Each hexagram consists of two of the trigrams of Fû-hsi, the lower being called 'the inner,' and the one above 'the outer.' The lines, however, are numbered from one to six, commencing with the lowest. To denote the number of it and of the sixth line, the terms for 'commencing' and 'topmost' are used. The intermediate lines are simply 'second,' 'third,' &c. As the lines must be either whole or divided, technically called strong and weak, yang and yin, this distinction is indicated by the application to them of the numbers nine and six. All whole lines are nine, all divided lines, six.

Two explanations have been proposed of this application of these numbers. The K'ien trigram, it is said, contains 3 strokes (☰), and the Khwăn 6 (☷). But the yang contains the yin in itself, and its representative number will be 3+6=9, while the yin, not containing the yang, will only have its own number or 6. This explanation, entirely arbitrary, is now deservedly abandoned. The other is based on the use of the 'four Hsiang,' or emblematic figures (☰ the great or old yang, ☱ the young yang, ☷ the old yin, and ☴ the young yin). To these are assigned (by what process is unimportant for our present purpose) the numbers 9, 8, 7, 6. They were 'the old yang,' represented by 9, and 'the old yin,' represented by 6, that, in the manipulation of the stalks to form new diagrams, determined the changes of figure; and so 9 and 6 came to be used as the

II. THE KHWĀN HEXAGRAM.



Khwān (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and having the firmness of a mare. When the superior man (here

names of a yang line and a yin line respectively. This explanation is now universally acquiesced in. The nomenclature of first nine, nine two, &c., or first six, six two, &c., however, is merely a jargon; and I have preferred to use, instead of it, in the translation, in order to describe the lines, the names 'undivided' and 'divided.'

I. Does king Wān ascribe four attributes here to *K'ien*, or only two? According to Appendix IV, always by Chinese writers assigned to Confucius, he assigns four, corresponding to the principles of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge in man's nature. *K'ü Hsi* held that he assigned only two, and that we should translate, 'greatly penetrating,' and 'requires to be correct and firm,' two responses in divination. Up and down throughout the Text of the 64 hexagrams, we often find the characters thus coupled together. Both interpretations are possible. I have followed what is accepted as the view of Confucius. It would take pages to give a tithe of what has been written in justification of it, and to reconcile it with the other.

'The dragon' is the symbol employed by the duke of *K'au* to represent 'the superior man' and especially 'the great man,' exhibiting the virtues or attributes characteristic of heaven. The creature's proper home is in the water, but it can disport itself on the land, and also fly and soar aloft. It has been from the earliest time the emblem with the Chinese of the highest dignity and wisdom, of sovereignty and sagehood, the combination of which constitutes 'the great man.' One emblem runs through the lines of many of the hexagrams as here.

But the dragon appears in the sixth line as going beyond the proper limits. The ruling-sage has gone through all the sphere in which he is called on to display his attributes; it is time for him to relax. The line should not be always pulled tight; the bow should not be always kept drawn. The unchanging use

intended) has to make any movement, if he take the initiative, he will go astray; if he follow, he will find his (proper) lord. The advantageousness will be seen in his getting friends in the south-west, and losing friends in the north-east. If he rest in correctness and firmness, there will be good fortune.

1. In the first line, divided, (we see its subject) treading on hoarfrost. The strong ice will come (by and by).

2. The second line, divided, (shows the attribute of) being straight, square, and great. (Its operation), without repeated efforts, will be in every respect advantageous.

3. The third line, divided, (shows its subject) keeping his excellence under restraint, but firmly maintaining it. If he should have occasion to engage in the king's service, though he will not claim the success (for himself), he will bring affairs to a good issue.

4. The fourth line, divided, (shows the symbol of) a sack tied up. There will be no ground for blame or for praise.

5. The fifth line, divided, (shows) the yellow lower garment. There will be great good fortune.

of force will give occasion for repentance. The moral meaning found in the line is that 'the high shall be abased.'

The meaning given to the supernumerary paragraph is the opposite of that of paragraph 6. The 'host of dragons without their heads' would give us the next hexagram, or *Kh wăn*, made up of six divided lines. Force would have given place to submission, and haughtiness to humility; and the result would be good fortune. Such at least is the interpretation of the paragraph given in a narrative of the *30-Kwan* under B. C. 513. For further explanation of the duke of *Kâu's* meaning, see Appendixes II and IV.

6. The sixth line, divided, (shows) dragons fighting in the wild. Their blood is purple and yellow.

7. (The lines of this hexagram are all weak and divided, as appears from) the use of the number six. If those (who are thus represented) be perpetually correct and firm, advantage will arise.

II. The same attributes are here ascribed to Khwān, as in the former hexagram to K'ien ;—but with a difference. The figure, made up of six divided lines, expresses the ideal of subordination and docility. The superior man, represented by it, must not take the initiative ; and by following he will find his lord,—the subject, that is of K'ien. Again, the correctness and firmness is defined to be that of 'a mare,' 'docile and strong,' but a creature for the service of man. That it is not the sex of the animal which the writer has chiefly in mind is plain from the immediate mention of the superior man, and his lord.

That superior man will seek to bring his friends along with himself to serve his ruler. But according to the arrangement of the trigrams by king Wān, the place of Khwān is in the south-west, while the opposite quarter is occupied by the yang trigram Kān, as in Figure 2, Plate III. All that this portion of the Thwan says is an instruction to the subject of the hexagram to seek for others of the same principles and tendencies with himself to serve their common lord. But in quietness and firmness will be his strength.

The symbolism of the lines is various. Paragraph 2 presents to us the earth itself, according to the Chinese conception of it, as a great cube. To keep his excellence under restraint, as in paragraph 3, is the part of a minister or officer, seeking not his own glory, but that of his ruler. Paragraph 4 shows its subject exercising a still greater restraint on himself than in paragraph 3. There is an interpretation of the symbolism of paragraph 5 in a narrative of the 30 Kwan, under the 12th year of duke K'áo, B.C. 530. 'Yellow' is one of the five 'correct' colours, and the colour of the earth. 'The lower garment' is a symbol of humility.
 The fifth line is the seat of honour. If its occupant possess the qualities indicated, he will be greatly fortunate.

See the note on the sixth line of hexagram 1. What is there said to be 'beyond the proper limits' takes place here 'in the wild.' The humble subject of the divided line is transformed into a

III. THE KUN HEXAGRAM.



Kun (indicates that in the case which it presupposes) there will be great progress and success, and the advantage will come from being correct and firm. (But) any movement in advance should not be (lightly) undertaken. There will be advantage in appointing feudal princes.

1. The first line, undivided, shows the difficulty (its subject has) in advancing. It will be advantageous for him to abide correct and firm; advantageous (also) to be made a feudal ruler.

2. The second line, divided, shows (its subject) distressed and obliged to return; (even) the horses of her chariot (also) seem to be retreating. (But) not by a spoiler (is she assailed), but by one who seeks her to be his wife. The young lady maintains her firm correctness, and declines a union. After ten years she will be united, and have children.

3. The third line, divided, shows one following the deer without (the guidance of) the forester, and only finding himself in the midst of the forest. The superior man, acquainted with the secret risks, thinks it better to give up the chase. If he went forward, he would regret it.

dragon, and fights with the true dragon, the subject of the undivided line. They fight and bleed, and their blood is of the colour proper to heaven or the sky, and the colour proper to the earth. Paragraph 7 supposes that the hexagram *Khwân* should become changed into *Khien*;—the result of which would be good.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows (its subject as a lady), the horses of whose chariot appear in retreat. She seeks, however, (the help of) him who seeks her to be his wife. Advance will be fortunate; all will turn out advantageously.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the difficulties in the way of (its subject's) dispensing the rich favours that might be expected from him. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune in small things; (even) with them in great things there will be evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows (its subject) with the horses of his chariot obliged to retreat, and weeping tears of blood in streams.

III. The character called *Kun* is pictorial, and was intended to show us how a plant struggles with difficulty out of the earth, rising gradually above the surface. This difficulty, marking the first stages in the growth of a plant, is used to symbolise the struggles that mark the rise of a state out of a condition of disorder, consequent on a great revolution. The same thing is denoted by the combination of the trigrams that form the figure;—as will be seen in the notes on it under Appendix II.

I have introduced within parentheses, in the translation, the words 'in the case which the hexagram presupposes.' It is necessary to introduce them. King Wăn and his son wrote, as they did in every hexagram, with reference to a particular state of affairs which they had in mind. This was the unspoken text which controlled and directed all their writing; and the student must try to get hold of this, if he would make his way with comfort and success through the *Yî*. Wăn saw the social and political world around him in great disorder, hard to be remedied. But he had faith in himself and the destinies of his House. Let there be prudence and caution, with unswerving adherence to the right; let the government of the different states be entrusted to good and able men:—then all would be well.

The first line is undivided, showing the strength of its subject. He will be capable of action, and his place in the trigram of mobility will the more dispose him to it. But above him is the

IV. THE MĂNG HEXAGRAM.



Măng (indicates that in the case which it presupposes) there will be progress and success. I do not (go and) seek the youthful and inexperienced,

trigram of peril; and the lowest line of that, to which especially he must look for response and co-operation, is divided and weak. Hence arise the ideas of difficulty in advancing, the necessity of caution, and the advantage of his being clothed with authority.

To the subject of the second line, divided, advance is still more difficult. He is weak in himself; he is pressed by the subject of the strong line below him. But happily that subject, though strong, is correct; and above in the fifth line, in the place of authority, is the strong one, union with whom and the service of whom should be the objects pursued. All these circumstances suggested to the duke of *Kâu* the idea of a young lady, sought in marriage by a strong wooer, when marriage was unsuitable, rejecting him, and finally, after ten years, marrying a more suitable, the only suitable, match for her.

The third line is divided, not central, and the number of its place is appropriate to the occupancy of a strong line. All these things should affect the symbolism of the line. But the outcome of the whole hexagram being good, the superior man sees the immediate danger and avoids it.

The subject of the fourth line, the first of the upper trigram, has recourse to the strong suitor of line 1, the first of the lower trigram; and with his help is able to cope with the difficulties of the position, and go forward.

The subject of the fifth line is in the place of authority, and should show himself a ruler, dispensing benefits on a great scale. But he is in the very centre of the trigram denoting perilousness, and line 2, which responds to 5, is weak. Hence arises the symbolism, and great things should not be attempted.

The sixth line is weak; the third responding to it is also weak; it is at the extremity of peril; the game is up. What can remain for its subject in such a case but terror and abject weeping?

but he comes and seeks me. When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome; and I do not instruct the troublesome. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, (has respect to) the dispelling of ignorance. It will be advantageous to use punishment (for that purpose), and to remove the shackles (from the mind). But going on in that way (of punishment) will give occasion for regret.

2. The second line, undivided, (shows its subject) exercising forbearance with the ignorant, in which there will be good fortune; and admitting (even the goodness of women, which will also be fortunate. (He may be described also as) a son able to (sustain the burden of) his family.

3. The third line, divided, (seems to say) that one should not marry a woman whose emblem it might be, for that, when she sees a man of wealth, she will not keep her person from him, and in no wise will advantage come from her.

4. The fourth line, divided, (shows its subject as if) bound in chains of ignorance. There will be occasion for regret.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject as a simple lad without experience. There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost line, undivided, we see one smiting the ignorant (youth). But no advantage

will come from doing him an injury. Advantage would come from warding off injury from him.

IV. As *K'un* shows us plants struggling from beneath the surface, *Mãng* suggests to us the small and undeveloped appearance which they then present; and hence it came to be the symbol of youthful inexperience and ignorance. The object of the hexagram is to show how such a condition should be dealt with by the parent and ruler, whose authority and duty are represented by the second and sixth, the two undivided lines. All between the first and last sentences of the *Thwan* must be taken as an oracular response received by the party divining on the subject of enlightening the youthful ignorant. This accounts for its being more than usually enigmatical, and for its being partly rhythmical. See Appendix I, in loc.

The subject of the first line, weak, and at the bottom of the figure, is in the grossest ignorance. Let him be punished. If punishment avail to loosen the shackles and manacles from the mind, well; if not, and punishment be persevered with, the effect will be bad.

On the subject of the second line, strong, and in the central place, devolves the task of enlightening the ignorant; and we have him discharging it with forbearance and humility. In proof of his generosity, it is said that 'he receives,' or learns from, even weak and ignorant women. He appears also as 'a son' taking the place of his father.

The third line is weak, and occupies an odd place belonging properly to an undivided line; nor is its place in the centre. All these things give the subject of it so bad a character.

The fourth line is far from both the second and sixth, and can get no help from its correlate,—the first line, weak as itself. What good can be done with or by the subject of it?

The fifth line is in the place of honour, and has for its correlate the strong line in the second place. Being weak in itself, it is taken as the symbol of a simple lad, willing to be taught.

The topmost line is strong, and in the highest place. It is natural, but unwise, in him to use violence in carrying on his educational measures. A better course is suggested to him.

V. THE HSÜ HEXAGRAM.



Hsü intimates that, with the sincerity which is declared in it, there will be brilliant success. With firmness there will be good fortune; and it will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject waiting in the distant border. It will be well for him constantly to maintain (the purpose thus shown), in which case there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject waiting on the sand (of the mountain stream). He will (suffer) the small (injury of) being spoken (against), but in the end there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject in the mud (close by the stream). He thereby invites the approach of injury.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject waiting in (the place of) blood. But he will get out of the cavern.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject waiting amidst the appliances of a feast. Through his firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject entered into the cavern. (But) there are three guests coming, without being urged, (to his help).

If he receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end.

V. Hsü means waiting. Strength confronted by peril might be expected to advance boldly and at once to struggle with it; but it takes the wiser plan of waiting till success is sure. This is the lesson of the hexagram. That 'sincerity is declared in it' is proved from the fifth line in the position of honour and authority, central, itself undivided and in an odd place. In such a case, nothing but firm correctness is necessary to great success.

'Going through a great stream,' an expression frequent in the Yî, may mean undertaking hazardous enterprises, or encountering great difficulties, without any special reference; but more natural is it to understand by 'the great stream' the Yellow river, which the lords of Kâu must cross in a revolutionary movement against the dynasty of Yin and its tyrant. The passage of it by king Wû, the son of Wăn in B.C. 1122, was certainly one of the greatest deeds in the history of China. It was preceded also by long 'waiting,' till the time of assured success came.

'The border' under line 1 means the frontier territory of the state. There seems no necessity for such a symbolism. 'The sand' and 'the mud' are appropriate with reference to the watery defile; but it is different with 'the border.' The subject of the line appears at work in his distant fields, not thinking of anything but his daily work; and he is advised to abide in that state and mind.

'The sand' of paragraph 2 suggests a nearer approach to the defile, but its subject is still self-restrained and waiting. I do not see what suggests the idea of his suffering from 'the strife of tongues.'

In paragraph 3 the subject is on the brink of the stream. His advance to that position has provoked resistance, which may result in his injury.

Line 4 has passed from the inner to the upper trigram, and entered on the scene of danger and strife;—'into the place of blood.' Its subject is 'weak and in the correct place for him;' he therefore retreats and escapes from the cavern, where he was engaged with his enemy.

Line 5 is strong and central, and in its correct place, being that of honour. All good qualities therefore belong to the subject of it, who has triumphed, and with firmness will triumph still more.

Line 6 is weak, and has entered deeply into the defile and its caverns. What will become of its subject? His correlate is the

Rubison

VI. THE SUNG HEXAGRAM.



Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one's contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction; but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune, while, if he must prosecute the contention to the (bitter) end, there will be evil. It will be advantageous to see the great man; it will not be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject not perpetuating the matter about which (the contention is). He will suffer the small (injury) of being spoken against, but the end will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. If he retire and keep concealed (where) the inhabitants of his city are (only) three hundred families, he will fall into no mistake.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject keeping in the old place assigned for his support, and firmly correct. Perilous as the position is, there will be good fortune in the end. Should he per-

strong line 3 below, which comes with its two companions to his help. If they are respectfully received, that help will prove effectual. P. Regis tries to find out a reference in these 'three guests' to three princes who distinguished themselves by taking part with K'âu in its struggle with Yin or Shang; see vol. i, pp. 279-282. I dare not be so confident of any historical reference.

chance engage in the king's business, he will not (claim the merit of) achievement.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. He returns to (the study of Heaven's) ordinances, changes (his wish to contend), and rests in being firm and correct. There will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject contending;—and with great good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows how its subject may have the leathern belt conferred on him (by the sovereign), and thrice it shall be taken from him in a morning.

VI. We have strength in the upper trigram, as if to regulate and control the lower, and peril in that lower as if looking out for an opportunity to assail the upper; or, as it may be represented, we have one's self in a state of peril matched against strength from without. All this is supposed to give the idea of contention or strife. But the undivided line in the centre of *Khân* is emblematic of sincerity, and gives a character to the whole figure. An individual, so represented, will be very wary, and have good fortune; but strife is bad, and if persevered in even by such a one, the effect will be evil. The fifth line, undivided, in an odd place, and central, serves as a representative of 'the great man,' whose agency is sure to be good; but the topmost line being also strong, and with its two companions, riding as it were, on the trigram of peril, its action is likely to be too rash for a great enterprise. See the treatise on the *Thwan*, in loc.

The subject of line 1 is weak and at the bottom of the figure. He may suffer a little in the nascent strife, but will let it drop; and the effect will be good.

Line 2 represents one who is strong, and has the rule of the lower trigram;—he has the mind for strife, and might be expected to engage in it. But his strength is weakened by being in an even place, and he is no match for his correlate in line 5, and therefore retreats. A town or city with only three hundred families is said

VII. THE SZE HEXAGRAM.



Sze indicates how, in the case which it supposes, with firmness and correctness, and (a leader of) age

to be very small. That the subject of the line should retire to so insignificant a place is further proof of his humility.

Line 3 is weak and in an odd place. Its subject therefore is not equal to strive, but withdraws from the arena. Even if forced into it, he will keep himself in the background;—and be safe. 'He keeps in the old place assigned for his support' is, literally, 'He eats his old virtue;' meaning that he lives in and on the appanage assigned to him for his services.

Line 4 is strong, and not in the centre; so that we are to conceive of its subject as having a mind to strive. But immediately above it is line 5, the symbol of the ruler, and with him it is hopeless to strive; immediately below is 3, weak, and out of its proper place, incapable of maintaining a contention. Its proper correlate is the lowest line, weak, and out of its proper place, from whom little help can come. Hence its subject takes the course indicated, which leads to good fortune.

Line 5 has every circumstance in favour of its subject.

Line 6 is strong and able to contend successfully; but is there to be no end of striving? Persistence in it is sure to end in defeat and disgrace. The contender here might receive a reward from the king for his success; but if he received it thrice in a morning, thrice it would be taken from him again. As to the nature of the reward here given, see on the Li K'i, X, ii, 32.

P. Regis explains several of the expressions in the Text, both in the Thwan and the Hsiang, from the history of king Wăn and his son king Wû. Possibly his own circumstances may have suggested to Wăn some of the Thwan; and his course in avoiding a direct collision with the tyrant Shâu, and Wû's subsequent exploits may have been in the mind of the duke of K'âu. Some of the sentiments, however, cannot be historically explained. They are general protests against all contention and strife.

and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.

1. The first line, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If these be not good, there will be evil.

2. The second line, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the host. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders (of his favour).

3. The third line, divided, shows how the host may, possibly, have many inefficient leaders. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the host in retreat. There is no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it will be advantageous to seize (and destroy). In that case there will be no error. If the oldest son leads the host, and younger men (idly occupy offices assigned to them), however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges, (appointing some) to be rulers of states, and others to undertake the headship of clans; but small men should not be employed (in such positions).

VII. The conduct of military expeditions in a feudal kingdom, and we may say, generally, is denoted by the hexagram Sze. Referring to Appendixes I and II for an explanation of the way in which the combination of lines in it is made out to suggest the idea of an army, and that idea being assumed, it is easy to see how the undivided line in the second place should be interpreted of the general, who is responded to by the divided line in the fifth and royal place. Thus entire trust is reposed in him. He is strong

VIII. THE PĬ HEXAGRAM.



PĬ indicates that (under the conditions which it supposes) there is good fortune. But let (the principal party intended in it) re-examine himself, (as if)

and correct, and his enterprises will be successful. He is denominated *kang zǎn*, 'an old, experienced man.'

'The rules,' it is said, 'are twofold;—first, that the war be for a ✓ righteous end; and second, that the manner of conducting it, ✓ especially at the outset, be right.' But how this and the warning in the conclusion should both follow from the divided line being in the first place, has not been sufficiently explained.

How line 2 comes to be the symbol of the general in command of the army has been shown above on the Thwan. The orders of the king thrice conveyed to him are to be understood of his appointment to the command, and not of any rewards conferred on him as a tribute to his merit. Nor is stress to be laid on the 'thrice.' 'It does not mean that the appointment came to him three times; but that it was to him exclusively, and with the entire confidence of the king.'

The symbolism of line 3 is very perplexing. P. Regis translates it:—'*Milites videntur deponere sarcinas in curribus. Male.*' Canon McClatchie has:—'*Third-six represents soldiers as it were lying dead in their baggage carts, and is unlucky.*' To the same effect was my own translation of the paragraph, nearly thirty years ago. But the third line, divided, cannot be forced to have such an indication. The meaning I have now given is more legitimate, taken character by character, and more in harmony with the scope of the hexagram. The subject of line 2 is the one proper leader of the host. But line 3 is divided and weak, and occupies the place of a strong line, as if its subject had perversely jumped over two, and perched himself above it to take the command. This interpretation also suits better in the 5th paragraph.

Line 4 is weak and not central; and therefore 'to retreat' is

by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm. If it be so, there will be no error. Those who have not rest will then come to him; and with those who are (too) late in coming it will be ill.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject seeking by his sincerity to win the attachment of his object. There will be no error. Let (the breast) be full of sincerity as an earthenware vessel is of its contents, and it will in the end bring other advantages.

2. In the second line, divided, we see the movement towards union and attachment proceeding from the inward (mind). With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. In the third line, divided, we see its subject seeking for union with such as ought not to be associated with.

4. In the fourth line, divided, we see its subject

natural for its subject. But its place is even, and proper for a divided line; and the retreat will be right in the circumstances.

In line 5 we seem to have an intimation of the important truth that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. 'The birds in the fields' symbolise parties attacking for plunder. The fifth line symbolises the chief authority,—the king, who is weak, or humble, and in the centre, and cedes the use of all his power to the general symbolised by line 2. The subject of 2 is 'the oldest son.' Those of three and four are supposed to be 'the younger brother and son,' that is, the younger men, who would cause evil if admitted to share the command.

The lesson on the topmost line is true and important, but the critics seem unable to deduce it from the nature of the line, as divided and in the sixth place.

seeking for union with the one beyond himself. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, affords the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment. (We seem to see in it) the king urging his pursuit of the game (only) in three directions, and allowing the escape of all the animals before him, while the people of his towns do not warn one another (to prevent it). There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost line, divided, we see one seeking union and attachment without having taken the first step (to such an end). There will be evil.

VIII. The idea of union between the different members and classes of a state, and how it can be secured, is the subject of the hexagram Pī. The whole line occupying the fifth place, or that of authority, in the hexagram, represents the ruler to whom the subjects of all the other lines offer a ready submission. According to the general rules for the symbolism of the lines, the second line is the correlate of the fifth; but all the other lines are here made subject to that fifth;—which is also a law of the Yi, according to the ‘Daily Lecture.’ To me it has the suspicious look of being made for the occasion. The harmony of union, therefore, is to be secured by the sovereign authority of one; but he is warned to see to it that his virtue be what will beseem his place, and subjects are warned not to delay to submit to him.

Where does the ‘sincerity’ predicated of the subject of line 1 come from? The ‘earthenware vessel’ is supposed to indicate its plain, unadorned character; but there is nothing in the position and nature of the line, beyond the general idea in the figure, to suggest the attribute.

Line 2 is the proper correlate of 5. Its position in the centre of the inner or lower trigram agrees with the movement of its subject as proceeding from the inward mind.

Line 3 is weak, not in the centre, nor in its correct place. The lines above and below it are both weak. All these things are supposed to account for what is said on it.

‘The one beyond himself’ in line 4 is the ruler or king, who is

IX. THE HSIÃO KHŪ HEXAGRAM.



Hsiao Khū indicates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. (We see) dense clouds, but no rain coming from our borders in the west.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning and pursuing his own course. What mistake should he fall into? There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject, by the attraction (of the former line), returning (to the proper course). There will be good fortune.

the subject of 5, and with whom union ought to be sought. The divided line, moreover, is in a place proper to it. If its subject be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

The subject of line 5 is the king, who must be the centre of union. The ancient kings had their great hunting expeditions in the different seasons; and that of each season had its peculiar rules. But what is stated here was common to all. When the beating was completed, and the shooting was ready to commence, one side of the enclosure into which the game had been driven was left open and unguarded;—a proof of the royal benevolence, which did not want to make an end of all the game. So well known and understood is this benevolence of the model king of the hexagram, that all his people try to give it effect. Thus the union contemplated is shown to be characterised by mutual confidence and appreciation in virtue and benevolence.

A weak line being in the 6th place, which is appropriate to it, its subject is supposed to be trying to promote union among and with the subjects of the lines below. It is too late. The time is past. Hence it is symbolised as 'without a head,' that is, as not having taken the first step, from which its action should begin, and go on to the end.

3. The third line, undivided, suggests the idea of a carriage, the strap beneath which has been removed, or of a husband and wife looking on each other with averted eyes.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity. The danger of bloodshed is thereby averted, and his (ground for) apprehension dismissed. There will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity, and drawing others to unite with him. Rich in resources, he employs his neighbours (in the same cause with himself).

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows how the rain has fallen, and the (onward progress) is stayed; —(so) must we value the full accumulation of the virtue (represented by the upper trigram). But a wife (exercising restraint), however firm and correct she may be, is in a position of peril, (and like) the moon approaching to the full. If the superior man prosecute his measures (in such circumstances), there will be evil.

IX. The name Hsião K'ü is interpreted as meaning 'small restraint.' The idea of 'restraint' having once been determined on as that to be conveyed by the figure, it is easily made out that the restraint must be small, for its representative is the divided line in the fourth place; and the check given by that to all the undivided lines cannot be great. Even if we suppose, as many critics do, that all the virtue of that upper trigram Sun is concentrated in its first line, the attribute ascribed to Sun is that of docile flexibility, which cannot long be successful against the strength emblemized by the lower trigram K'ien. The restraint therefore is small, and in the end there will be 'progress and success.'

The second sentence of the Thwan contains indications of the place, time, and personality of the writer which it seems possible to ascertain. The fief of K'au was the western portion of the

X. THE LI HEXAGRAM.



(Li suggests the idea of) one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success.

kingdom of Yin or Shang, the China of the twelfth century B. C., the era of king Wăn. Rain coming and moistening the ground is the cause of the beauty and luxuriance of the vegetable world, and the emblem of the blessings flowing from good training and good government. Here therefore in the west, the hereditary territory of the house of K'âu, are blessings which might enrich the whole kingdom; but they are somehow restrained. The dense clouds do not empty their stores.

P. Regis says:—‘To declare openly that no rain fell from the heavens long covered with dense clouds over the great tract of country, which stretched from the western border to the court and on to the eastern sea, was nothing else but leaving it to all thoughtful minds to draw the conclusion that the family of Wăn was as worthy of the supreme seat as that of Shâu, the tyrant, however ancient, was unworthy of it (vol. i, p. 356).’ The intimation is not put in the Text, however, so clearly as by P. Regis.

Line 1 is undivided, the first line of K'ien, occupying its proper place. Its subject, therefore, notwithstanding the check of line 4, resumes his movement, and will act according to his strong nature, and go forward.

Line 2 is also strong, and though an even place is not appropriate to it, that place being central, its subject will make common cause with the subject of line 1; and there will be good fortune.

Line 3, though strong, and in a proper place, yet not being in the centre, is supposed to be less able to resist the restraint of line 4; and hence it has the ill omens that are given.

The subject of line 4, one weak line against all the strong lines of the hexagram, might well expect wounds, and feel apprehension in trying to restrain the others; but it is in its proper place; it is the first line also of Sun, whose attribute is docile flexibility.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward, there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy;—a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows a one-eyed man (who thinks he) can see; a lame man (who thinks he) can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. (All this indicates) ill fortune. We have a (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril.

6. The sixth line, undivided, tells us to look at (the whole course) that is trodden, and examine the

The strong lines are moved to sympathy and help, and 'there is no mistake.'

Line 5 occupies the central place of Sun, and converts, by the sincerity of its subject, 4 and 6 into its neighbours, who suffer themselves to be used by it, and effect their common object.

In line 6, the idea of the hexagram has run its course. The harmony of nature is restored. The rain falls, and the onward march of the strong lines should now stop. But weakness that has achieved such a result, if it plume itself on it, will be in a position of peril; and like the full moon, which must henceforth wane. Let the superior man, when he has attained his end, remain in quiet.

presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune.

X. The character giving its name to the hexagram plays an important part also in the symbolism; and this may be the reason why it does not, as the name, occupy the first place in the Thwan. Looking at the figure, we see it is made up of the trigrams Tui, representing a marsh, and K'ien, representing the sky. Tui is a yin trigram, and its top line is divided. Below K'ien, the great symbol of strength, it may readily suggest the idea of treading on a tiger's tail, which was an old way of expressing what was hazardous (Shû V, xxv, 2). But what suggests the statement that 'the tiger does not bite the treader?' The attribute of Tui is pleased satisfaction. Of course such an attribute could not be predicated of one who was in the fangs of a tiger. The coming scatheless out of such danger further suggests the idea of 'progress and success' in the course which king Wăn had in his mind. And according to Appendix VI, that course was 'propriety,' the observance of all the rules of courtesy. On these, as so many stepping-stones, one may tread safely amid scenes of disorder and peril.

Line 1 is an undivided line in an odd place; giving us the ideas of activity, firmness, and correctness. One so characterised will act rightly.

Line 2 occupies the middle place of the trigram, which is supposed to symbolise a path cut straight and level along the hill-side, or over difficult ground. Line 5 is not a proper correlate, and hence the idea of the subject of 2 being 'a quiet and solitary man.'

Line 3 is neither central nor in an even place, which would be proper to it. But with the strength of will which the occupant of an odd place should possess, he goes forward with the evil results so variously emblemed. The editors of the imperial edition, in illustration of the closing sentence, refer to Analects VII, x.

Line 4 is in contiguity with 5, whose subject is in the place of authority; but he occupies the place proper to a weak or divided line, and hence he bethinks himself, and goes softly.

Beneath the symbolism under line 5, lies the principle that the most excellent thing in 'propriety' is humility. And the subject of the line, which is strong and central, will not be lacking in this, but bear in mind that the higher he is exalted, the greater may be his fall.

XI. THE THÂI HEXAGRAM.



In Thái (we see) the little gone and the great come. (It indicates that) there will be good fortune, with progress and success.

1. The first line, undivided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. Advance (on the part of its subject) will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows one who can bear with the uncultivated, will cross the Ho without a boat, does not forget the distant, and has no (selfish) friendships. Thus does he prove himself acting in accordance with the course of the due Mean.

3. The third line, undivided, shows that, while there is no state of peace that is not liable to be disturbed, and no departure (of evil men) so that they shall not return, yet when one is firm and correct, as he realises the distresses that may arise, he will commit no error. There is no occasion for sadness at the certainty (of such recurring changes); and in this mood the happiness (of the present) may be (long) enjoyed.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject fluttering (down);—not relying on his own rich

What is said on line 6 is good, but is only a truism. The whole course has been shown; if every step has been right and appropriate, the issue will be very good.

resources, but calling in his neighbours. (They all come) not as having received warning, but in the sincerity (of their hearts).

5. The fifth line, divided, reminds us of (king) Tî-yî's (rule about the) marriage of his younger sister. By such a course there is happiness and there will be great good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows us the city wall returned into the moat. It is not the time to use the army. (The subject of the line) may, indeed, announce his orders to the people of his own city; but however correct and firm he may be, he will have cause for regret.

XI. The language of the Thwan has reference to the form of Thâi, with the three strong lines of K'ien below, and the three weak lines of Khwân above. The former are 'the great,' active and vigorous; the latter are 'the small,' inactive and submissive. But where have the former 'come' from, and whither are the latter 'gone?' In many editions of the Yî beneath the hexagram of Thâi here, there appears that of Kwei Mei, the 54th in order () which becomes Thâi, if the third and fourth lines exchange places. But in the notes on the Thwan, in the first Appendix, on hexagram 6, I have spoken of the doctrine of 'changing figures,' and intimated my disbelief of it. The different hexagrams arose necessarily by the continued manipulation of the undivided and divided lines, and placing them each over itself and over the other. When king Wân wrote these Thwan, he was taking the 64 hexagrams, as they were ready to his hand, and not forming one from another by any process of divination. The 'gone' and 'come' are merely equivalent to 'below' and 'above,' in the lower trigram or in the upper.

A course in which the motive forces are represented by the three strong, and the opposing by the three weak lines, must be progressive and successful. Thâi is called the hexagram of the first month of the year, the first month of the natural spring, when for six months, through the fostering sun and genial skies, the processes of growth will be going on.

XII. THE PHÏ HEXAGRAM.



In Phï there is the want of good understanding between the (different classes of) men, and its indication is unfavourable to the firm and correct

The symbolism of paragraph 1 is suggested by the three strong lines of *K'ien* all together, and all possessed by the same instinct to advance. The movement of the first will be supported by that of the others, and be fortunate.

The second line is strong, but in an even place. This is supposed to temper the strength of its subject; which is expressed by the first of his characteristics. But the even place is the central; and it is responded to by a proper correlate in the fifth line above. Hence come all the symbolism of the paragraph and the auspice of good fortune implied in it.

Beneath the symbolism in paragraph 3 there lies the persuasion of the constant change that is taking place in nature and in human affairs. As night succeeds to day, and winter to summer, so calamity may be expected to follow prosperity, and decay the flourishing of a state. The third is the last of the lines of *K'ien*, by whose strength and activity the happy state of *Thâi* has been produced. Another aspect of things may be looked for; but by firmness and correctness the good estate of the present may be long continued.

According to the treatise on the *Thwan*, the subjects of the fourth and other upper lines are not 'the small returning' as opponents of the strong lines below, as is generally supposed; but as the correlates of those lines, of one heart and mind with them to maintain the state of *Thâi*, and giving them, humbly but readily, all the help in their power.

Ti-yî, the last sovereign but one of the Yin dynasty, reigned from B.C. 1191 to 1155; but what was the history of him and his sister here referred to we do not know. P. Regis assumes that he gave his sister in marriage to the lord of *K'âu*, known in subse-

course of the superior man. We see in it the great gone and the little come.

1. The first line, divided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. With firm correctness (on the part of its subject), there will be good fortune and progress.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject patient and obedient. To the small man (comporting himself so) there will be good fortune. If the great man (comport himself) as the distress and obstruction require, he will have success.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject ashamed of the purpose folded (in his breast).

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject acting in accordance with the ordination (of Heaven), and committing no error. His companions will come and share in his happiness.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, we see him who

quent time as king Wăn, and that she was the famous Thai-sze ;—contrary to all the evidence I have been able to find on the subject. According to *Khăng-ze*, Tî-yî was the first to enact a law that daughters of the royal house, in marrying princes of the states, should be in subjection to them, as if they were not superior to them in rank. Here line 5, while occupying the place of dignity and authority in the hexagram, is yet a weak line in the place of a strong one ; and its subject, accordingly, humbly condescends to his strong and proper correlate in line 2.

The course denoted by Thâi has been run ; and will be followed by one of a different and unhappy character. The earth dug from the moat had been built up to form a protecting wall ; but it is now again fallen into the ditch. War will only aggravate the evil ; and however the ruler may address good proclamations to himself and the people of his capital, the coming evil cannot be altogether averted.

brings the distress and obstruction to a close,—the great man and fortunate. (But let him say), 'We may perish! We may perish!' (so shall the state of things become firm, as if) bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the overthrow (and removal of) the condition of distress and obstruction. Before this there was that condition. Hereafter there will be joy.

XII. The form of Phï, it will be seen, is exactly the opposite of that of Thâi. Much of what has been said on the interpretation of that will apply to this, or at least assist the student in making out the meaning of its symbolism. Phï is the hexagram of the seventh month. Genial influences have done their work, the processes of growth are at an end. Henceforth increasing decay must be looked for.

Naturally we should expect the advance of the subject of the first of the three weak lines to lead to evil; but if he set himself to be firm and correct, he will bring about a different issue.

Patience and obedience are proper for the small man in all circumstances. If the great man in difficulty yet cherish these attributes, he will soon have a happy issue out of the distress.

The third line is weak. Its place is odd, and therefore for it incorrect. Its subject would vent his evil purpose, but has not strength to do so. He is left therefore to the shame which he ought to feel without a word of warning. Does the ming of the fourth line mean 'the ordination of Heaven,' as Kû Hsî thinks; or the orders of the ruler, as K'äng-ze says? Whichever interpretation be taken (and some critics unite the two), the action of the subject of the line, whose strength is tempered by the even position, will be good and correct, and issue in success and happiness.

The strong line in the fifth, (its correct), place, brings the distress and obstruction to a close. Yet its subject—the ruler in the hexagram—is warned to continue to be cautious in two lines of rhyme:—

'And let him say, "I die! I die!"

So to a bushy clump his fortune he shall tie."

There is an end of the condition of distress. It was necessary that condition should give place to its opposite; and the strong line in the topmost place fitly represents the consequent joy.

XIII. THE THUNG Zǎn HEXAGRAM.



Thung Zǎn (or 'Union of men') appears here (as we find it) in the (remote districts of the) country, indicating progress and success. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to maintain the firm correctness of the superior man.

1. The first line, undivided, (shows the representative of) the union of men just issuing from his gate. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, (shows the representative of) the union of men in relation with his kindred. There will be occasion for regret.

3. The third line, undivided, (shows its subject) with his arms hidden in the thick grass, and at the top of a high mound. (But) for three years he makes no demonstration.

4. The fourth line, undivided, (shows its subject) mounted on the city wall; but he does not proceed to make the attack (he contemplates). There will be good fortune.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, (the representative of) the union of men first wails and cries out, and then laughs. His great host conquers, and he (and the subject of the second line) meet together.

6. The topmost line, undivided, (shows the repre-

sentative of) the union of men in the suburbs. There will be no occasion for repentance.

XIII. Thung Zăn describes a condition of nature and of the state opposite to that of Phî. There was distress and obstruction; here is union. But the union must be based entirely on public considerations, without taint of selfishness.

The strong line in the fifth, its correct, place, occupies the most important position, and has for its correlate the weak second line, also in its correct place. The one divided line is naturally sought after by all the strong lines. The upper trigram is that of heaven, which is above; the lower is that of fire, whose tendency is to mount upwards. All these things are in harmony with the idea of union. But the union must be free from all selfish motives, and this is indicated by its being in the remote districts of the country, where people are unsophisticated, and free from the depraving effects incident to large societies. A union from such motives will cope with the greatest difficulties; and yet a word of caution is added.

Line 1 emblems the first attempts at union. It is strong, but in the lowest place; and it has no proper correlate above. There is, however, no intermixture of selfishness in it.

Lines 2 and 5 are proper correlates, which fact suggests in this hexagram the idea of their union being limited and partial, and such as may afford ground for blame.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place; but it has not a proper correlate in 6. This makes its subject more anxious to unite with 2; but 2 is devoted to its proper correlate in 5, of whose strength 3 is afraid, and takes the measures described. His abstaining so long, however, from any active attempt, will save him from misfortune.

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place, which weakens its subject. He also would fain make an attempt on 2; but he is afraid, and does not carry his purpose into effect.

Line 5 is strong, in an odd, and the central place; and would fain unite with 2, which indeed is the proper correlate of its subject. But 3 and 4 are powerful foes that oppose the union. Their opposition makes him weep; but he collects his forces, defeats them, and effects his purpose.

The union reaches to all within the suburbs, and is not yet universal; but still there is no cause for repentance.

XIV. THE TÂ YÛ HEXAGRAM.



Tâ Yû indicates that, (under the circumstances which it implies), there will be great progress and success.

1. In the first line, undivided, there is no approach to what is injurious, and there is no error. Let there be a realisation of the difficulty (and danger of the position), and there will be no error (to the end).

2. In the second line, undivided, we have a large waggon with its load. In whatever direction advance is made, there will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows us a feudal prince presenting his offerings to the Son of Heaven. A small man would be unequal (to such a duty).

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject keeping his great resources under restraint. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the sincerity of its subject reciprocated by that of all the others (represented in the hexagram). Let him display a proper majesty, and there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject with help accorded to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.

XIV. Tâ Yû means 'Great Havings;' denoting in a kingdom a state of prosperity and abundance, and in a family or individual, a

XV. THE *KHIEN* HEXAGRAM.

K'ien indicates progress and success. The superior man, (being humble as it implies), will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).

1. The first line, divided, shows us the superior man who adds humility to humility. (Even) the great

state of opulence. The danger threatening such a condition arises from the pride which it is likely to engender. But everything here is against that issue. Apart from the symbolism of the trigrams, we have the place of honour occupied by a weak line, so that its subject will be humble; and all the other lines, strong as they are, will act in obedient sympathy. There will be great progress and success.

Line 1, though strong, is at the lowest part of the figure, and has no correlate above. No external influences have as yet acted injuriously on its subject. Let him do as directed, and no hurtful influence will ever affect him.

The strong line 2 has its proper correlate in line 5, the ruler of the figure, and will use its strength in subordination to his humility. Hence the symbolism.

Line 3 is strong, and in the right (an odd) place. The topmost line of the lower trigram is the proper place for a feudal lord. The subject of this will humbly serve the condescending ruler in line 5. A small man, having the place without the virtue, would give himself airs.

Line 4 is strong, but the strength is tempered by the position, which is that of a weak line. Hence he will do no injury to the mild ruler, to whom he is so near.

Line 5 symbolises the ruler. Mild sincerity is good in him, and affects his ministers and others. But a ruler must not be without an awe-inspiring majesty.

Even the topmost line takes its character from 5. The strength of its subject is still tempered, and Heaven gives its approval.

stream may be crossed with this, and there will be good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the superior man of (acknowledged) merit. He will maintain his success to the end, and have good fortune.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirring up (the more) his humility.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one who, without being rich, is able to employ his neighbours. He may advantageously use the force of arms. All his movements will be advantageous.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. The subject of it will with advantage put his hosts in motion; but (he will only) punish his own towns and state.

XV. An essay on humility rightly follows that on abundant possessions. The third line, which is a whole line amid five others divided, occupying the topmost place in the lower trigram, is held by the Khang-hsî editors and many others to be 'the lord of the hexagram,' the representative of humility, strong, but abasing itself. There is nothing here in the text to make us enter farther on the symbolism of the figure. Humility is the way to permanent success.

A weak line, at the lowest place of the figure, is the fitting symbol of the superior man adding humility to humility.

Line 2 is weak, central, and in its proper place, representing a humility that has 'crowded;' that is, has proclaimed itself.

Line 3 is strong, and occupies an odd (its proper) place. It is 'the lord of the hexagram,' to whom all represented by the lines above and below turn.

Line 4 is weak and in its proper position. Its subject is sure to

XVI. THE YÜ HEXAGRAM.



Yü indicates that, (in the state which it implies), feudal princes may be set up, and the hosts put in motion, with advantage.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject proclaiming his pleasure and satisfaction. There will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one who is firm as a rock. (He sees a thing) without waiting till it has come to pass; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows one looking up (for favours), while he indulges the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction. If he would understand!—If he be late in doing so, there will indeed be occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows him from whom the harmony and satisfaction come. Great

be successful and prosperous, but being so near the fifth line, he should still use the greatest precaution.

All men love and honour humility, in itself and without the adjuncts which usually command obedience and respect. Hence his neighbours follow the ruler in the fifth line, though he may not be very rich or powerful. His humility need not keep him from asserting the right, even by force of arms.

The subject of the sixth line, which is weak, is outside the game, so to speak, that has been played out. He will use force, but only within his own sphere and to assert what is right. He will not be aggressive.

is the success which he obtains. Let him not allow suspicions to enter his mind, and thus friends will gather around him.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one with a chronic complaint, but who lives on without dying.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with darkened mind devoted to the pleasure and satisfaction (of the time); but if he change his course even when (it may be considered as) completed, there will be no error.

XVI. The Yü hexagram denoted to king Wán a condition of harmony and happy contentment throughout the kingdom, when the people rejoiced in and readily obeyed their sovereign. At such a time his appointments and any military undertakings would be hailed and supported. The fourth line, undivided, is the lord of the figure, and being close to the fifth or place of dignity, is to be looked on as the minister or chief officer of the ruler. The ruler gives to him his confidence; and all represented by the other lines yield their obedience.

Line 1 is weak, and has for its correlate the strong 4. Its subject may well enjoy the happiness of the time. But he cannot contain himself, and proclaims, or boasts of, his satisfaction;—which is evil.

Line 2, though weak, is in its correct position, the centre, moreover, of the lower trigram. Quietly and firmly its subject is able to abide in his place, and exercise a far-seeing discrimination. All is indicative of good fortune.

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place. Immediately below line 4, its subject keeps looking up to the lord of the figure, and depends on him, thinking of doing nothing, but how to enjoy himself. The consequence will be as described, unless he speedily change.

The strong subject of line 4 is the agent to whom the happy condition is owing; and it is only necessary to caution him to maintain his confidence in himself and his purpose, and his adherents and success will continue.

Line 5 is in the ruler's place; but it is weak, and he is in danger of being carried away by the lust of pleasure. Moreover, proximity to the powerful minister represented by 4 is a source of danger.

XVII. THE SUI HEXAGRAM.



Sui indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. There will (then) be no error.

1. The first line, undivided, shows us one changing the object of his pursuit; but if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune. Going beyond (his own) gate to find associates, he will achieve merit.

2. The second line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the little boy, and lets go the man of age and experience.

3. The third line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the man of age and experience, and lets go the little boy. Such following will get what it seeks; but it will be advantageous to adhere to what is firm and correct.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows us one followed and obtaining (adherents). Though he be firm and correct, there will be evil. If he be sincere (however) in his course, and make that evident, into what error will he fall?

Hence he is represented as suffering from a chronic complaint, but nevertheless he does not die. See Appendix II on the line.

Line 6, at the very top or end of the hexagram, is weak, and its subject is all but lost. Still even for him there is a chance of safety, if he will but change.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows us (the ruler) sincere in (fostering all) that is excellent. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows us (that sincerity) firmly held and clung to, yea, and bound fast. (We see) the king with it presenting his offerings on the western mountain.

XVII. Sui symbolises the idea of following. It is said to follow Yü, the symbol of harmony and satisfaction. Where there are these conditions men are sure to follow; nor will they follow those in whom they have no complacency. The hexagram includes the cases where one follows others, and where others follow him; and the auspice of great progress and success is due to this flexibility and applicability of it. But in both cases the following must be guided by a reference to what is proper and correct. See the notes on the Thwan and the Great Symbolism.

Line 1 is strong, and lord of the lower trigram. The weak lines ought to follow it; but here it is below them, in the lowest place of the figure. This gives rise to the representation of one changing his pursuit. Still through the native vigour indicated by the line being strong, and in its correct place, its subject will be fortunate. Going beyond his gate to find associates indicates his public spirit, and superiority to selfish considerations.

Line 2 is weak. Its proper correlate is the strong 5; but it prefers to cleave to the line below, instead of waiting to follow 5. Hence the symbolism of the ʒext, the bad omen of which needs not to be mentioned.

Line 3 is also weak, but it follows the strong line above it and leaves line 1, reversing the course of 2;—with a different issue. It is weak, however, and 4 is not its proper correlate; hence the conclusion of the paragraph is equivalent to a caution.

Line 4 is strong, and in the place of a great minister next the ruler in 5. But his having adherents may be injurious to the supreme and sole authority of that ruler, and only a sincere loyalty will save him from error and misfortune.

Line 5 is strong, and in its correct place, with 2 as its proper correlate; thus producing the auspicious symbolism.

The issue of the hexagram is seen in line 6; which represents the ideal of following, directed by the most sincere adherence to

XVIII. THE KŪ HEXAGRAM.



Kū indicates great progress and success (to him who deals properly with the condition represented by it). There will be advantage in (efforts like that of) crossing the great stream. (He should weigh well, however, the events of) three days before the turning point, and those (to be done) three days after it.

1. The first line, divided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. If he be an (able) son, the father will escape the blame of having erred. The position is perilous, but there will be good fortune in the end.

2. The second line, undivided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his mother. He should not (carry) his firm correctness (to the utmost).

3. The third line, undivided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. There may be some small occasion for repentance, but there will not be any great error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows (a son) viewing

what is right. This influence not only extends to men, but also to spiritual beings. 'The western hill' is mount K'hi, at the foot of which was the original settlement of the house of K'au, in B.C. 1325. The use of the name 'king' here brings us down from Wăn into the time of king Wû at least.

indulgently the troubles caused by his father. If he go forward, he will find cause to regret it.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. He obtains the praise of using (the fit instrument for his work).

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows us one who does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs.

XVIII. In the 6th Appendix it is said, 'They who follow another are sure to have services (to perform), and hence Sui is followed by Kû.' But Kû means the having painful or troublesome services to do. It denotes here a state in which things are going to ruin, as if through poison or venomous worms; and the figure is supposed to describe the arrest of the decay and the restoration to soundness and vigour, so as to justify its auspice of great progress and success. To realise such a result, however, great efforts will be required, as in crossing the great stream; and a careful consideration of the events that have brought on the state of decay, and the measures to be taken to remedy it is also necessary. See Appendix I on the 'three days.'

The subject of line 1, and of all the other lines, excepting perhaps 6, appears as a son. Yet the line itself is of the yin nature, and the trigram in which it plays the principal part is also yin. Line 2 is strong, and of the yang nature, with the yin line 5 as its proper correlate. In line 2, 5 appears as the mother; but its subject there is again a son, and the upper trigram altogether is yang. I am unable to account for these things. As is said in the note of Regis on line 2:—'*Haec matris filique denominatio ad has lineas mere translatitia est, et, ut ait commentarius vulgaris, ad explicationem sententiarum eas pro matre et filio supponere dicendum est. Nec ratio reddetur si quis in utroque hoc nomine mysterium quaerat. Cur enim aliis in figuris lineae nunc regem, nunc vasallum, jam imperii administrum, mox summum armorum praefectum referre dicantur? Accommodantur scilicet lineae ad verba sententiae et verba sententiae ad sensum, quemadmodum faciendum de methodis libri Shih King docet Mencius, V, i, ode 4. 2.*'

We must leave this difficulty. Line 1 is weak, and its correlate 4 is also weak. What can its subject do to remedy the state of decay? But the line is the first of the figure, and the decay is not

XIX. THE LIN HEXAGRAM.



Lin (indicates that under the conditions supposed in it) there will be great progress and success, while it will be advantageous to be firmly correct. In the eighth month there will be evil.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company (with the subject of the

yet great. By giving heed to the cautions in the Text, he will accomplish what is promised.

The ruler in line 5 is represented by a weak line, while 2 is strong. Thus the symbolism takes the form of a son dealing with the prevailing decay induced somehow by his mother. But a son must be very gentle in all his intercourse with his mother, and especially so, when constrained by a sense of duty to oppose her course. I do not think there is anything more or better to be said here. The historical interpretation adopted by Regis and his friends, that the father here is king Wăn, the mother Thái-sze, and the son king Wû, cannot be maintained. I have searched, but in vain, for the slightest Chinese sanction of it, and it would give to Kû the meaning of misfortunes endured, instead of troubles caused.

Line 3 is strong, and not central, so that its subject might well go to excess in his efforts. But this tendency is counteracted by the line's place in the trigram Sun, often denoting lowly submission.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place, which intensifies that weakness. Hence comes the caution against going forward.

The weak line 5, as has been said, is the seat of the ruler; but its proper correlate is the strong 2, the strong siding champion minister, to whom the work of the hexagram is delegated.

Line 6 is strong, and has no proper correlate below. Hence it suggests the idea of one outside the sphere of action, and taking no part in public affairs, but occupied with the culture of himself.

second line). Through his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company (with the subject of the first line). There will be good fortune; (advancing) will be in every way advantageous.

3. The third line, divided, shows one well pleased (indeed) to advance, (but whose action) will be in no way advantageous. If he become anxious about it (however), there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one advancing in the highest mode. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the advance of wisdom, such as befits the great ruler. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the advance of honesty and generosity. There will be good fortune, and no error.

XIX. In Appendix VI Lin is explained as meaning 'great.' The writer, having misunderstood the meaning of the previous Kâ, sub-joins—'He who performs such services may become "great."' But Lin denotes the approach of authority,—to inspect, to comfort, or to rule. When we look at the figure, we see two strong undivided lines advancing on the four weak lines above them, and thence follows the assurance that their action will be powerful and successful. That action must be governed by rectitude, however, and by caution grounded on the changing character of all conditions and events. The meaning of the concluding sentence is given in Appendix I as simply being—that, 'the advancing power will decay in no long time.' Lû Kân-khi (Ming dynasty) says:—'The sun (or the day) is the symbol of what is Yang; and the moon is the symbol of what is Yin. Eight is the number of the second of the four emblematic figures (the smaller Yin), and seven is the number of the third of them (the smaller Yang). Hence to indicate the period of the coming of what is Yin, we use the phrase, "the eighth month;" and to indicate the period of the coming of what is

XX. THE KWÂN HEXAGRAM.



Kwân shows (how he whom it represents should be like) the worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings ;—with sincerity

Yang, we use the phrase, “the seventh day.” The Khang-hsi editors say that this is the best explanation of the language of the Text that can be given :—‘The Yang numbers culminate in 9, the influence then receding and producing the 8 of the smaller Yin. The Yin numbers culminate in 6, and the next advance produces the 7 of the smaller Yang ; so that 7 and 8 are the numbers indicating the first birth of what is Yin and what is Yang.’ ‘If we go to seek,’ they add, ‘any other explanation of the phraseology of the Text, and such expressions as “3 days,” “3 years,” “10 years,” &c., we make them unintelligible.’ Lin is the hexagram of the twelfth month.

Line 1 is a strong line in its proper place. The danger is that its subject may be more strong than prudent, hence the caution in requiring firm correctness.

Line 2, as strong, should be in an odd place ; but this is more than counterbalanced by the central position, and its correlate in line 5.

Line 3 is weak, and neither central, nor in its correct position. Hence its action will not be advantageous ; but being at the top of the trigram Tui, which means being pleased, its subject is represented as ‘well pleased to advance.’ Anxious reflection will save him from error.

Line 4, though weak, is in its proper place, and has for its correlate the strong 1. Hence its advance is ‘in the highest style.’

Line 5 is the position of the ruler. It is weak, but being central, and having for its correlate the strong and central 2, we have in it a symbol of authority distrustful of itself, and employing fit agents ;—characteristic of the wise ruler.

Line 6 is the last of the trigram Khwân, the height therefore of docility. Line 2 is not its correlate, but it belongs to the Yin to seek for the Yang ; and it is so emphatically in this case. Hence the characteristic and issue as assigned.

and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard).

1. The first line, divided, shows the looking of a lad;—not blamable in men of inferior rank, but matter for regret in superior men.

2. The second line, divided, shows one peeping out from a door. It would be advantageous if it were (merely) the firm correctness of a female.

3. The third line, divided, shows one looking at (the course of) his own life, to advance or recede (accordingly).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one contemplating the glory of the kingdom. It will be advantageous for him, being such as he is, (to seek) to be a guest of the king.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his own life(-course). A superior man, he will (thus) fall into no error.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his character to see if it be indeed that of a superior man. He will not fall into error.

XX. The Chinese character Kwân, from which this hexagram is named, is used in it in two senses. In the Thwan, the first paragraph of the treatise on the Thwan, and the paragraph on the Great Symbolism, it denotes showing, manifesting; in all other places it denotes contemplating, looking at. The subject of the hexagram is the sovereign and his subjects, how he manifests himself to them, and how they contemplate him. The two upper, undivided, lines belong to the sovereign; the four weak lines below them are his subjects,—ministers and others who look up at him. Kwân is the hexagram of the eighth month.

In the Thwan king Wân symbolises the sovereign by a worshipping when he is most solemn in his religious service, at the commencement of it, full of sincerity and with a dignified carriage.

Line 1 is weak, and in the lowest place, improper also for it;—

XXI. THE SHIH HO HEXAGRAM.



Shih Ho indicates successful progress (in the condition of things which it supposes). It will be advantageous to use legal constraints.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one with his feet in the stocks and deprived of his toes. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows one biting through the soft flesh, and (going on to) bite off the nose. There will be no error.

the symbol of a thoughtless lad, who cannot see far, and takes only superficial views.

Line 2 is also weak, but in its proper place, showing a woman, living retired, and only able to peep as from her door at the subject of the fifth line. But ignorance and retirement are proper in a woman.

Line 3, at the top of the lower trigram Khwăn, and weak, must belong to a subject of the utmost docility, and will wish to act only according to the exigency of time and circumstances.

Line 4, in the place proper to its weakness, is yet in immediate proximity to 5, representing the sovereign. Its subject is moved accordingly, and stirred to ambition.

Line 5 is strong, and in the place of the ruler. He is a superior man, but this does not relieve him from the duty of self-contemplation or examination.

There is a slight difference in the 6th paragraph from the 5th, which can hardly be expressed in a translation. By making a change in the punctuation, however, the different significance may be brought out. Line 6 is strong, and should be considered out of the work of the hexagram, but its subject is still possessed by the spirit of its idea, and is led to self-examination.

3. The third line, divided, shows one gnawing dried flesh, and meeting with what is disagreeable. There will be occasion for some small regret, but no (great) error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows one gnawing the flesh dried on the bone, and getting the pledges of money and arrows. It will be advantageous to him to realise the difficulty of his task and be firm,—in which case there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one gnawing at dried flesh, and finding the yellow gold. Let him be firm and correct, realising the peril (of his position). There will be no error.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows one wearing the cangue, and deprived of his ears. There will be evil.

XXI. Shih Ho means literally 'Union by gnawing.' We see in the figure two strong lines in the first and last places, while all the others, with the exception of the fourth, are divided. This suggests the idea of the jaws and the mouth between them kept open by something in it. Let that be gnawed through and the mouth will close and the jaws come together. So in the body politic. Remove the obstacles to union, and high and low will come together with a good understanding. And how are those obstacles to be removed? By force, emblemed by the gnawing; that is, by legal constraints. And these are sure to be successful. The auspice of the figure is favourable. There will be success.

Lines 1 and 6 are much out of the game or action described in the figure. Hence they are held to represent parties receiving punishment, while the other lines represent parties inflicting it. The punishment in line 1 is that of the stocks, administered for a small offence, and before crime has made much way. But if the 'depriving' of the toes is not merely keeping them in restraint, but cutting them off, as the Chinese character suggests, the punishment appears to a western reader too severe.

Line 2 is weak, appropriately therefore in an even place, and it is central besides. The action therefore of its subject should

XXII. THE PĪ HEXAGRAM.



Pī indicates that there should be free course (in what it denotes). There will be little advantage (however) if it be allowed to advance (and take the lead).

be effective; and this is shown by the 'biting through the soft flesh,' an easy thing. Immediately below, however, is a strong offender represented by the strong line, and before he will submit it is necessary to 'bite off his nose;' for punishment is the rule;—it must be continued and increased till the end is secured.

Line 3 is weak, and in an even place. The action of its subject will be ineffective; and is emblemized by the hard task of gnawing through dried flesh, and encountering, besides, what is distasteful and injurious in it. But again comes in the consideration that here punishment is the rule, and the auspice is not all bad.

Of old, in a civil case, both parties, before they were heard, brought to the court an arrow (or a bundle of arrows), in testimony of their rectitude, after which they were heard; in a criminal case, they in the same way deposited each thirty pounds of gold, or some other metal. See the Official Book of Kau, 27. 14, 15. The subject of the fourth line's getting those pledges indicates his exercising his judicial functions; and what he gnaws through indicates their difficulty. Moreover, though the line is strong, it is in an even place; and hence comes the lesson of caution.

The fifth line represents 'the lord of judgment.' As it is a weak line, he will be disposed to leniency; and his judgments will be correct. This is declared by his finding the 'yellow metal;' for yellow is one of the five 'correct' colours. The position is in the centre and that of rule; but the line being weak, a caution is given, as under the previous line.

The action of the figure has passed, and still we have, in the subject of line 6, one persisting in wrong, a strong criminal, wearing the cangue, and deaf to counsel. Of course the auspice is evil.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one adorning (the way of) his feet. He can discard a carriage and walk on foot.

2. The second line, divided, shows one adorning his beard.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of being adorned and bedewed (with rich favours). But let him ever maintain his firm correctness, and there will be good fortune.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one looking as if adorned, but only in white. As if (mounted on) a white horse, and furnished with wings, (he seeks union with the subject of the first line), while (the intervening third pursues), not as a robber, but intent on a matrimonial alliance.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject adorned by (the occupants of) the heights and gardens. He bears his roll of silk, small and slight. He may appear stingy; but there will be good fortune in the end.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows one with white as his (only) ornament. There will be no error.

XXII. The character Pî is the symbol of what is ornamental and of the act of adorning. As there is ornament in nature, so should there be in society; but its place is secondary to that of what is substantial. This is the view of king Wân in his Thwan. The symbolism of the separate lines is sometimes fantastic.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. It is at the very bottom of the hexagram, and is the first line of Lî, the trigram for fire or light, and suggesting what is elegant and bright. Its subject has nothing to do but to attend to himself. Thus he cultivates—adorns—himself in his humble position; but if need be, righteousness requiring it, he can give up every luxury and indulgence.

XXIII. THE PO HEXAGRAM.



Po indicates that (in the state which it symbolises) it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever.

Line 2 is weak and in its proper place, but with no proper correlate above. The strong line 3 is similarly situated. These two lines therefore keep together, and are as the beard and the chin. Line 1 follows 2. What is substantial commands and rules what is merely ornamental.

Line 3 is strong, and between two weak lines, which adorn it, and bestow their favours on it. But this happy condition is from the accident of place. The subject of the line must be always correct and firm to ensure its continuance.

Line 4 has its proper correlate in 1, from whose strength it should receive ornament, but 2 and the strong 3 intervene and keep them apart, so that the ornament is only white, and of no bright colour. Line 4, however, is faithful to 1, and earnest for their union. And finally line 3 appears in a good character, and not with the purpose to injure, so that the union of 1 and 4 takes place. All this is intended to indicate how ornament recognises the superiority of solidity. Compare the symbolism of the second line of *K'un* (3), and that of the topmost line of *Khwei* (38).

Line 5 is in the place of honour, and has no proper correlate in 2. It therefore associates with the strong 6, which is symbolised by the heights and gardens round a city, and serving both to protect and to beautify it. Thus the subject of the line receives adorning from without, and does not of itself try to manifest it. Moreover, in his weakness, his offerings of ceremony are poor and mean. But, as Confucius said, 'In ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant.' Hence that stinginess does not prevent a good auspice.

Line 6 is at the top of the hexagram. Ornament has had its course, and here there is a return to pure, 'white,' simplicity. Substantiality is better than ornament.

1. The first line, divided, shows one overturning the couch by injuring its legs. (The injury will go on to) the destruction of (all) firm correctness, and there will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one overthrowing the couch by injuring its frame. (The injury will go on to) the destruction of (all) firm correctness, and there will be evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject among the overthrowers; but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject having overthrown the couch, and (going to injure) the skin (of him who lies on it). There will be evil.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows (its subject leading on the others like) a string of fishes, and (obtaining for them) the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace. There will be advantage in every way.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject (as) a great fruit which has not been eaten. The superior man finds (the people again) as a chariot carrying him. The small men (by their course) overthrow their own dwellings.

XXIII. Po is the symbol of falling or of causing to fall, and may be applied, both in the natural and political world, to the process of decay, or that of overthrow. The figure consists of five divided lines, and one undivided, which last thus becomes the prominent and principal line in the figure. Decay or overthrow has begun at the bottom of it, and crept up to the top. The hexagram is that of the ninth month, when the beauty and glory of summer have disappeared, and the year is ready to fall into the arms of sterile winter. In the political world, small men have gradually displaced good men and great, till but one remains; and the lesson for him is to wait. The power operating against him is

XXIV. THE FŪ HEXAGRAM.



Fū indicates that there will be free course and progress (in what it denotes). (The subject of it) finds no one to distress him in his exits and

too strong; but the fashion of political life passes away. If he wait, a change for the better will shortly appear.

The lesser symbolism is chiefly that of a bed or couch with its occupant. The idea of the hexagram requires this occupant to be overthrown, or at least that an attempt be made to overthrow him. Accordingly the attempt in line 1 is made by commencing with the legs of the couch. The symbolism goes on to explain itself. The object of the evil worker is the overthrow of all firm correctness. Of course there will be evil.

Line 2 is to the same effect as 1; only the foe has advanced from the legs to the frame of the couch.

Line 3 also represents an overthrewer; but it differs from the others in being the correlate of 6. The subject of it will take part with him. His association is with the subject of 6, and not, as in the other weak lines, with one of its own kind.

From line 4 the danger is imminent. The couch has been overthrown. The person of the occupant is at the mercy of the destroyers.

With line 5 the symbolism changes. The subject of 5 is 'lord of all the other weak lines,' and their subjects are at his disposal. He and they are represented as fishes, following one another as if strung together. All fishes come under the category of yin. Then the symbolism changes again. The subject of 5, representing and controlling all the yin lines, is loyal to the subject of the yang sixth line. He is the rightful sovereign in his palace, and 5 leads all the others there to enjoy the sovereign's favours.

We have still different symbolism under line 6. Its strong subject, notwithstanding the attempts against him, survives, and acquires fresh vigour. The people again cherish their sovereign, and the plotters have wrought to their own overthrow.

entrances; friends come to him, and no error is committed. He will return and repeat his (proper) course. In seven days comes his return. There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning (from an error) of no great extent, which would not proceed to anything requiring repentance. There will be great good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows the admirable return (of its subject). There will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows one who has made repeated returns. The position is perilous, but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject moving right in the centre (among those represented by the other divided lines), and yet returning alone (to his proper path).

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the noble return of its subject. There will be no ground for repentance.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject all astray on the subject of returning. There will be evil. There will be calamities and errors. If with his views he put the hosts in motion, the end will be a great defeat, whose issues will extend to the ruler of the state. Even in ten years he will not be able to repair the disaster.

XXIV. Fû symbolises the idea of returning, coming back or over again. The last hexagram showed us inferior prevailing over superior men, all that is good in nature and society yielding before what is bad. But change is the law of nature and society. When decay has reached its climax, recovery will begin to take place. In Po we had one strong topmost line, and five weak lines below

XXV. THE WŪ WANG HEXAGRAM.



Wū Wang indicates great progress and success, while there will be advantage in being firm and

it; here we have one strong line, and five weak lines above it. To illustrate the subject from what we see in nature,—Po is the hexagram of the ninth month, in which the triumph of cold and decay in the year is nearly complete. It is complete in the tenth month, whose hexagram is Khwăn ; then follows our hexagram Fû, belonging to the eleventh month, in which was the winter solstice when the sun turned back in his course, and moved with a constant regular progress towards the summer solstice. In harmony with these changes of nature are the changes in the political and social state of a nation. There is nothing in the Yî to suggest the hope of a perfect society or kingdom that cannot be moved.

The strong bottom line is the first of K'ăn, the trigram of movement, and the upper trigram is Khwăn, denoting docility and capacity. The strong returning line will meet with no distressing obstacle, and the weak lines will change before it into strong, and be as friends. The bright quality will be developed brighter and brighter from day to day, and month to month.

The sentence, 'In seven days comes his return,' occasions some perplexity. If the reader will refer to hexagrams 44, 33, 12, 20, 23, and 2, he will see that during the months denoted by those figures, the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, the yin lines have gradually been prevailing over the yang, until in Khwăn (2) they have extruded them entirely from the lineal figure. Then comes our Fû, as a seventh figure, in which the yang line begins to reassert itself, and from which it goes on to extrude the yin lines in their turn. Explained therefore of the months of the year, we have to take a day for a month. And something analogous—we cannot say exactly what—must have place in society and the state.

correct. If (its subject and his action) be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject free from all insincerity. His advance will be accompanied with good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows one who reaps without having ploughed (that he might reap), and gathers the produce of his third year's fields without having cultivated them the first year for that end. To such a one there will be advantage in whatever direction he may move.

3. The third line, divided, shows calamity happening to one who is free from insincerity;—as in

The concluding auspice or oracle to him who finds this Fû by divination is what we might expect.

The subject of line 1 is of course the undivided line, meaning here, says *Khǎng-ze*, 'the way of the superior man.' There must have been some deviation from that, or 'returning' could not be spoken of.

Line 2 is in its proper place, and central; but it is weak. This is more than compensated for, however, by its adherence to line 1, the fifth line not being a proper correlate. Hence the return of its subject is called excellent or admirable.

Line 3 is weak, and in the uneven place of a strong line. It is the top line, moreover, of the trigram whose attribute is movement. Hence the symbolism; but any evil issue may be prevented by a realisation of danger and by caution.

Line 4 has its proper correlate in 1; different from all the other weak lines; and its course is different accordingly.

Line 5 is in the central place of honour, and the middle line of *Khwān*, denoting docility. Hence its auspice.

Line 6 is weak; and being at the top of the hexagram, when its action of returning is all concluded, action on the part of its subject will lead to evils such as are mentioned. 'Ten years' seems to be a round number, signifying a long time, as in hexagram 3. 2.

the case of an ox that has been tied up. A passer by finds it (and carries it off), while the people in the neighbourhood have the calamity (of being accused and apprehended).

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows (a case) in which, if its subject can remain firm and correct, there will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows one who is free from insincerity, and yet has fallen ill. Let him not use medicine, and he will have occasion for joy (in his recovery).

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject free from insincerity, yet sure to fall into error, if he take action. (His action) will not be advantageous in any way.

XXV. Wang is the symbol of being reckless, and often of being insincere; Wŭ Wang is descriptive of a state of entire freedom from such a condition; its subject is one who is entirely simple and sincere. The quality is characteristic of the action of Heaven, and of the highest style of humanity. In this hexagram we have an essay on this noble attribute. An absolute rectitude is essential to it. The nearer one comes to the ideal of the quality, the more powerful will be his influence, the greater his success. But let him see to it that he never swerve from being correct.

The first line is strong; at the commencement of the inner trigram denoting movement, the action of its subject will very much characterise all the action set forth, and will itself be fortunate.

Line 2 is weak, central, and in its correct place. The quality may be predicated of it in its highest degree. There is an entire freedom in its subject from selfish or mercenary motive. He is good simply for goodness' sake. And things are so constituted that his action will be successful.

But calamity may also sometimes befall the best, and where there is this freedom from insincerity; and line 3 being weak, and in the place of an even line, lays its subject open to this misfortune. 'The people of the neighbourhood' are of course entirely innocent.

Line 4 is the lowest in the trigram of strength, and 1 is not a

XXVI. THE TÂ KHÔ HEXAGRAM.



Under the conditions of Tâ Khô it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. (If its subject do not seek to) enjoy his revenues in his own family (without taking service at court), there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous for him to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject in a position of peril. It will be advantageous for him to stop his advance.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a carriage with the strap under it removed.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject urging his way with good horses. It will be advantageous for him to realise the difficulty (of his course), and to be firm and correct, exercising himself daily in his charioteering and methods of defence;

proper correlate, nor is the fourth the place for a strong line. Hence the paragraph must be understood as a caution.

Line 5 is strong, in the central place of honour, and has its proper correlate in 2. Hence its subject must possess the quality of the hexagram in perfection. And yet he shall be sick or in distress. But he need not be anxious. Without his efforts a way of escape for him will be opened.

Line 6 is at the top of the hexagram, and comes into the field when the action has run its course. He should be still, and not initiate any fresh movement.

then there will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the young bull, (and yet) having the piece of wood over his horns. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the teeth of a castrated hog. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject (as) in command of the firmament of heaven. There will be progress.

XXVI. *Khû* has two meanings. It is the symbol of restraint, and of accumulation. What is repressed and restrained accumulates its strength and increases its volume. Both these meanings are found in the treatise on the *Thwan*; the exposition of the Great Symbolism has for its subject the accumulation of virtue. The different lines are occupied with the repression or restraint of movement. The first three lines receive that repression, the upper three exercise it. The accumulation to which all tends is that of virtue; and hence the name of *Tâ Khû*, 'the Great Accumulation.'

What the *Thwan* teaches, is that he who goes about to accumulate his virtue must be firm and correct, and may then, engaging in the public service, enjoy the king's grace, and undertake the most difficult enterprises.

Line 1 is subject to the repression of 4, which will be increased if he try to advance. It is better for him to halt.

Line 2 is liable to the repression of 5, and stops its advance of itself, its subject having the wisdom to do so through its position in the central place. The strap below, when attached to the axle, made the carriage stop; he himself acts that part.

Line 3 is the last of *Khien*, and responds to the sixth line, the last of *Kăn*, above. But as they are both strong, the latter does not exert its repressive force. They advance rapidly together; but the position is perilous for 3. By firmness and caution, however, its subject will escape the peril, and the issue will be good.

The young bull in line 4 has not yet got horns. The attaching to their rudiments the piece of wood to prevent him from goring is an instance of extraordinary precaution; and precaution is always good.

XXVII. THE Î HEXAGRAM.



Î indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune (in what is denoted by it). We must look at what we are seeking to nourish, and by the exercise of our thoughts seek for the proper aliment.

1. The first line, undivided, (seems to be thus addressed), 'You leave your efficacious tortoise, and look at me till your lower jaw hangs down.' There will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one looking downwards for nourishment, which is contrary to what is proper; or seeking it from the height (above), advance towards which will lead to evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows one acting contrary to the method of nourishing. However firm he may be, there will be evil. For ten years let him not take any action, (for) it will not be in any way advantageous.

A boar is a powerful and dangerous animal. Let him be castrated, and though his tusks remain, he cares little to use them. Here line 5 represents the ruler in the hexagram, whose work is to repress the advance of evil. A conflict with the subject of the strong second line in its advance would be perilous; but 5, taking early precaution, reduces it to the condition of the castrated pig. Not only is there no evil, but there is good fortune.

The work of repression is over, and the strong subject of line 6 has now the amplest scope to carry out the idea of the hexagram in the accumulation of virtue.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one looking downwards for (the power to) nourish. There will be good fortune. Looking with a tiger's downward unwavering glare, and with his desire that impels him to spring after spring, he will fall into no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one acting contrary to what is regular and proper; but if he abide in firmness, there will be good fortune. He should not, (however, try to) cross the great stream.

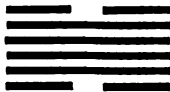
6. The sixth line, undivided, shows him from whom comes the nourishing. His position is perilous, but there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

XXVII. ǀ is the symbol of the upper jaw, and gives name to the hexagram; but the whole figure suggests the appearance of the mouth. There are the two undivided lines at the bottom and top, and the four divided lines between them. The first line is the first in the trigram *K'ān*, denoting movement; and the sixth is the third in *K'ān*, denoting what is solid. The former is the lower jaw, part of the mobile chin; and the other the more fixed upper jaw. The open lines are the cavity of the mouth. As the name of the hexagram, ǀ denotes nourishing,—one's body or mind, one's self or others. The nourishment in both the matter and method will differ according to the object of it; and every one must determine what to employ and do in every case by exercising his own thoughts, only one thing being premised,—that in both respects the nourishing must be correct, and in harmony with what is right. The auspice of the whole hexagram is good.

The first line is strong, and in its proper place; its subject might suffice for the nourishing of himself, like a tortoise, which is supposed to live on air, without more solid nourishment. But he is drawn out of himself by desire for the weak 4, his proper correlate, at whom he looks till his jaw hangs down, or, as we say, his mouth waters. Hence the auspice is bad. The symbolism takes the form of an expostulation addressed, we must suppose, by the fourth line to the first.

The weak 2, insufficient for itself, seeks nourishment first from

XXVIII. THE TÂ KWO HEXAGRAM.



Tâ Kwo suggests to us a beam that is weak. There will be advantage in moving (under its conditions) in any direction whatever; there will be success.

1. The first line, divided, shows one placing mats of the white mào grass under things set on the ground. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a decayed

the strong line below, which is not proper, and then from the strong 6, not its proper correlate, and too far removed. In either case the thing is evil.

Line 3 is weak, in an odd place; and as it occupies the last place in the trigram of movement, all that quality culminates in its subject. Hence he considers himself sufficient for himself, without any help from without, and the issue is bad.

With line 4 we pass into the upper trigram. It is next to the ruler's place in 5 moreover, and bent on nourishing and training all below. Its proper correlate is the strong 1; and though weak in himself, its subject looks with intense desire to the subject of that for help; and there is no error.

The subject of line 5 is not equal to the requirements of his position; but with a firm reliance on the strong 6, there will be good fortune. Let him not, however, engage in the most difficult undertakings.

The topmost line is strong, and 5 relies on its subject; but being penetrated with the idea of the hexagram, he feels himself in the position of master or tutor to all under heaven. The task is hard and the responsibility great; but realising these things, he will prove himself equal to them.

willow producing shoots, or an old husband in possession of his young wife. There will be advantage in every way.

3. The third line, undivided, shows a beam that is weak. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows a beam curving upwards. There will be good fortune. If (the subject of it) looks for other (help but that of line one), there will be cause for regret.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows a decayed willow producing flowers, or an old wife in possession of her young husband. There will be occasion neither for blame nor for praise.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with extraordinary (boldness) wading through a stream, till the water hides the crown of his head. There will be evil, but no ground for blame.

XXVIII. Very extraordinary times require very extraordinary gifts in the conduct of affairs in them. This is the text on which king Wăn and his son discourse after their fashion in this hexagram. What goes, in their view, to constitute anything extraordinary is its greatness and difficulty. There need not be about it what is not right.

Looking at the figure we see two weak lines at the top and bottom, and four strong lines between them, giving us the idea of a great beam unable to sustain its own weight. But the second and fifth lines are both strong and in the centre; and from this and the attributes of the component trigrams a good auspice is obtained.

Line 1 being weak, and at the bottom of the figure, and of the trigram Sun, which denotes flexibility and humility, its subject is distinguished by his carefulness, as in the matter mentioned; and there is a good auspice.

Line 2 has no proper correlate above. Hence he inclines to the weak 1 below him; and we have the symbolism of the line. An

XXIX. THE KHAN HEXAGRAM.



Khan, here repeated, shows the possession of sincerity, through which the mind is penetrating. Action (in accordance with this) will be of high value.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject in the double defile, and (yet) entering a cavern within it. There will be evil.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject

old husband with a young wife will yet have children; the action of the subject of 2 will be successful.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place. Its subject is confident in his own strength, but his correlate in 6 is weak. Alone, he is unequal to the extraordinary strain on him, and has for his symbol the weak beam.

Line 4 is near 5, the ruler's place. On its subject devolves the duty of meeting the extraordinary exigency of the time; but he is strong; and, the line being in an even place, his strength is tempered. He will be equal to his task. Should he look out for the help of the subject of 1, that would affect him with another element of weakness; and his action would give cause for regret.

Line 5 is strong and central. Its subject should be equal to achieve extraordinary merit. But he has no proper correlate below, and as 2 inclined to 1, so does this to 6. But here the willow only produces flowers, not shoots;—its decay will soon reappear. An old wife will have no children. If the subject of the line is not to be condemned as that of 3, his action does not deserve praise.

The subject of 6 pursues his daring course, with a view to satisfy the extraordinary exigency of the time, and benefit all under the sky. He is unequal to the task, and sinks beneath it; but his motive modifies the judgment on his conduct.

in all the peril of the defile. He will, however, get a little (of the deliverance) that he seeks.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject, whether he comes or goes (= descends or ascends), confronted by a defile. All is peril to him and unrest. (His endeavours) will lead him into the cavern of the pit. There should be no action (in such a case).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject (at a feast), with (simply) a bottle of spirits, and a subsidiary basket of rice, while (the cups and bowls) are (only) of earthenware. He introduces his important lessons (as his ruler's) intelligence admits. There will in the end be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the water of the defile not yet full, (so that it might flow away); but order will (soon) be brought about. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject bound with cords of three strands or two strands, and placed in the thicket of thorns. But in three years he does not learn the course for him to pursue. There will be evil.

XXIX. The trigram Khan, which is doubled to form this hexagram, is the lineal symbol of water. Its meaning, as a character, is 'a pit,' 'a perilous cavity, or defile;' and here and elsewhere in the Yî it leads the reader to think of a dangerous defile, with water flowing through it. It becomes symbolic of danger, and what the authors of the Text had in mind was to show how danger should be encountered, its effect on the mind, and how to get out of it.

The trigram exhibits a strong central line, between two divided lines. The central represented to king Wăn the sincere honesty and goodness of the subject of the hexagram, whose mind was sharpened and made penetrating by contact with danger, and who

XXX. THE LI HEXAGRAM.



Li indicates that, (in regard to what it denotes), it will be advantageous to be firm and correct, and that thus there will be free course and success.

acted in a manner worthy of his character. It is implied, though the Thwan does not say it, that he would get out of the danger.

Line 1 is weak, at the bottom of the figure, and has no correlate above, no helper, that is, beyond itself. All these things render the case of its subject hopeless. He will by his efforts only involve himself more deeply in danger.

Line 2 is strong, and in the centre. Its subject is unable, indeed, to escape altogether from the danger; but he does not involve himself more deeply in it like the subject of 1, and obtains some ease.

Line 3 is weak, and occupies the place of a strong line. Its subject is in an evil case.

Line 4 is weak, and will get no help from its correlate in 1. Its subject is not one who can avert the danger threatening himself and others. But his position is close to that of the ruler in 5, whose intimacy he cultivates with an unostentatious sincerity, symbolled by the appointments of the simple feast, and whose intelligence he cautiously enlightens. In consequence, there will be no error.

The subject of line 5 is on the eve of extrication and deliverance. The waters of the defile will ere long have free vent and disappear, and the ground will be levelled and made smooth. The line is strong, in a proper place, and in the place of honour.

The case of the subject of line 6 is hopeless. When danger has reached its highest point, there he is, represented by a weak line, and with no proper correlate below. The 'thicket of thorns' is taken as a metaphor for a prison; but if the expression has a history, I have been unable to find it.

Let (its subject) also nourish (a docility like that of) the cow, and there will be good fortune.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one ready to move with confused steps. But he treads at the same time reverently, and there will be no mistake.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject in his place in yellow. There will be great good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject in a position like that of the declining sun. Instead of playing on his instrument of earthenware, and singing to it, he utters the groans of an old man of eighty. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the manner of its subject's coming. How abrupt it is, as with fire, with death, to be rejected (by all)!

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject as one with tears flowing in torrents, and groaning in sorrow. There will be good fortune.

XXX. LĪ is the name of the trigram representing fire and light, and the sun as the source of both of these. Its virtue or attribute is brightness, and by a natural metaphor intelligence. But LĪ has also the meaning of inhering in, or adhering to, being attached to. Both these significations occur in connexion with the hexagram, and make it difficult to determine what was the subject of it in the minds of the authors. If we take the whole figure as expressing the subject, we have, as in the treatise on the Thwan, 'a double brightness,' a phrase which is understood to denominate the ruler. If we take the two central lines as indicating the subject, we have weakness, dwelling with strength above and below. In either case there are required from the subject a strict adherence to what is correct, and a docile humility. On the second member of the Thwan K'hang-ze says:—'The nature of the ox is docile, and that of the cow is much more so. The subject of the hexagram adhering closely to

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows the king employing its subject in his punitive expeditions. Achieving admirable (merit), he breaks (only) the chiefs (of the rebels). Where his prisoners were not their associates, he does not punish. There will be no error.

what is correct, he must be able to act in obedience to it, as docile as a cow, and then there will be good fortune.'

Line 1 is strong, and at the bottom of the trigram for fire, the nature of which is to ascend. Its subject therefore will move upwards, and is in danger of doing so coarsely and vehemently. But the lowest line has hardly entered into the action of the figure, and this consideration operates to make him reverently careful of his movements; and there is no error.

Line 2 is weak, and occupies the centre. Yellow is one of the five correct colours, and here symbolises the correct course to which the subject of the line adheres.

Line 3 is at the top of the lower trigram, whose light may be considered exhausted, and suggests the symbol of the declining sun. The subject of the line should accept the position, and resign himself to the ordinary amusements which are mentioned, but he groans and mourns instead. His strength interferes with the lowly contentment which he should cherish.

The strength of line 4, and its being in an even place, make its subject appear in this unseemly manner, disastrous to himself.

Line 5 is in the place of honour, and central. But it is weak, as is its correlate. Its position between the strong 4 and 6 fills its subject with anxiety and apprehension, that express themselves as is described. But such demonstrations are a proof of his inward adherence to right and his humility. There will be good fortune.

Line 6, strong and at the top of the figure, has the intelligence denoted by its trigrams in the highest degree, and his own proper vigour. Through these his achievements are great, but his generous consideration is equally conspicuous, and he falls into no error.

TEXT. SECTION II.

XXXI. THE HSIEN HEXAGRAM.



Hsien indicates that, (on the fulfilment of the conditions implied in it), there will be free course and success. Its advantageousness will depend on the being firm and correct, (as) in marrying a young lady. There will be good fortune.

1. The first line, divided, shows one moving his great toes.

2. The second line, divided, shows one moving the calves of his leg. There will be evil. If he abide (quiet in his place), there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one moving his thighs, and keeping close hold of those whom he follows. Going forward (in this way) will cause regret.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows that firm correctness which will lead to good fortune, and prevent all occasion for repentance. If its subject be unsettled in his movements, (only) his friends will follow his purpose.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows one moving the flesh along the spine above the heart. There will be no occasion for repentance.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows one moving his jaws and tongue.

XXXI. With the 31st hexagram commences the Second Section of the Text. It is difficult to say why any division of the hexagrams should be made here, for the student tries in vain to discover any continuity in the thoughts of the author that is now broken. The First Section does not contain a class of subjects different from those which we find in the Second. That the division was made, however, at a very early time, appears from the sixth Appendix on the Sequence of the Hexagrams, where the writer sets forth an analogy between the first and second figures, representing heaven and earth, as the originators of all things, and this figure and the next, representing (each of them) husband and wife, as the originators of all the social relations. This, however, is far from carrying conviction to my mind. The division of the Text of the YĪ into two sections is a fact of which I am unable to give a satisfactory account.

Hsien, as explained in the treatise on the Thwan, has here the meaning of mutual influence, and the duke of Kâu, on the various lines, always uses Kan for it in the sense of 'moving' or 'influencing to movement or action.' This is to my mind the subject of the hexagram considered as an essay,—'Influence; the different ways of bringing it to bear, and their issues.'

The Chinese character called hsien is 咸, the graphic symbol for 'all, together, jointly.' Kan, the symbol for 'influencing,' has hsien in it as its phonetic constituent (though the changes in pronunciation make it hard for an English reader to appreciate this), with the addition of hsin, the symbol for 'the heart.' Thus 感 kan, 'to affect or influence,' = 咸 + 心; and it may have been that while the name or word was used with the significance of 'influencing,' the 心 was purposely dropt from it, to indicate the most important element in the thing,—the absence of all purpose or motive. I venture to think that this would have been a device worthy of a diviner.

With regard to the idea of husband and wife being in the teaching of the hexagram, it is derived from the more recent symbolism of the eight trigrams ascribed to king Wăn, and exhibited on p. 33 and plate III. The more ancient usage of them is given in the paragraph on the Great Symbolism of Appendix II. The figure consists of Kăn (☵), 'the youngest son,' and over it Tui (☱), 'the youngest daughter.' These are in 'happy union.'

XXXII. THE HǎNG HEXAGRAM.



Hǎng indicates successful progress and no error (in what it denotes). But the advantage will come from being firm and correct; and movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject deeply (desirous) of long continuance. Even with firm

No influence, it is said, is so powerful and constant as that between husband and wife; and where these are young, it is especially active. Hence it is that Hsien is made up of Kǎn and Tui. All this is to me very doubtful. I can dimly apprehend why the whole line (——) was assumed as the symbol of strength and authority, and the broken line as that of weakness and submission. Beyond this I cannot follow Fô-hsi in his formation of the trigrams; and still less can I assent to the more recent symbolism of them ascribed to king Wǎn.

Coming now to the figure, and its lines, the subject is that of mutual influence; and the author teaches that that influence, correct in itself, and for correct ends, is sure to be effective. He gives an instance,—the case of a man marrying a young lady, the regulations for which have been laid down in China from the earliest times with great strictness and particularity. Such influence will be effective and fortunate.

Line 1 is weak, and at the bottom of the hexagram. Though 4 be a proper correlate, yet the influence indicated by it must be ineffective. However much a man's great toes may be moved, that will not enable him to walk.

The calves cannot move of themselves. They follow the moving of the feet. The moving of them indicates too much anxiety to move. Line 2, moreover, is weak. But it is also the central line, and if its subject abide quiet, till he is acted on from above, there will be good fortune.

Neither can the thighs move of themselves. The attempt to

correctness there will be evil; there will be no advantage in any way.

2. The second line, undivided, shows all occasion for repentance disappearing.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one who does not continuously maintain his virtue. There are those who will impute this to him as a disgrace. However firm he may be, there will be ground for regret.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows a field where there is no game.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject continuously maintaining the virtue indicated by it. In a wife this will be fortunate; in a husband, evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject exciting himself to long continuance. There will be evil.

move them is inauspicious. Its subject, however, the line being strong, and in an odd place, will wish to move, and follows the subject of 4, which is understood to be the seat of the mind. He exercises his influence therefore with a mind and purpose, which is not good.

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place. It is the seat of the mind. Its subject therefore is warned to be firm and correct in order to a good issue. If he be wavering and uncertain, his influence will not extend beyond the circle of his friends.

The symbolism of line 5 refers to a part of the body behind the heart, and is supposed therefore to indicate an influence, ineffective indeed, but free from selfish motive, and not needing to be repented of.

Line 6 is weak, and in an even place. It is the topmost line also of the trigram of satisfaction. Its influence by means of speech will only be that of loquacity and flattery, the evil of which needs not to be pointed out.

XXXII. The subject of this hexagram may be given as perseverance in well doing, or in continuously acting out the law of one's

XXXIII. THE THUN HEXAGRAM.



Thun indicates successful progress (in its circumstances). To a small extent it will (still) be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, shows a retiring tail. The position is perilous. No movement in any direction should be made.

being. The sixth Appendix makes it a sequel of the previous figure. As that treats, it is said, of the relation between husband and wife, so this treats of the continuous observance of their respective duties. Hsien, we saw, is made up of K'an, the symbol of the youngest son, and Tui, the symbol of the youngest daughter, attraction and influence between the sexes being strongest in youth. H'ang consists of Sun, 'the oldest daughter,' and K'an, the oldest son. The couple are more staid. The wife occupies the lower place; and the relation between them is marked by her submission. This is sound doctrine, especially from a Chinese point of view; but I doubt whether such application of his teaching was in the mind of king W'an. Given two parties, an inferior and superior in correlation. If both be continuously observant of what is correct, the inferior being also submissive, and the superior firm, good fortune and progress may be predicated of their course.

Line 1 has a proper correlate in 4; but between them are two strong lines; and it is itself weak. These two conditions are against its subject receiving much help from the subject of 4. He should be quiet, and not forward for action.

Line 2 is strong, but in the place of a weak line. Its position, however, being central, and its subject holding fast to the due mean, the unfavourable condition of an even place is more than counteracted.

Line 3 is strong, and in its proper place; but being beyond the centre of the trigram, its subject is too strong, and coming under

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject holding (his purpose) fast as if by a (thong made from the) hide of a yellow ox, which cannot be broken.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one retiring but bound,—to his distress and peril. (If he were to deal with his binders as in) nourishing a servant or concubine, it would be fortunate for him.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring notwithstanding his likings. In a superior man this will lead to good fortune; a small man cannot attain to this.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in an admirable way. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect.

the attraction of his correlate in 6, he is supposed to be ready to abandon his place and virtue. He may try to be firm and correct, but circumstances are adverse to him.

Line 4 is strong in the place of a weak line, and suggests the symbolism of the duke of Kâu.

The weak 5th line responds to the strong 2nd, and may be supposed to represent a wife conscious of her weakness, and docilely submissive; which is good. A husband, however, and a man generally, has to assert himself, and lay down the rule of what is right.

In line 6 the principle of perseverance has run its course; the motive power of K'án is exhausted. The line itself is weak. The violent efforts of its subject can only lead to evil.

XXXIII. Thun is the hexagram of the sixth month; the yin influence is represented by two weak lines, and has made good its footing in the year. The figure thus suggested to king Wán the growth of small and unprincipled men in the state, before whose advance superior men were obliged to retire. This is the theme of his essay,—how, 'when small men multiply and increase in power,

XXXIV. THE TÂ KWANG HEXAGRAM.



Tâ Kwang indicates that (under the conditions which it symbolises) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

the necessity of the time requires superior men to withdraw before them.' Yet the auspice of Thun is not all bad. By firm correctness the threatened evil may be arrested to a small extent.

'A retiring tail' seems to suggest the idea of the subject of the lines hurrying away, which would only aggravate the evil and danger of the time.

'His purpose' in line 2 is the purpose to withdraw. The weak 2 responds correctly to the strong 5, and both are central. The purpose therefore is symbolised as in the text. The 'yellow' colour of the ox is introduced because of its being 'correct,' and of a piece with the central place of the line.

Line 3 has no proper correlate in 6; and its subject allows himself to be entangled and impeded by the subjects of 1 and 2. He is too familiar with them, and they presume, and fetter his movements;—compare Analects, 17. 25. He should keep them at a distance.

Line 4 has a correlate in 1, and is free to exercise the decision belonging to its subject. The line is the first in *K'ien*, symbolic of strength.

In the Shû IV, v, Section 2. 9, the worthy Î Yin is made to say, 'The minister will not for favour or gain continue in an office whose work is done;' and the Khang-hsi editors refer to his words as an illustration of what is said on line 5. It has its correlate in 2, and its subject carries out the purpose to retire 'in an admirable way.'

Line 6 is strong, and with no correlate to detain it in 3. Its subject vigorously and happily carries out the idea of the hexagram.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject manifesting his strength in his toes. But advance will lead to evil,—most certainly.

2. The second line, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows, in the case of a small man, one using all his strength; and in the case of a superior man, one whose rule is not to do so. Even with firm correctness the position would be perilous. (The exercise of strength in it might be compared to the case of) a ram butting against a fence, and getting his horns entangled.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows (a case in which) firm correctness leads to good fortune, and occasion for repentance disappears. (We see) the fence opened without the horns being entangled. The strength is like that in the wheel-spokes of a large waggon.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one who loses his ram(-like strength) in the ease of his position. (But) there will be no occasion for repentance.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows (one who may be compared to) the ram butting against the fence, and unable either to retreat, or to advance as he would fain do. There will not be advantage in any respect; but if he realise the difficulty (of his position), there will be good fortune.

XXXIV. The strong lines predominate in *Tâ Kwang*. It suggested to king Wăn a state or condition of things in which there was abundance of strength and vigour. Was strength alone enough for the conduct of affairs? No. He saw also in the figure that which suggested to him that strength should be held in subordination to the idea of right, and exerted only in harmony with it.

XXXV. THE 3IN HEXAGRAM.



In 3in we see a prince who secures the tranquility (of the people) presented on that account with numerous horses (by the king), and three times in a day received at interviews.

This is the lesson of the hexagram, as sententiously expressed in the Thwan.

Line 1 is strong, in its correct place, and also the first line in *K'ien*, the hexagram of strength, and the first line in *Tâ Kwang*. The idea of the figure might seem to be concentrated in it; and hence we have it symbolised by 'strength in the toes,' or 'advancing.' But such a measure is too bold to be undertaken by one in the lowest place, and moreover there is no proper correlate in 4. Hence comes the evil auspice.

Line 2 is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place, instead of being excited by it, as might be feared. Then the place is that in the centre. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

Line 3 is strong, and in its proper place. It is at the top moreover of *K'ien*. A small man so symbolled will use his strength to the utmost; but not so the superior man. For him the position is beyond the safe middle, and he will be cautious; and not injure himself, like the ram, by exerting his strength.

Line 4 is still strong, but in the place of a weak line; and this gives occasion to the cautions with which the symbolism commences. The subject of the line going forward thus cautiously, his strength will produce good effects, such as are described.

Line 5 is weak, and occupies a central place. Its subject will cease therefore to exert his strength; but this hexagram does not forbid the employment of strength, but would only control and

1. The first line, divided, shows one wishing to advance, and (at the same time) kept back. Let him be firm and correct, and there will be good fortune. If trust be not reposed in him, let him maintain a large and generous mind, and there will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject with the appearance of advancing, and yet of being sorrowful. If he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune. He will receive this great blessing from his grandmother.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject trusted by all (around him). All occasion for repentance will disappear.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of advancing, but like a marmot. However firm and correct he may be, the position is one of peril.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows how all occasion for repentance disappears (from its subject). (But) let him not concern himself about whether he shall fail or succeed. To advance will be fortunate, and in every way advantageous.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows one advancing his horns. But he only uses them to punish the (rebellious people of his own) city. The position

direct it. All that is said about him is that he will give no occasion for repentance.

Line 6 being at the top of *K'ān*, the symbol of movement, and at the top of *T'ā K'wāng*, its subject may be expected to be active in exerting his strength; and through his weakness, the result would be as described. But he becomes conscious of his weakness, reflects and rests, and good fortune results, as he desists from the prosecution of his unwise efforts.

is perilous, but there will be good fortune. (Yet) however firm and correct he may be, there will be occasion for regret.

XXXV. The Thwan of this hexagram expresses its subject more fully and plainly than that of any of the previous thirty-four. It is about a feudal prince whose services to the country have made him acceptable to his king. The king's favour has been shown to him by gifts and personal attentions such as form the theme of more than one ode in the Shih; see especially III, iii, 7. The symbolism of the lines dimly indicates the qualities of such a prince. Jin means 'to advance.' Hexagrams 46 and 53 agree with this in being called by names that indicate progress and advance. The advance in Jin is like that of the sun, 'the shining light, shining more and more to the perfect day.'

Line 1 is weak, and in the lowest place, and its correlate in 4 is neither central nor in its correct position. This indicates the small and obstructed beginnings of his subject. But by his firm correctness he pursues the way to good fortune; and though the king does not yet believe in him, he the more pursues his noble course.

Line 2 is weak, and its correlate in 5 is also weak. Its subject therefore has still to mourn in obscurity. But his position is central and correct, and he holds on his way, till success comes ere long. The symbolism says he receives it 'from his grandmother;' and readers will be startled by the extraordinary statement, as I was when I first read it. Literally the Text says 'the king's mother,' as P. Regis rendered it,—'*Istam magnam felicitatem a matre regis recipit.*' He also tries to give the name a historical reference;—to Thái-Kiang, the grandmother of king Wăn; Thái-Zăn, his mother; or to Thái-sze, his wife, and the mother of king Wû and the duke of Kâu, all famous in Chinese history, and celebrated in the Shih. But 'king's father' and 'king's mother' are well-known Chinese appellations for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother.' This is the view given on the passage, by K'iang-ze, K'û Hsi, and the Khang-hsi editors, the latter of whom, indeed, account for the use of the name, instead of 'deceased mother,' which we find in hexagram 62, by the regulations observed in the ancestral temple. These authorities, moreover, all agree in saying that the name points us to line 5, the correlate of 2, and 'the lord of the hexagram.' Now the subject of line 5 is the sovereign, who at length acknowledges the worth of the feudal lord, and gives him

XXXVI. THE MING Ĩ HEXAGRAM.



Ming Ĩ indicates that (in the circumstances which it denotes) it will be advantageous to realise the

the great blessing. The 'New Digest of Comments on the Yi (1686),' in its paraphrase of the line, has, 'He receives at last this great blessing from the mild and compliant ruler.' I am not sure that 'motherly king' would not be the best and fairest translation of the phrase.

Canon McClatchie has a very astonishing note on the name, which he renders 'Imperial Mother' (p. 164):—'That is, the wife of Imperial Heaven (Juno), who occupies the "throne of the diagram," viz. the fifth stroke, which is soft and therefore feminine. She is the Great Ancestress of the human race. See Imp. Ed. vol. iv, Sect. v, p. 25, Com.' Why such additions to the written word?

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place; but the subjects of 1 and 2 are possessed by the same desire to advance as the subject of this. A common trust and aim possess them; and hence the not unfavourable auspice.

Line 4 is strong, but it is in an even place, nor is it central. It suggests the idea of a marmot (? or rat), stealthily advancing. Nothing could be more opposed to the ideal of the feudal lord in the hexagram.

In line 5 that lord and his intelligent sovereign meet happily. He holds on his right course, indifferent as to results, but things are so ordered that he is, and will continue to be, crowned with success.

Line 6 is strong, and suggests the idea of its subject to the last continuing his advance, and that not only with firm correctness, but with strong force. The 'horns' are an emblem of threatening strength, and though he uses them only in his own state, and against the rebellious there, that such a prince should have any occasion to use force is matter for regret.

difficulty (of the position), and maintain firm correctness.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, flying, but with drooping wings. When the superior man (is revolving) his going away, he may be for three days without eating. Wherever he goes, the people there may speak (derisively of him).

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, wounded in the left thigh. He saves himself by the strength of a (swift) horse; and is fortunate.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, hunting in the south, and taking the great chief (of the darkness). He should not be eager to make (all) correct (at once).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject (just) entered into the left side of the belly (of the dark land). (But) he is able to carry out the mind appropriate (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, quitting the gate and courtyard (of the lord of darkness).

5. The fifth line, divided, shows how the count of K'í fulfilled the condition indicated by Ming Í. It will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the case where there is no light, but (only) obscurity. (Its subject) had at first ascended to (the top of) the sky; his future shall be to go into the earth.

XXXVI. In this hexagram we have the representation of a good and intelligent minister or officer going forward in the service of his country, notwithstanding the occupancy of the throne by a weak

XXXVII. THE *KIÀ ZĀN* HEXAGRAM.

For (the realisation of what is taught in) *K'ia Zăn*, (or for the regulation of the family), what is

and unsympathising sovereign. Hence comes its name of Ming Ī, or 'Intelligence Wounded,' that is, injured and repressed. The treatment of the subject shows how such an officer will conduct himself, and maintain his purpose. The symbolism of the figure is treated of in the same way in the first and second Appendixes. Appendix VI merely says that the advance set forth in 35 is sure to meet with wounding, and hence 3in is followed by Ming Ī.

Line 1 is strong, and in its right place;—its subject should be going forward. But the general signification of the hexagram supposes him to be wounded. The wound, however, being received at the very commencement of its action, is but slight. And hence comes the emblem of a bird hurt so as to be obliged to droop its wings. The subject then appears directly as 'the superior man.' He sees it to be his course to desist from the struggle for a time, and is so rapt in the thought that he can fast for three days and not think of it. When he does withdraw, opposition follows him; but it is implied that he holds on to his own good purpose.

Line 2 is weak, but also in its right place, and central; giving us the idea of an officer, obedient to duty and the right. His wound in the left thigh may impede his movements, but does not disable him. He finds means to save himself, and maintains his good purpose.

Line 3, strong and in a strong place, is the topmost line of the lower trigram. It responds also to line 6, in which the idea of the sovereign, emblemed by the upper trigram, is concentrated. The lower trigram is the emblem of light or brightness, the idea of which again is expressed by the south, to which we turn when we look at the sun in its meridian height. Hence the subject of the

most advantageous is that the wife be firm and correct.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject establishing restrictive regulations in his household. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject taking nothing on herself, but in her central place attending to the preparation of the food. Through her firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject (treating) the members of the household with stern severity. There will be occasion for repentance, there will be peril, (but) there will (also) be good fortune. If the wife and children were to be smirking and chattering, in the end there would be occasion for regret.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject

line becomes a hunter pursuing his game, and successfully. The good officer will be successful in his struggle; but let him not be over eager to put all things right at once.

Line 4 is weak, but in its right place. K'ü Hsi says he does not understand the symbolism, as given in the Text. The translation indicates the view of it commonly accepted. The subject of the line evidently escapes from his position of danger with little damage.

Line 5 should be the place of the ruler or sovereign in the hexagram; but 6 is assigned as that place in Ming I. The officer occupying 5, the centre of the upper trigram, and near to the sovereign, has his ideal in the count of K'ü, whose action appears in the Shü, III, pp. 123, 127, 128. He is a historical personage.

Line 6 sets forth the fate of the ruler, who opposes himself to the officer who would do him good and intelligent service. Instead of becoming as the sun, enlightening all from the height of the sky, he is as the sun hidden below the earth. I can well believe that the writer had the last king of Shang in his mind.

enriching the family. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the influence of the king extending to his family. There need be no anxiety; there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity and arrayed in majesty. In the end there will be good fortune.

XXXVII. *K'ia Z'an*, the name of the hexagram, simply means 'a household,' or 'the members of a family.' The subject of the essay based on the figure, however, is the regulation of the family, effected mainly by the co-operation of husband and wife in their several spheres, and only needing to become universal to secure the good order of the kingdom. The important place occupied by the wife in the family is seen in the short sentence of the *Thwan*. That she be firm and correct, and do her part well, is the first thing necessary to its regulation.

Line 1 is strong, and in a strong place. It suggests the necessity of strict rule in governing the family. Regulations must be established, and their observance strictly insisted on.

Line 2 is weak, and in the proper place for it,—the centre, moreover, of the lower trigram. It fitly represents the wife, and what is said on it tells us of her special sphere and duty; and that she should be unassuming in regard to all beyond her sphere; always being firm and correct. See the *Shih*, III, 350.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place. If the place were central, the strength would be tempered; but the subject of the line, in the topmost place of the trigram, may be expected to exceed in severity. But severity is not a bad thing in regulating a family;—it is better than laxity and indulgence.

Line 4 is weak, and in its proper place. The wife is again suggested to us, and we are told, that notwithstanding her being confined to the internal affairs of the household, she can do much to enrich the family.

The subject of the strong fifth line appears as the king. This may be the husband spoken of as also a king; or the real king whose merit is revealed first in his family, as often in the *Shih*, where king *W'an* is the theme. The central place here tempers the display of the strength and power.

XXXVIII. THE KHWEI HEXAGRAM.



Khwei indicates that, (notwithstanding the condition of things which it denotes), in small matters there will (still) be good success.

1. The first line, undivided, shows that (to its subject) occasion for repentance will disappear. He has lost his horses, but let him not seek for them; —they will return of themselves. Should he meet with bad men, he will not err (in communicating with them).

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject happening to meet with his lord in a bye-passage. There will be no error.

3. In the third line, divided, we see one whose carriage is dragged back, while the oxen in it are pushed back, and he is himself subjected to the shaving of his head and the cutting off of his nose. There is no good beginning, but there will be a good end.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (But) he meets with the good man (represented by the first

Line 6 is also strong, and being in an even place, the subject of it might degenerate into stern severity, but he is supposed to be sincere, complete in his personal character and self-culture, and hence his action will only lead to good fortune.

line), and they blend their sincere desires together. The position is one of peril, but there will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows that (to its subject) occasion for repentance will disappear. With his relative (and minister he unites closely and readily) as if he were biting through a piece of skin. When he goes forward (with this help), what error can there be?

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (In the subject of the third line, he seems to) see a pig bearing on its back a load of mud, (or fancies) there is a carriage full of ghosts. He first bends his bow against him, and afterwards unbends it, (for he discovers) that he is not an assailant to injure, but a near relative. Going forward, he shall meet with (genial) rain, and there will be good fortune.

XXXVIII. Khwei denotes a social state in which division and mutual alienation prevail, and the hexagram teaches how in small matters this condition may be healed, and the way prepared for the cure of the whole system. The writer or writers of Appendixes I and II point out the indication in the figure of division and disunion according to their views. In Appendix VI those things appear as a necessary sequel to the regulation of the family; while it is impossible to discover any allusion to the family in the Text.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. A successful course might be auspiced for its subject; but the correlate in line 4 is also strong; and therefore disappointment and repentance are likely to ensue. In the condition, however, indicated by Khwei, where people have a common virtue, they will help one another. Through the good services of 4, the other will not have to repent. His condition may be emblemed by a traveller's loss of his horses, which return to him of themselves.

Should he meet with bad men, however, let him not shrink from them. Communication with them will be of benefit. His good

XXXIX. THE KIEN HEXAGRAM.



In (the state indicated by) *Kien* advantage will be found in the south-west, and the contrary in the north-east. It will be advantageous (also) to meet

may overcome their evil, and at least it will help to silence their slanderous tongues.

Line 5 is weak, and its subject is the proper correlate of the strong 2. They might meet openly; but for the separation and disunion that mark the time. A casual, as it were a stolen, interview, as in a bye-lane or passage, however will be useful, and may lead on to a better understanding.

Line 3 is weak, where it ought to be strong. Its correlate, however, in 6 is strong, and the relation between them might seem what it ought to be. But the weak 3 is between the strong lines in 2 and 4; and in a time of disunion there ensue the checking and repulsion emblemized in the Text. At the same time the subject of line 6 inflicts on that of 3 the punishments which are mentioned. It is thus bad for 3 at first, but we are told that in the end it will be well with him; and this will be due to the strength of the sixth line. The conclusion grows out of a conviction in the mind of the author that what is right and good is destined to triumph over what is wrong and bad. Disorder shall in the long run give place to order, and disunion to union.

Line 4 has no proper correlate, and might seem to be solitary. But, as we saw on line 1, in this hexagram, correlates of the same class help each other. Hence the subjects of 4 and 1, meeting together, work with good will and success.

The place of 5 is odd, but the line itself is weak, so that there might arise occasion for repentance. But the strong 2 is a proper correlate to the weak 5. Five being the sovereign's place, the subject of 2 is styled the sovereign's relative, of the same surname

with the great man. (In these circumstances), with firmness and correctness, there will be good fortune.

1. From the first line, divided, we learn that advance (on the part of its subject) will lead to (greater) difficulties, while remaining stationary will afford ground for praise.

2. The second line, divided, shows the minister of the king struggling with difficulty on difficulty, and not with a view to his own advantage.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject advancing, (but only) to (greater) difficulties. He remains stationary, and returns (to his former associates).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject advancing, (but only) to (greater) difficulties. He remains stationary, and unites (with the subject of the line above).

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject struggling with the greatest difficulties, while friends are coming to help him.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject going forward, (only to increase) the difficulties,

with him, and head of some branch of the descendants of the royal house. It is as easy for 5, so supported, to deal with the disunion of the time, as to bite through a piece of skin.

Line 6 is an even place, and yet the line is strong;—what can its subject effect? He looks at 3, which, as weak, is a proper correlate; but he looks with the evil eye of disunion. The subject of 3 appears no better than a filthy pig, nor more real than an impossible carriage-load of ghosts. He bends his bow against him, but he unbends it, discovering a friend in 3, as 1 did in 4, and 5 in 2. He acts and with good luck, comparable to the falling rain, which results from the happy union of the yang and yin in nature.

while his remaining stationary will be (productive of) great (merit). There will be good fortune, and it will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

XXXIX. *K'ien* is the symbol for incompetency in the feet and legs, involving difficulty in walking; hence it is used in this hexagram to indicate a state of the kingdom which makes the government of it an arduous task. How this task may be successfully performed, now by activity on the part of the ruler, and now by a discreet inactivity:—this is what the figure teaches, or at least gives hints about. For the development of the meaning of the symbolic character from the structure of the lineal figure, see Appendixes I and II.

The *Thwan* seems to require three things—attention to place, the presence of the great man, and the firm observance of correctness—in order to cope successfully with the difficulties of the situation. The first thing is enigmatically expressed, and the language should be compared with what we find in the *Thwan* of hexagrams 2 and 40. Referring to Figure 2, in Plate III, we find that, according to *Wăn*'s arrangement of the trigrams, the south-west is occupied by *Khwăn* (䷞), and the north-east by *K'ân* (䷊). The former represents the campaign country; the latter, the mountainous region. The former is easily traversed and held; the latter, with difficulty. The attention to place thus becomes transformed into a calculation of circumstances; those that promise success in an enterprise, which should be taken advantage of, and those that threaten difficulty and failure, which should be shunned.

This is the generally accepted view of this difficult passage. The *Khang-hsi* editors have a view of their own. I have been myself inclined to find less symbolism in it, and to take the south-west as the regions in the south and west of the kingdom, which we know from the *Shih* were more especially devoted to *Wăn* and his house, while the strength of the kings of *Shang* lay in the north and east.

'The idea of "the great man," Mencius's "minister of Heaven," is illustrated by the strong line in the fifth place, having for its correlate the weak line in 2. But favourableness of circumstances and place, and the presence of the great man do not dispense from the observance of firm correctness. Throughout these essays of the *Yi* this is always insisted on.

XL. THE KIEH HEXAGRAM.



In (the state indicated by) *Kieh* advantage will be found in the south-west. If no (further) operations be called for, there will be good fortune in coming back (to the old conditions). If some operations be called for, there will be good fortune in the early conducting of them.

1. The first line, divided, shows that its subject will commit no error.

Line 1 is weak, whereas it ought to be strong as being in an odd place. If its subject advance, he will not be able to cope with the difficulties of the situation, but be overwhelmed by them. Let him wait for a more favourable time.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place. Its correlation with the strong 5, and consequent significance, are well set forth.

Line 3 is strong, and in a place of strength; but its correlate in 6 is weak, so that the advance of its subject would be unsupported. He waits therefore for a better time, and cherishes the subjects of the two lines below, who naturally cling to him.

Line 4 is weak, and, though in its proper place, its subject could do little of himself. He is immediately below the king or great man, however, and cultivates his loyal attachment to him, waiting for the time when he shall be required to act.

Line 5 is the king, the man great and strong. He can cope with the difficulties, and the subjects of 2 and the other lines of the lower trigram give their help.

The action of the hexagram is over; where can the weak 6 go forward to? Let him abide where he is, and serve the great man immediately below him. So shall he also be great;—in meritorious action at least.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject catch, in hunting, three foxes, and obtain the yellow (= golden) arrows. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows a porter with his burden, (yet) riding in a carriage. He will (only) tempt robbers to attack him. However firm and correct he may (try to) be, there will be cause for regret.

4. (To the subject of) the fourth line, undivided, (it is said), 'Remove your toes. Friends will (then) come, between you and whom there will be mutual confidence.'

5. The fifth line, divided, shows (its subject), the superior man (=the ruler), executing his function of removing (whatever is injurious to the idea of the hexagram), in which case there will be good fortune, and confidence in him will be shown even by the small men.

6. In the sixth line, divided, we see a feudal prince (with his bow) shooting at a falcon on the top of a high wall, and hitting it. (The effect of his action) will be in every way advantageous.

XL. *K'ieh* is the symbol of loosing,—untying a knot or unravelling a complication; and as the name of this hexagram, it denotes a condition in which the obstruction and difficulty indicated by the preceding *K'ien* have been removed. The object of the author is to show, as if from the lines of the figure, how this new and better state of the kingdom is to be dealt with. See what is said on the *Thwan* of *K'ien* for 'the advantage to be found in the south-west.' If further active operations be not necessary to complete the subjugation of the country, the sooner things fall into their old channels the better. The new masters of the kingdom should not be anxious to change all the old manners and ways. Let them do, as the duke of *K'âu* actually did do with the subjugated people of Shang. If

XLI. THE SUN HEXAGRAM.



In (what is denoted by) Sun, if there be sincerity (in him who employs it), there will be great good fortune :—freedom from error ; firmness and correctness that can be maintained ; and advantage in every

further operations be necessary, let them be carried through without delay. Nothing is said in the Thwan about the discountenancing and removal of small men,—unworthy ministers or officers ; but that subject appears in more than one of the lines.

There is a weak line, instead of a strong, in the first place ; but this is compensated for by its strong correlate in 4.

K'ü Hsi says he does not understand the symbolism under line 2. The place is even, but the line itself is strong ; the strength therefore is modified or tempered. And 2 is the correlate of the ruler in 5. We are to look to its subject therefore for a minister striving to realise the idea of the hexagram, and pacify the subdued kingdom. He becomes a hunter, and disposes of unworthy men, represented by 'the three foxes.' He also gets the yellow arrows,—the instruments used in war or in hunting, whose colour is 'correct,' and whose form is 'straight.' His firm correctness will be good.

Line 3 is weak, when it should be strong ; and occupying, as it does, the topmost place of the lower trigram, it suggests the symbolism of a porter in a carriage. People will say, 'How did he get there ? The things cannot be his own.' And robbers will attack and plunder him. The subject of the line cannot protect himself, nor accomplish anything good.

What is said on the fourth line appears in the form of an address to its subject. The line is strong in an even place, and 1, its correlate, is weak in an odd place. Such a union will not be productive of good. In the symbolism 1 becomes the toe of the subject of 4. How the friend or friends, who are to come to him on the removal of this toe, are represented, I do not perceive.

Line 5 is weak in an odd place ; but the place is that of the ruler, to whom it belongs to perfect the idea of the hexagram by

movement that shall be made. In what shall this (sincerity in the exercise of Sun) be employed? (Even) in sacrifice two baskets of grain, (though there be nothing else), may be presented.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject suspending his own affairs, and hurrying away (to help the subject of the fourth line). He will commit no error, but let him consider how far he should contribute of what is his (for the other).

2. The second line, undivided, shows that it will be advantageous for its subject to maintain a firm correctness, and that action on his part will be evil. He can give increase (to his correlate) without taking from himself.

3. The third line, divided, shows how of three men walking together, the number is diminished by one; and how one, walking, finds his friend.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject diminishing the ailment under which he labours by making (the subject of the first line) hasten (to his help), and make him glad. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows parties adding to (the stores of) its subject ten pairs of tortoise shells, and accepting no refusal. There will be great good fortune.

removing all that is contrary to the peace and good order of the kingdom. It will be his duty to remove especially all the small men represented by the divided lines, which he can do with the help of his strong correlate in 2. Then even the small men will change their ways, and repair to him.

Line 6 is the highest line in the figure, but not the place of the ruler. Hence it appears as occupied by a feudal duke, who carries out the idea of the figure against small men, according to the symbolism employed.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject giving increase to others without taking from himself. There will be no error. With firm correctness there will be good fortune. There will be advantage in every movement that shall be made. He will find ministers more than can be counted by their clans.

XLI. The interpretation of this hexagram is encompassed with great difficulties. Sun is the symbol for the idea of diminishing or diminution; and what is said in Appendix I has made it to be accepted as teaching the duty of the subject to take of what is his and contribute to his ruler, or the expenses of the government under which he lives; in other words, readily and cheerfully to pay his taxes. P. Regis says, 'Sun seu (vectigalis causa) minuere . . . est valde utile;' and Canon McClatchie in translating Appendix I has:—'Diminishing (by taxation for instance) . . . is very lucky.' Possibly, king Wăn may have seen in the figures the subject of taxation; but the symbolism of his son takes a much wider range. My own reading of the figure and Text comes near to the view of K'hang-ze, that 'every diminution and repression of what we have in excess to bring it into accordance with right and reason is comprehended under Sun.'

Let there be sincerity in doing this, and it will lead to the happiest results. It will lead to great success in great things; and if the correction, or it may be a contribution towards it, appear to be very small, yet it will be accepted;—as in the most solemn religious service. This is substantially the view of the hexagram approved by the Khang-hsi editors.

Line 1 is strong, and its correlate in 4 is weak. Its subject will wish to help the subject of 4; but will not leave anything of his own undone in doing so. Nor will he diminish of his own for the other without due deliberation.

Line 2 is strong, and in the central place. But it is in the place of a weak line, and its subject should maintain his position without moving to help his correlate in 5. Maintaining his own firm correctness is the best way to help him.

Paragraph 3 is to my mind full of obscurity. K'ü Hsî, adopting the view in Appendix I, says that the lower trigram was originally K'ien, three undivided lines, like 'three men walking together,'

XLII. THE YĪ HEXAGRAM.



YĪ indicates that (in the state which it denotes) there will be advantage in every movement which shall be undertaken, that it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows that it will be advantageous for its subject in his position to make

and that the third line, taken away and made to be the topmost line, or the third, in what was originally Khwān, three divided lines, was 'the putting away of one man;' and that then the change of place by 3 and 6, while they continued their proper correlation, was, one going away, and finding his friend. I cannot lay hold of any thread of reason in this.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place; like an individual ailing and unable to perform his proper work. But the correlate in 1 is strong; and is made to hasten to its relief. The 'joy' of the line shows the desire of its subject to do his part in the work of the hexagram.

Line 5 is the seat of the ruler, who is here humble, and welcomes the assistance of his correlate, the subject of 2. He is a ruler whom all his subjects of ability will rejoice to serve in every possible way; and the result will be great good fortune.

Line 6 has been changed from a weak into a strong line from line 3; has received therefore the greatest increase, and will carry out the idea of the hexagram in the highest degree and style. But he can give increase to others without diminishing his own resources, and of course the benefit he will confer will be incalculable. Ministers will come to serve him; and not one from each clan merely, but many. Such is the substance of what is said on this last paragraph. I confess that I only discern the meaning darkly.

a great movement. If it be greatly fortunate, no blame will be imputed to him.

2. The second line, divided, shows parties adding to the stores of its subject ten pairs of tortoise shells whose oracles cannot be opposed. Let him persevere in being firm and correct, and there will be good fortune. Let the king, (having the virtues thus distinguished), employ them in presenting his offerings to God, and there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows increase given to its subject by means of what is evil, so that he shall (be led to good), and be without blame. Let him be sincere and pursue the path of the Mean, (so shall he secure the recognition of the ruler, like) an officer who announces himself to his prince by the symbol of his rank.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject pursuing the due course. His advice to his prince is followed. He can with advantage be relied on in such a movement as that of removing the capital.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject with sincere heart seeking to benefit (all below). There need be no question about it; the result will be great good fortune. (All below) will with sincere heart acknowledge his goodness.

6. In the sixth line, undivided, we see one to whose increase none will contribute, while many will seek to assail him. He observes no regular rule in the ordering of his heart. There will be evil.

XLII. Yī has the opposite meaning to Sun, and is the symbol of addition or increasing. What king Wăn had in his mind, in connexion with the hexagram, was a ruler or a government operating

XLIII. THE KWÂI HEXAGRAM.



Kwâi requires (in him who would fulfil its meaning) the exhibition (of the culprit's guilt) in the royal court, and a sincere and earnest appeal (for sym-

so as to dispense benefits to, and increase the resources of all the people. Two indications are evident in the lines;—the strong line in the ruler's seat, or the fifth line, and the weak line in the correlative place of 2. Whether there be other indications in the figure or its component trigrams will be considered in dealing with the Appendixes. The writer might well say, on general grounds, of the ruler whom he had in mind, that he would be successful in his enterprises and overcome the greatest difficulties.

Line 1 is strong, but its low position might seem to debar its subject from any great enterprise. Favoured as he is, however, according to the general idea of the hexagram, and specially responding to the proper correlate in 4, it is natural that he should make a movement; and great success will make his rashness be forgotten.

With paragraph 2 compare paragraph 5 of the preceding hexagram. Line 2 is weak, but in the centre, and is the correlate of 5. Friends give its subject the valuable gifts mentioned; 'that is,' says Kwo Yung (Sung dynasty), 'men benefit him; the oracles of the divination are in his favour,—spirits, that is, benefit him; and finally, when the king sacrifices to God, He accepts. Heaven confers benefit from above.'

Line 3 is weak, neither central, nor in its correct position. It would seem therefore that its subject should have no increase given to him. But it is the time for giving increase, and the idea of his receiving it by means of evil things is put into the line. That such things serve for reproof and correction is well known to Chinese moralists. But the paragraph goes on also to caution and admonish.

Line 4 is the place for a minister, near to that of the ruler. Its subject is weak, but his place is appropriate, and as he follows the

pathy and support), with a consciousness of the peril (involved in cutting off the criminal). He should (also) make announcement in his own city, and show that it will not be well to have recourse at once to arms. (In this way) there will be advantage in whatever he shall go forward to.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject in (the pride of) strength advancing with his toes. He goes forward, but will not succeed. There will be ground for blame.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject full of apprehension and appealing (for sympathy and help). Late at night hostile measures may be (taken against him), but he need not be anxious about them.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject (about to advance) with strong (and determined) looks. There will be evil. (But) the superior man, bent on cutting off (the criminal), will walk alone and encounter the rain, (till he be hated by his proper associates) as if he were contaminated (by the others). (In the end) there will be no blame against him.

due course, his ruler will listen to him, and he will be a support in the most critical movements. Changing the capital from place to place was frequent in the feudal times of China. That of Shang, which preceded *Kâu*, was changed five times.

Line 5 is strong, in its fitting position, and central. It is the seat of the ruler, who has his proper correlate in 2. Everything good, according to the conditions of the hexagram, therefore, may be said of him ;—as is done.

Line 6 is also strong ; but it should be weak. Occupying the topmost place of the figure, its subject will concentrate his powers in the increase of himself, and not think of benefiting those below him ; and the consequence will be as described.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows one from whose buttocks the skin has been stripped, and who walks slowly and with difficulty. (If he could act) like a sheep led (after its companions), occasion for repentance would disappear. But though he hear these words, he will not believe them.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows (the small men like) a bed of purslain, which ought to be uprooted with the utmost determination. (The subject of the line having such determination), his action, in harmony with his central position, will lead to no error or blame.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject without any (helpers) on whom to call. His end will be evil.

XLIII. In Kwâi we have the hexagram of the third month, when the last remnant, cold and dark, of winter, represented by the sixth line, is about to disappear before the advance of the warm and bright days of the approaching summer. In the yin line at the top king Wăn saw the symbol of a small or bad man, a feudal prince or high minister, lending his power to maintain a corrupt government, or, it might be, a dynasty that was waxen old and ready to vanish away; and in the five undivided lines he saw the representatives of good order, or, it might be, the dynasty which was to supersede the other. This then is the subject of the hexagram,—how bad men, statesmen corrupt and yet powerful, are to be put out of the way. And he who would accomplish the task must do so by the force of his character more than by force of arms, and by producing a general sympathy on his side.

The Thwan says that he must openly denounce the criminal in the court, seek to awaken general sympathy, and at the same time go about his enterprise, conscious of its difficulty and danger. Among his own adherents, moreover, as if it were in his own city, he must make it understood how unwillingly he takes up arms. Then let him go forward, and success will attend him.

Line 1 is strong, the first line of that trigram, which expresses the idea of strength. But it is in the lowest place. The stage of

XLIV. THE KÂU HEXAGRAM.



Kâu shows a female who is bold and strong. It will not be good to marry (such) a female.

the enterprise is too early, and the preparation too small to make victory certain. Its subject had better not take the field.

Line 2 is strong, and central, and its subject is possessed with the determination to do his part in the work of removal. But his eagerness is tempered by his occupancy of an even place; and he is cautious, and no attempts, however artful, to harm him will take effect.

Line 3 is strong, and its subject displays his purpose too eagerly. Being beyond the central position, moreover, gives an indication of evil. Lines 3 and 6 are also proper correlates; and, as elsewhere in the Yi, the meeting of yin and yang lines is associated with falling rain. The subject of 3, therefore, communicates with 6, in a way that annoys his associates; but nevertheless he commits no error, and, in the end, incurs no blame.

Line 4 is not in the centre, nor in an odd place, appropriate to it as undivided. Its subject therefore will not be at rest, nor able to do anything to accomplish the idea of the hexagram. He is symbolised by a culprit, who, according to the ancient and modern custom of Chinese courts, has been bastinadoed till he presents the appearance in the Text. Alone he can do nothing; if he could follow others, like a sheep led along, he might accomplish something, but he will not listen to advice.

Purslain grows in shady places, and hence we find it here in close contiguity to the topmost line, which is yin. As 5 is the ruler's seat, evil may come to him from such contiguity, and strenuous efforts must be made to prevent such an evil. The subject of the line, the ruler in the central place, will commit no error. It must be allowed that the symbolism in this line is not easily managed.

The subject of the 6th line, standing alone, may be easily disposed of.

1. The first line, divided, shows how its subject should be kept (like a carriage) tied and fastened to a metal drag, in which case with firm correctness there will be good fortune. (But) if he move in any direction, evil will appear. He will be (like) a lean pig, which is sure to keep jumping about.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject with a wallet of fish. There will be no error. But it will not be well to let (the subject of the first line) go forward to the guests.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one from whose buttocks the skin has been stripped so that he walks with difficulty. The position is perilous, but there will be no great error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject with his wallet, but no fish in it. This will give rise to evil.

5. The fifth line, undivided, (shows its subject as) a medlar tree overspreading the gourd (beneath it). If he keep his brilliant qualities concealed, (a good issue) will descend (as) from Heaven.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject receiving others on his horns. There will be occasion for regret, but there will be no error.

XLIV. The single, divided, line at the top of Kwâi, the hexagram of the third month, has been displaced, and K'ien has ruled over the fourth month of the year. But the innings of the divided line commence again; and here we have in Kâu the hexagram of the fifth month, when light and heat are supposed both to begin to be less.

In that divided line Wăn saw the symbol of the small or unworthy man, beginning to insinuate himself into the government

XLV. THE 3HUI HEXAGRAM.



In (the state denoted by) 3hui, the king will repair to his ancestral temple. It will be advan-

of the country. His influence, if unchecked, would go on to grow, and he would displace one good man after another, and fill the vacant seats with others like-minded with himself. The object of Wăn in his Thwan, therefore, was to enjoin resistance to the encroachment of this bad man.

Kâu is defined as giving the idea of suddenly and casually encountering or meeting with. So does the divided line appear all at once in the figure. And this significance of the name rules in the interpretation of the lines, so as to set on one side the more common interpretation of them according to the correlation; showing how the meaning of the figures was put into them from the minds of Wăn and Tan in the first place. The sentiments of the Text are not learned from them; but they are forced and twisted, often fantastically, and made to appear to give those sentiments forth of themselves.

Here the first line, divided, where it ought to be the contrary, becomes the symbol of a bold, bad woman, who appears unexpectedly on the scene, and wishes to subdue or win all the five strong lines to herself. No one would contract a marriage with such a female; and every good servant of his country will try to repel the entrance into the government of every officer who can be so symbolised.

Line 1 represents the *bête noire* of the figure. If its subject can be kept back, the method of firm government and order will proceed. If he cannot be restrained, he will become disgusting and dangerous. It is not enough for the carriage to be stopt by the metal drag; it is also tied or bound to some steadfast object. Internal and external restraints should be opposed to the bad man.

The 'wallet of fish' under line 2 is supposed to symbolise the

tageous (also) to meet with the great man ; and then there will be progress and success, though the advantage must come through firm correctness. The use of great victims will conduce to good fortune ; and in whatever direction movement is made, it will be advantageous.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject with a sincere desire (for union), but unable to carry it out, so that disorder is brought into the sphere of his union. If he cry out (for help to his proper correlate), all at once (his tears) will give place

subject of line 1. It has come into the possession of the subject of 2, by virtue of the meaning of the name Kâu, which I have pointed out. With his strength therefore he can repress the advance of 1. He becomes in fact 'the lord of the hexagram,' and all the other strong lines are merely guests ; and especially is it important that he should prevent 1 from approaching them. This is a common explanation of what is said under this second line. It seems far-fetched ; but I can neither find nor devise anything better.

With what is said on line 3, compare the fourth paragraph of the duke's Text on the preceding hexagram. Line 3 is strong, but has gone beyond the central place ; has no correlate above ; and is cut off from 1 by the intervening 2. It cannot do much therefore against 1 ; but its aim being to repress that, there will be no great error.

Line 1 is the proper correlate of 4 ; but it has already met and associated with 2. The subject of 4 therefore stands alone ; and evil to him may be looked for.

Line 5 is strong, and in the ruler's place. Its relation to 1 is like that of a forest tree to the spreading gourd. But let not its subject use force to destroy or repress the growth of 1 ; but let him restrain himself and keep his excellence concealed, and Heaven will set its seal to his virtue.

The symbolism of line 6 is difficult to understand, though the meaning of what is said is pretty clear. The Khang-hsi editors observe :—'The subject of this line is like an officer who has withdrawn from the world. He can accomplish no service for the time ; but his person is removed from the workers of disorder.'

to smiles. He need not mind (the temporary difficulty); as he goes forward, there will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject led forward (by his correlate). There will be good fortune, and freedom from error. There is entire sincerity, and in that case (even the small offerings of) the vernal sacrifice are acceptable.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject striving after union and seeming to sigh, yet nowhere finding any advantage. If he go forward, he will not err, though there may be some small cause for regret.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject in such a state that, if he be greatly fortunate, he will receive no blame.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the union (of all) under its subject in the place of dignity. There will be no error. If any do not have confidence in him, let him see to it that (his virtue) be great, long-continued, and firmly correct, and all occasion for repentance will disappear.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject sighing and weeping; but there will be no error.

XLV. 3 hui denotes collecting together, or things so collected; and hence this hexagram concerns the state of the kingdom when a happy union prevails between the sovereign and his ministers, between high and low; and replies in a vague way to the question how this state is to be preserved; by the influence of religion, and the great man, who is a sage upon the throne.

He, 'the king,' will repair to his ancestral temple, and meet in spirit there with the spirits of his ancestors. Whatever he does, being correct and right, will succeed. His religious services will be distinguished by their dignity and splendour. His victims will

XLVI. THE SHǎNG HEXAGRAM.



Shǎng indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. Seeking by

be the best that can be obtained, and other things will be in harmony with them.

Line 1 is weak, and in the place of a strong line. It has a proper correlate in 4, but is separated from him by the intervention of two weak lines. The consequence of these things is supposed to be expressed in the first part of the symbolism; but the subject of the line is possessed by the desire for union, which is the theme of the hexagram. Calling out to his correlate for help, he obtains it, and his sorrow is turned into joy.

Line 2 is in its proper place, and responds to the strong ruler in 5, who encourages and helps the advance of its subject. He possesses also the sincerity, proper to him in his central position; and though he were able to offer only the sacrifice of the spring, small compared with the fulness of the sacrifices in summer and autumn, it would be accepted.

Line 3 is weak, in the place of a strong line, and advanced from the central place. The topmost line, moreover, is no proper correlate. But its subject is possessed by the desire for union; and though 2 and 4 decline to associate with him, he presses on to 6, which is also desirous of union. That common desire brings them together, notwithstanding 3 and 6 are both divided lines; and with difficulty the subject of 3 accomplishes his object.

[But that an ordinary rule for interpreting the lineal indications may be thus overruled by extraordinary considerations shows how much of fancy there is in the symbolism or in the commentaries on it.]

Line 4 has its correlate in 1, and is near to the ruling line in 5. We may expect a good auspice for it; but its being strong in an odd place, calls for the caution which is insinuated.

Line 5 is strong, central, and in its correct position. Through

(the qualities implied in it) to meet with the great man, its subject need have no anxiety. Advance to the south will be fortunate.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject advancing upwards with the welcome (of those above him). There will be great good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject with that sincerity which will make even the (small) offerings of the vernal sacrifice acceptable. There will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject ascending upwards (as into) an empty city.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject employed by the king to present his offerings on mount *K'hi*. There will be good fortune; there will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject firmly correct, and therefore enjoying good fortune. He ascends the stairs (with all due ceremony).

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject advancing upwards blindly. Advantage will be found in a ceaseless maintenance of firm correctness.

its subject there may be expected the full realisation of the idea of the hexagram.

Line 6, weak, and at the extremity of the figure, is still anxious for union; but he has no proper correlate, and all below are united in 5. Its subject mourns his solitary condition; and his good feeling will preserve him from error and blame.

XLVI. The character *Shǎng* is used of advancing in an upward direction, 'advancing and ascending.' And here, as the name of the hexagram, it denotes the advance of a good officer to the highest pinnacle of distinction. The second line, in the centre of the lower trigram, is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place. As the representative of the subject of the

XLVII. THE KHWĀN HEXAGRAM.



In (the condition denoted by) Khwān there may (yet be) progress and success. For the firm and

hexagram, it shows him to be possessed of modesty and force. Then the ruler's seat, the fifth place, is occupied by a divided line, indicating that he will welcome the advance of 2. The officer therefore both has the qualities that fit him to advance, and a favourable opportunity to do so. The result of his advance will be fortunate.

It is said that after he has met with the ruler, 'the great man' in 5, 'advance to the south will be fortunate.' Kû Hsi and other critics say that 'advancing to the south' is equivalent simply to 'advancing forwards.' The south is the region of brightness and warmth; advance towards it will be a joyful progress. As P. Regis explains the phrase, the traveller will proceed 'via recta simillima illi qua itur ad austrates felicesque plagas.'

Line 1 is weak, where it should be strong; its subject, that is, is humble and docile. Those above him, therefore, welcome his advance. Another interpretation of the line is suggested by Appendix I; which deserves consideration. As the first line of Sun, moreover, it may be supposed to concentrate in itself its attribute of docility, and be the lord of the trigram.

See on the second line of 3 hui. Line 2 is strong, and the weak 5 is its proper correlate. We have a strong officer serving a weak ruler; he could not do so unless he were penetrated with a sincere and devoted loyalty.

Paragraph 3 describes the boldness and fearlessness of the advance of the third line. According to the Khang-hsi editors, who, I think, are right, there is a shade of condemnation in the line. Its subject is too bold.

Line 4 occupies the place of a great minister, in immediate contiguity to his ruler, who confides in him, and raises him to the highest distinction as a feudal prince. The mention of mount

correct, the (really) great man, there will be good fortune. He will fall into no error. If he make speeches, his words cannot be made good.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject with bare buttocks straitened under the stump of a tree. He enters a dark valley, and for three years has no prospect (of deliverance).

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject straitened amidst his wine and viands. There come to him anon the red knee-covers (of the ruler). It will be well for him (to maintain his sincerity as) in sacrificing. Active operations (on his part) will lead to evil, but he will be free from blame.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject straitened before a (frowning) rock. He lays hold of thorns. He enters his palace, and does not see his wife. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject proceeding very slowly (to help the subject of the first line), who is straitened by the carriage adorned with metal in front of him. There will be occasion for regret, but the end will be good.

K'hi, at the foot of which was the capital of the lords of *K'âu*, seems to take the paragraph out of the sphere of symbolism into that of history. 'The king' in it is the last sovereign of Shang; the feudal prince in it is *Wân*.

In line 5 the advance has reached the highest point of dignity, and firm correctness is specially called for. 'Ascending the steps of a stair' may intimate, as *K'ü Hsi* says, the ease of the advance; or according to others (the *Khang-hsi* editors among them), its ceremonious manner.

What can the subject of the hexagram want more? He has gained all his wishes, and still he is for going onwards. His advance is blind and foolish; and only the most exact correctness will save him from the consequences.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject with his nose and feet cut off. He is straitened by (his ministers in' their) scarlet aprons. He is leisurely in his movements, however, and is satisfied. It will be well for him to be (as sincere) as in sacrificing (to spiritual beings).

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject straitened, as if bound with creepers; or in a high and dangerous position, and saying (to himself), 'If I move, I shall repent it.' If he do repent of former errors, there will be good fortune in his going forward.

XLVII. The character Khwăn presents us with the picture of a tree within an enclosure; 'a plant,' according to Williams, 'fading for want of room'; 'a tree,' according to Tai Tung, 'not allowed to spread its branches.' However this be, the term conveys the idea of being straitened and distressed; and this hexagram indicates a state of things in which the order and government that would conduce to the well-being of the country can hardly get the development, which, by skilful management on the part of 'the great man' and others, is finally secured for them.

Looking at the figure we see that the two central places are occupied by strong lines; but 2 is confined between 1 and 3, both of which are weak, and 5 (the ruler), as well as 4 (his minister), is covered by the weak 6; all which peculiarities are held to indicate the repression or straitening of good men by bad. For the way in which the same view is derived from the great symbolism, see Appendix II, in loc.

The concluding sentence of the Thwan is literally, 'If he speak, he will not be believed;' but the Khang-hsi editors give sufficient reasons for changing one character so as to give the meaning in the translation. 'Actions,' not words, are what are required in the case.

The symbolism of 'buttocks' is rather a favourite with the duke of Kâu;—'chacun à son goût.' The poor subject of line 1 sitting on a mere stump, which affords him no shelter, is indeed badly off. The line is at the bottom of the trigram indicating peril, and 4, which is its proper correlate, is so circumstanced as not to be able

XLVIII. THE ŠING HEXAGRAM.



(Looking at) Šing, (we think of) how (the site of) a town may be changed, while (the fashion of) its

to render it help; hence comes the unfavourable auspice. 'Three years' is used, as often, for a long time.

The three strong lines in the figure (2, 4, and 5) are all held to represent 'superior men'; and their being straitened is not in their persons or estates, but in their principles which are denied development. Hence the subject of 2 is straitened while he fares sumptuously. His correlate in 5, though not quite proper, occupies the ruler's place, and comes to his help. That it is the ruler who comes appears from his red or vermillion knee-covers, different from the scarlet knee-covers worn by nobles, as in paragraph 5. Let 2 cultivate his sincerity and do the work of the hexagram as if he were sacrificing to spiritual beings; and then, if he keep quiet, all will be well.

For 'a full explanation' of paragraph 3 *K'ü Hsî* refers his readers to what Confucius is made to say on it in Appendix III, ii, 35. The reader, however, will probably not find much light in that passage. The *Khang-hsî* editors say here:—'The subjects of the three divided lines (1, 3, and 6) are all unable to deal aright with the straitened state indicated by the figure. The first is at the bottom, sitting and distressed. The second, occupies the third place, where he may either advance or retreat; and he advances and is distressed. Wounded abroad, he returns to his family, and finds none to receive him; so graphically is there set forth the distress which reckless action brings.'

Line 4 is the proper correlate of 1, but it is a strong line in an even place, and its assistance is given dilatorily. Then 1 is over-ridden by 2, which is represented by 'a chariot of metal.' It is difficult for the subjects of 1 and 4 to come together, and effect much; but 4 is near 5, which is also a strong line. Through a

wells undergoes no change. (The water of a well) never disappears and never receives (any great) increase, and those who come and those who go can draw and enjoy the benefit. If (the drawing) have nearly been accomplished, but, before the rope has quite reached the water, the bucket is broken, this is evil.

1. The first line, divided, shows a well so muddy that men will not drink of it; or an old well to which neither birds (nor other creatures) resort.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a well from which by a hole the water escapes and flows away to the shrimps (and such small creatures among the grass), or one the water of which leaks away from a broken basket.

3. The third line, undivided, shows a well, which has been cleared out, but is not used. Our hearts are sorry for this, for the water might be drawn out and used. If the king were (only) intelligent, both he and we might receive the benefit of it.

common sympathy, the subject of 5 will have a measure of success. So the symbolism of this line has been explained,—not very satisfactorily.

Line 5 is repressed by 6, and pressed on by 4. Above and below its subject is wounded. Especially is he straitened by the minister in 4, with his scarlet knee-covers. But the upper trigram is Tui, with the quality of complacent satisfaction. And this indicates, it is said, that the subject of 5 gets on notwithstanding his straits, especially by his sincerity. This explanation is not more satisfactory than the last.

Line 6 is at the top of the figure, where the distress may be supposed to reach its height. Its subject appears bound and on a perilous summit. But his extremity is also his opportunity. He is moved to think of repenting; and if he do repent, and go forward, his doing so will be fortunate.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows a well, the lining of which is well laid. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows a clear, limpid well, (the waters from) whose cold spring are (freely) drunk.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows (the water from) the well brought to the top, which is not allowed to be covered. This suggests the idea of sincerity. There will be great good fortune.

XLVIII. *Žing*, which gives its name to this hexagram, is the symbol of a well. The character originally was pictorial (井), intended to represent a portion of land, divided into nine parts, the central portion belonging to the government, and being cultivated by the joint labour of the eight families settled on the other divisions. In the centre of it, moreover, was a well, which was the joint property of all the occupants.

What is said on *Žing* might be styled 'Moralisings on a well,' or 'Lessons to be learned from a well for the good order and government of a country.' What a well is to those in its neighbourhood, and indeed to men in general, that is government to a people. If rulers would only rightly appreciate the principles of government handed down from the good ages of the past, and faithfully apply them to the regulation of the present, they would be blessed themselves and their people with them.

In the Thwan we have the well, substantially the same through many changes of society; a sure source of dependance to men, for their refreshment and for use in their cultivation of the ground. Its form is what I have seen in the plains of northern China; what may be seen among ourselves in many places in Europe. It is deep, and the water is drawn up by a vessel let down from the top; and the value of the well depends on the water being actually raised. And so the principles of government must be actually carried out.

Line 1, being weak, and at the very bottom of the figure, suggests, or is made to suggest, the symbolism of it. Many men in authority are like such a well; corrupt, useless, unregarded.

Line 2 is strong, and might very well symbolise an active spring, ever feeding the well and, through it, the ground and its cultivators; but it is in an inappropriate place, and has no proper correlate.

XLIX. THE KO HEXAGRAM.



(What takes place as indicated by) Ko is believed in only after it has been accomplished. There will be great progress and success. Advantage will come from being firm and correct. (In that case) occasion for repentance will disappear.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject (as if he were) bound with the skin of a yellow ox.

Its cool waters cannot be brought to the top. So important is it that the ministers of a country should be able and willing rightly to administer its government. In the account of the ancient Shun it is stated that he once saved his life by an opening in the lining of a well.

Line 3 is a strong line, in its proper place ; and must represent an able minister or officer. But though the well is clear, no use is made of it. I do not find anything in the figure that can be connected with this fact. The author was wise beyond his lines. After the first sentence of the paragraph, the duke of Kâu ceases from his function of making emblems ; reflects and moralises.

Line 4 is weak, but in its proper place. Its subject is not to be condemned, but neither is he to be praised. He takes care of himself, but does nothing for others.

Line 5 is strong, and in its right place. The place is that of the ruler, and suggests the well, full of clear water, which is drawn up, and performs its useful work. Such is the good Head of government to his people.

Line 6 is in its proper place, but weak. If the general idea of the figure was different, a bad auspice might be drawn from it. But here we see in it the symbol of the water drawn up, and the top uncovered so that the use of the well is free to all. Then the mention of 'sincerity' suggests the inexhaustibleness of the elemental supply.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject making his changes after some time has passed. Action taken will be fortunate. There will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows that action taken by its subject will be evil. Though he be firm and correct, his position is perilous. If the change (he contemplates) have been three times fully discussed, he will be believed in.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows occasion for repentance disappearing (from its subject). Let him be believed in; and though he change (existing) ordinances, there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the great man (producing his changes) as the tiger (does when he) changes (his stripes). Before he divines (and proceeds to action), faith has been reposed in him.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the superior man producing his changes as the leopard (does when he) changes (his spots), while small men change their faces (and show their obedience). To go forward (now) would lead to evil, but there will be good fortune in abiding firm and correct.

XLIX. The character called Ko or Keh is used here in the sense of changing. Originally used for the skin of an animal or bird, alive or dead, it received the significance of changing at a very early time. Its earliest appearance, indeed, in the first Book of the Shû, is in that sense. How the transition was made from the idea of a skin or hide to that of change is a subject that need not be entered on here. The author has before him the subject of changes occurring—called for—in the state of the country; it may be on the greatest scale. The necessity of them is recognised, and hints are

L. THE TING HEXAGRAM.



Ting gives the intimation of great progress and success.

1. The first line, divided, shows the caldron overthrown and its feet turned up. (But) there will be

given as to the spirit and manner in which they should be brought about.

For the way in which the notion of change is brought out of the trigrams of the figure, see Appendixes I and II. It is assumed in the Thwan that change is viewed by people generally with suspicion and dislike, and should not be made hastily. When made as a necessity, and its good effects appear, the issues will be great and good. A proved necessity for them beforehand; and a firm correctness in the conduct of them :—these are the conditions by which changes should be regulated.

Line 1, at the bottom of the figure, may be taken as denoting change made at too early a period. It has no proper correlate or helper, moreover, above. Hence its subject is represented as tied up, unable to take any action.

Line 2, though weak, is in its correct place. It is in the centre also of the trigram Lî, signifying brightness and intelligence, and has a proper correlate in the strong 5. Let its subject take action in the way of change.

The symbolism of paragraph 3 is twofold. The line is strong, and in the correct position, but it has passed the centre of Sun and is on its outward verge. These conditions may dispose its subject to reckless and violent changing which would be bad. But if he act cautiously and with due deliberation, he may take action, and he will be believed in.

Line 4 is strong, but in the place of a weak line. This might vitiate any action of its subject in the way of change, and give occasion for repentance. But other conditions are intimated that

advantage in its getting rid of what was bad in it. (Or it shows us) the concubine (whose position is improved) by means of her son. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows the caldron with the things (to be cooked) in it. (If its subject can say), 'My enemy dislikes me, but he cannot approach me,' there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the caldron with (the places of) its ears changed. The progress (of its subject) is (thus) stopped. The fat flesh of the pheasant (which is in the caldron) will not be eaten. But the (genial) rain will come, and the grounds for repentance will disappear. There will be good fortune in the end.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the caldron with its feet broken; and its contents, designed for the ruler's use, overturned and spilt. Its subject will be made to blush for shame. There will be evil.

will have a contrary effect; and if he have further secured general confidence, he may proceed to the greatest changes, even to change the dynasty,—'with good fortune.' The conditions favourable to his action are said to be such as these:—The line has passed from the lower trigram into the upper; water and fire come in it into contact; the fourth place is that of the minister immediately below the ruler's seat. All these considerations demand action from the subject of 4 in harmony with the idea of the hexagram.

Line 5 has every quality proper to 'the lord of the hexagram,' and his action will be in every way beneficial. He is symbolised by the tiger; and the changes which he makes by the bright stripes of the tiger when he has changed his coat.

Line 6 is weak, but its subject is penetrated with the spirit of the hexagram. If its subject be a superior man, only inferior to 'the great man,' immediately below, the changes he makes will be inferior only to his. If he be a small man, he will be compliant and submissive. The lesson for him, however, is to abide firm and correct without taking any action of his own.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the caldron with yellow ears and rings of metal in them. There will be advantage through being firm and correct.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the caldron with rings of jade. There will be great good fortune, and all action taken will be in every way advantageous.

L. Ting was originally a pictorial character, representing a caldron with three feet and two ears, used for cooking and preparing food for the table (the mat in old times) and the altar. The picture has disappeared from the character, but it is said that in the hexagram we have an outline from which fancy may construct the vessel. The lower line, divided, represents its feet; lines 2, 3, 4, all undivided, represent the body of it; line 5, divided, represents its two ears; and line 6, undivided, the handle by which it was carried, or suspended from a hook. Appendix VI makes Ting follow Ko in the order of the hexagrams, because there is no changer of the appearance and character of things equal to the furnace and caldron!

Ting and Bing (48) are the only two hexagrams named from things in ordinary use with men; and they are both descriptive of the government's work of nourishing. There are three hexagrams of which that is the theme, $\hat{I}$ (27), under which we are told in Appendix I that 'the sages nourished men of worth, by means of them to reach to the myriads of the people.' Bing treats of the nourishment of the people generally by the government through its agricultural and other methods; Ting treats of the nourishment of men of talents and virtue; and that being understood, it is said, without more ado, that it 'intimates great progress and success.' The Text that follows, however, is more difficult to interpret than that of Bing.

Line 1 is weak, and little or nothing can be expected from its subject. But it has a proper correlate in the strong 4; and the disastrous overthrow, causing the feet to be directed towards 4, is understood to be lucky, as accelerating the co-operation of their two lines! The overturned caldron is thereby emptied of bad stuff that had accumulated in it!! The writer uses another illustration, which comes to the same thing. A concubine is less honourable than a wife,—like the overthrown caldron. But if she have a son,

LI. THE KǎN HEXAGRAM.



Kǎn gives the intimation of ease and development. When (the time of) movement (which it indicates) comes, (the subject of the hexagram) will be found looking out with apprehension, and yet

while the proper wife has none, he will be his father's heir, and the mother, the concubine, will share in the honour of his position. Thus the issue of what was so unpromising is good. At least 'there is no mistake.' The above is what is found in the best commentaries on the paragraph. I give it, but am myself dissatisfied with it.

Line 2 is strong. 'The enemy' is the first line, which solicits 1. One, however, is able to resist the solicitation; and the whole paragraph gives a good auspice. The personal pronoun seems to show that the whole was, or was intended to be, understood as an oracular response in divination. This paragraph is rhymed, moreover, as are also 1, 3, and 4 :—

'In the caldron is good fare,
See my foe with angry glare;
But touch me he does not dare.'

Line 3 is also strong, and in the proper place; and if its correlate were the divided 5, its auspice would be entirely good. But instead of 5, its correlate is the strong 6. The place of the ears at 5 has been changed. Things promise badly. The advance of 3 is stopped. The good meat in the caldron which it symbolises will not be eaten. But 3 keeping firm 5 will by and by seek its society! The yin and the yang will mingle, and their union will be followed by genial rain. The issue will be good.

Line 4 is in the place of a great minister, who is charged with the most difficult duties, which no single man can sustain. Then the strength of 4 is weakened by being in an even place, and its correlate is the weak 1 in the lowest place. Its subject is insufficient of

smiling and talking cheerfully. When the movement (like a crash of thunder) terrifies all within a hundred li, he will be (like the sincere worshipper) who is not (startled into) letting go his ladle and (cup of) sacrificial spirits.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject, when the movement approaches, looking out and around with apprehension, and afterwards smiling and talking cheerfully. There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject, when the movement approaches, in a position of peril. He judges it better to let go the articles (in his possession), and to ascend a very lofty height. There is no occasion for him to pursue after (the things he has let go); in seven days he will find them.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject distraught amid the startling movements going on. If those movements excite him to (right) action, there will be no mistake.

himself for his work, and he has no sufficient help; and the result will be evil.

'Paragraph 5,' says the Daily Lecture, 'praises the ruler as condescending to the worthy with his humble virtue.' 'Yellow' has occurred repeatedly as 'a correct colour;' and here 'the yellow ears and strong rings of metal' are intended to intensify our appreciation of the occupant of 5. As the line is divided, a caution is added about being firm and correct.

Line 6 is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place. It is this which makes the handle to be of jade, which, though very hard, is supposed to have a peculiar and rich softness of its own. The auspice of the line is very good. 'The great minister,' it is said, 'the subject of 6,' performs for the ruler, the subject of 5, in helping his government and nourishing the worthy, the part which the handle does for the caldron.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject, amid the startling movements, supinely sinking (deeper) in the mud.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject going and coming amidst the startling movements (of the time), and always in peril; but perhaps he will not incur loss, and find business (which he can accomplish).

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject, amidst the startling movements (of the time), in breathless dismay and looking round him with trembling apprehension. If he take action, there will be evil. If, while the startling movements have not reached his own person and his neighbourhood, (he were to take precautions), there would be no error, though his relatives might (still) speak against him.

II. *K'ân* among the trigrams represents thunder, and, according to Wân's arrangement and significance of them, 'the oldest son.' It is a phonetic character in which the significant constituent is *Yü*, meaning rain, and with which are formed most characters that denote atmospherical phenomena. The hexagram is formed of the trigram *K'ân* redoubled, and may be taken as representing the crash or peal of thunder; but we have seen that the attribute or virtue of the trigram is 'moving, exciting power;' and thence, symbolically, the character is indicative of movement taking place in society or in the kingdom. This is the meaning of the hexagram; and the subject is the conduct to be pursued in a time of movement—such as insurrection or revolution—by the party promoting, and most interested in, the situation. It is shown how he ought to be aware of the dangers of the time, and how by precaution and the regulation of himself he may overcome them.

The indication of a successful issue given by the figure is supposed to be given by the undivided line at the bottom of the trigram. The subject of it must be superior to the subjects of the two divided lines above. It is in the idea of the hexagram that he should be moving and advancing;—and what can his movement be but successful?

LII. THE KǎN HEXAGRAM.



When one's resting is like that of the back, and he loses all consciousness of self; when he walks

The next sentence shows him sensible of the danger of the occasion, but confident and self-possessed. The concluding sentence shows him rapt in his own important affairs, like a sincere worshipper, thinking only of the service in which he is engaged. Such a symbol is said to be suggested by Wǎn's significance of Kǎn as 'the oldest son (page 33).' It is his to succeed to his father, and the hexagram, as following Ting, shows him presiding over the sacrifices that have been prepared in the caldron. This is too fanciful.

What is said on line 1 is little more than a repetition of the principal part of the Thwan. The line is undivided, and gives the auspice of good fortune.

'The position of peril' to the subject of line 2 is suggested, as Appendix II says, by its position, immediately above 1. But the rest of the symbolism is obscure, and K'ü Hsi says he does not understand it. The common interpretation appears in the version. The subject of the line does what he can to get out of danger; and finally, as is signified by the central position of the line, the issue is better than could have been expected. On the specification of 'seven days,' see what is said in the treatise on the Thwan of hexagram 24. On its use here K'ǎng-ze says:—'The places of a diagram amount to 6. The number 7 is the first of another. When the movement symbolised by Kǎn is gone by, things will be as they were before.'

Line 3 is divided, and where an undivided line should be; but if its subject move on to the fourth place, which would be right for him, the issue will not be bad.

The 4th line, however, has a bad auspice of its own. It is undivided in an even place, and it is pressed by the divided line on

in his courtyard, and does not see any (of the persons) in it,—there will be no error.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject keeping his toes at rest. There will be no error; but it will be advantageous for him to be persistently firm and correct.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject keeping the calves of his legs at rest. He cannot help (the subject of the line above) whom he follows, and is dissatisfied in his mind.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject keeping his loins at rest, and separating the ribs (from the body below). The situation is perilous, and the heart glows with suppressed excitement.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject keeping his trunk at rest. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject keeping his jawbones at rest, so that his words are (all) orderly. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject

either side, hence its subject is represented as supinely sinking in the mud.

Line 5 is divided, in an odd place, and that in which the action of the hexagram may be supposed to be concentrated. Hence its subject is always in peril; but his central position indicates safety in the end.

Line 6 is weak, and has to abide the concluding terrors of the movement. Action on the part of its subject is sure to be evil. If, however, he were to take precautions, he might escape with only the censures of his relatives. But I do not see anything in the figure to indicate this final symbolism. The writer, probably, had a case in his mind, which it suited; but what that was we do not know.

devotedly maintaining his restfulness. There will be good fortune.

LII. The trigram K'ān represents a mountain. Mountains rise up grandly from the surface of the earth, and their masses rest on it in quiet and solemn majesty; and they serve also to arrest the onward progress of the traveller. Hence the attribute ascribed to K'ān is twofold; it is both active and passive—resting and arresting. The character is used in this hexagram with both of those significations. As the name of the figure, it denotes the mental characteristic of resting in what is right; especially resting, as it is expressed by Chinese critics, 'in principle,'—that which is right, on the widest scale, and in the absolute conception of the mind; and that which is right in every different position in which a man can be placed. We find this treated of in the Great Learning (Commentary, chapter 3), and in the Doctrine of the Mean, chapter 14, and other places. This is the theme of the hexagram; and the symbolism of it is all taken from different parts of the human body, as in hexagram 31, and the way in which they are dealt with. Several of the paragraphs are certainly not easy to translate and interpret.

The other parts of the body, such as the mouth, eyes, and ears, have their appetencies, which lead them to what is without themselves. The back alone has nothing to do with anything beyond itself—hardly with itself even; all that it has to do is to stand straight and strong. So should it be with us, resting in principle, free from the intrusion of selfish thoughts and external objects. Amidst society, he who realises the idea of the hexagram is still alone, and does not allow himself to be distracted from the contemplation and following of principle. He is not a recluse, however, who keeps aloof from social life; but his distinction is that he maintains a supreme regard to principle, when alone, and when mingling with others.

In the symbolism the author rises from one part of the body to the other. The first line at the bottom of the figure fitly suggests 'the toes.' The lesson is that from the first men should rest in, and be anxious to do, what is right in all their affairs. The weakness of the line and its being in an odd place give occasion for the caution, with which the paragraph concludes.

Above the toes are the calves, represented by the second line, weak, but in its proper place. Above this, again, are the loins, represented by 3, strong, and in danger of being violent. Line 2

LIII. THE KIEN HEXAGRAM.



Kien suggests to us the marriage of a young lady, and the good fortune (attending it). There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, shows the wild geese gradually approaching the shore. A young officer (in similar circumstances) will be in a position of danger, and be spoken against; but there will be no error.

follows 3, and should help it; but is unable to do so; and there results dissatisfaction.

When the calves are kept at rest, advance is stopped, but no other harm ensues. Not so when the loins are kept at rest, and unable to bend, for the connexion between the upper and lower parts of the body is then broken. The dissatisfaction increases to an angry heat. Paragraph 3 is unusually difficult. For 'loins' P. Regis has *scapulae*, and for ribs *renes*; Canon McClatchie says:—'Third Nine is stopping at a limit, and separating what is in continued succession (i. e. the backbone); thus the mind,' &c.

Line 4 is a weak line resting in a proper place; hence it gives a good auspice. The Khang-hsi editors, however, call attention to the resting of the trunk as being inferior to the resting of the back in the Thwan.

The place of the weak fifth line is not proper for it; and this accounts for the mention of its subject 'repenting,' for which, however, there is not occasion.

The third line of the trigrams, and the sixth of the hexagram, is what makes *K'ien* what it is,—the symbol of a mountain. The subject of it therefore will carry out the resting required by the whole figure in the highest style.

2. The second line, divided, shows the geese gradually approaching the large rocks, where they eat and drink joyfully and at ease. There will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows them gradually advanced to the dry plains. (It suggests also the idea of) a husband who goes on an expedition from which he does not return, and of a wife who is pregnant, but will not nourish her child. There will be evil. (The case symbolised) might be advantageous in resisting plunderers.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the trees. They may light on the flat branches. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the high mound. (It suggests the idea of) a wife who for three years does not become pregnant; but in the end the natural issue cannot be prevented. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the large heights (beyond). Their feathers can be used as ornaments. There will be good fortune.

LIII. *Kien* is ordinarily used in the sense of gradually; but there is connected with that the idea also of progress or advance. The element of meaning in the character is the symbol of water; and the whole of it denotes gradual advance, like the soaking in of water. Three hexagrams contain in them the idea of advance,—*Bin* (35), *Shăng* (46), and this *Kien*; but each has its peculiarity of meaning, and that of *Kien* is the gradual manner in which the advance takes place. The subject then of the hexagram is the advance of men to offices in the state, how it should take place gradually and by successive steps, as well as on certain other

LIV. THE KWEI MEI HEXAGRAM.



Kwei Mei indicates that (under the conditions which it denotes) action will be evil, and in no wise advantageous.

conditions that may be gathered from the Text. P. Regis gives this exposition of the subject, as taken by him from the symbolism, which he ascribes to Confucius :—‘*Viri probi, seu republica digni, in virtutis soliditate instituendi sunt a sapiente, bonisque regulis ut altis radicibus firmandi, nec alii ad rempublicam tractandam promovendi, nisi qui paulatim per varios minoresque gradus ad magnum hoc regimen periculo facto ascendere digni sint.*’ He then illustrates this sentiment by the words of Pliny :—‘*Eligetur multis experimentis eruditus, et qui futura possit ex praeteritis praevidere.*’

But how does the lineal figure give the idea of a gradual advance? We shall see how it is attempted in the Great Symbolism to get this from the component trigrams. The account there is not satisfactory ; and still less so is what else I have been able to find on the subject. E.g., the trigrams were originally Khwăn and K’hien ; but the third line of Khwăn and the first of K’hien have changed places ; and the trigrams now denote ‘the youngest son,’ and ‘the eldest daughter.’ If all this, which is a mere farrago, were admitted, it would not help us to the idea of an advance.

Again, the lines 2, 3, 4, 5 are all in the places proper to them as strong or weak ; we ascend by them as by regular steps to the top of the hexagram ; and this, it is said, gives the notion of the gradual steps of the advance. But neither does this carry conviction with it to the mind. We must leave the question. King Wăn, for reasons which we cannot discover, or without such reasons, determined that the hexagram Kien should denote the gradual advance of men to positions of influence and office.

The marriage of a young lady is mentioned in the Thwan as an illustration of an important event taking place with various

1. The first line, undivided, shows the younger sister married off in a position ancillary to the real wife. (It suggests the idea of) a person lame on

preliminary steps, continued from its initiation to its consummation. But all must be done in an orderly and correct manner. And so must it be with the rise of a man in the service of the state.

The goose from the most ancient times played an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the Chinese; and this may have suggested the use of it in the symbolism of the different lines. Its habits as a bird of passage, and flying in processional order, admirably suited the writer's purpose. In paragraph 1 it appears for the first time in the season approaching the shore. Then comes the real subject of the line; and the facts of its being weak, and without a proper correlate, agree with, if they do not suggest, what is said about him, and the caution added.

The geese have advanced in line 2, and so has the officer, though he is not mentioned. The line is weak or humble, and central, and has a proper correlate in 5. Hence comes the good auspice.

Line 3 is strong, and has passed the central place, to the top of the lower trigram, and has not a proper correlate in 6. Its subject is likely to be violent and at the same time unsuccessful in his movements. He is like a husband who does not care for his wife, or a wife who does not care for her child. But in the case supposed, his strength in the end would be useful.

The web-footed goose is not suited for taking hold on the branches; but on flat branches it can rest. Line 4, weak, but in an even place, does not promise a good auspice for its subject; but it is the first line in the trigram of humility, and it is concluded that he will not fall into error.

Line 5 is a strong line in the ruler's seat; and yet it appears here as the symbol of a wife. Somehow its subject has been at variance with, and kept in disgrace by, calumniating enemies such as the plunderers of paragraph 3; but things come right in the end. The wife, childless for three years, becomes at last a mother; and there is good fortune.

The subject of line 6 has reached the top of the hexagram. There is no more advance for him; and he has no correlate. But he may still do some good work for the state, and verify the auspice derived from the ornamental plumes of the geese.

one leg who yet manages to tramp along. Going forward will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows her blind of one eye, and yet able to see. There will be advantage in her maintaining the firm correctness of a solitary widow.

3. The third line, divided, shows the younger sister who was to be married off in a mean position. She returns and accepts an ancillary position.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the younger sister who is to be married off protracting the time. She may be late in being married, but the time will come.

5. The fifth line, divided, reminds us of the marrying of the younger sister of (king) Tŭ-yŭ, when the sleeves of her the princess were not equal to those of the (still) younger sister who accompanied her in an inferior capacity. (The case suggests the thought of) the moon almost full. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the young lady bearing the basket, but without anything in it, and the gentleman slaughtering the sheep, but without blood flowing from it. There will be no advantage in any way.

LIV. Mei Kwei is a common way of saying that a young lady is married, or, literally, 'is going home.' If the order of the characters be reversed, the verb kwei will be transitive, and the phrase will signify 'the marrying away of a daughter,' or 'the giving the young lady in marriage.' In the name of this hexagram, Kwei is used with this transitive force. But Mei means 'a younger sister,' and not merely a young lady or a daughter. Kwei Mei might be equivalent to our 'giving in marriage;' but we shall find

LV. THE FǎNG HEXAGRAM.



Fǎng intimates progress and development. When a king has reached the point (which the name denotes)

that the special term has a special appropriateness. The Thwan makes the hexagram give a bad auspice concerning its subject; and for this the following reasons are given :—According to Wǎn's symbolism of the trigrams, Tui, the lower trigram here, denotes the youngest daughter, and Kǎn, the upper trigram, the oldest son. And as the action of the hexagram begins with that of the lower trigram, we have in the figure two violations of propriety. First, the marriage represented is initiated by the lady and her friends. She goes to her future home instead of the bridegroom coming to fetch her. Second, the parties are unequally matched. There ought not to be such disparity of age between them. Another reason assigned for the bad auspice is that lines 2, 3, 4, and 5 are all in places not suited to them, quite different from the corresponding lines in the preceding hexagram.

Is then such a marriage as the above, or marriage in general, the theme of the hexagram? I think not. The marriage comes in, as in the preceding essay, by way of illustration. With all the abuses belonging to it as an institution of his country, as will immediately appear, the writer acknowledged it without saying a word in deprecation or correction of those abuses; but from the case he selected he wanted to set forth some principles which should obtain in the relation between a ruler and his ministers. This view is insisted on in Wan K'ing's 'New Collection of Comments on the Yî (A. D. 1686).'

A feudal prince was said to marry nine ladies at once. The principal of them was the bride who was to be the proper wife, and she was attended by two others, virgins from her father's harem; a cousin, and a half-sister, a daughter of her father by another mother of inferior rank. Under line 1 the younger sister

there is no occasion to be anxious (through fear of a change). Let him be as the sun at noon.

of the hexagram appears in the inferior position of this half-sister. But the line is strong, indicative in a female of firm virtue. The mean condition and its duties are to be deplored, and give the auspice of lameness; but notwithstanding, the secondary wife will in a measure discharge her service. There will be good fortune. Notwithstanding apparent disadvantages, an able officer may do his ruler good service.

Line 2 is strong, and in the centre. The proper correlate is 5, which, however, is weak, and in the place of a strong line. With such a correlate, the able lady in 2 cannot do much in the discharge of her proper work. But if she think only of her husband, like the widow who will die rather than marry again, such devotion will have its effect and its reward. Though blind of one eye, she yet manages to see. And so devoted loyalty in an officer will compensate for many disadvantages.

Line 3 is weak, where it should be strong; and the attribute of pleased satisfaction belonging to Tui culminates in its subject. She turns out to be of so mean a character and such a slave of passion that no one will marry her. She returns and accepts the position of a concubine.

Line 4 is strong, where it should be weak; but in the case of a female the indication is not bad. The subject of the line, however, is in no haste. She waits, and the good time will come.

King Tî-yî has been already mentioned under the fifth line of hexagram 11, and in connexion with some regulation which he made about the marriage of daughters of the royal house. His sister here is honourably mentioned, so as to suggest that the adorning which she preferred was 'the ornament of the hidden man of the heart.' The comparison of her to 'the moon almost full' I am ready to hail as an instance where the duke of K'au is for once poetical. K'äng-ze, however, did not see poetry, but a symbol in it. 'The moon is not full,' he says, 'but only nearly full. A wife ought not to eclipse her husband!' However, the sister of Tî-yî gets happily married, as she deserved to do, being represented by the line in the place of honour, having its proper correlate in 2.

Line 6 is weak, at the top of the hexagram, and without a proper correlate. Hence its auspice is evil. The marriage-contract is broken, according to K'ü Hsî, and does not take effect. The

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject meeting with his mate. Though they are both of the same character, there will be no error. Advance will call forth approval.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject surrounded by screens so large and thick that at midday he can see from them the constellation of the Bushel. If he go (and try to enlighten his ruler who is thus emblemed), he will make himself to be viewed with suspicion and dislike. Let him cherish his feeling of sincere devotion that he may thereby move (his ruler's mind), and there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject with an (additional) screen of a large and thick banner, through which at midday he can see (the small) Mei star. (In the darkness) he breaks his right arm; but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject in a tent so large and thick that at midday he can see from it the constellation of the Bushel. But he meets with the subject of the (first) line, undivided like himself. There will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject bringing around him the men of brilliant ability. There will be occasion for congratulation and praise. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject

parties mentioned in the paragraph appear engaged in the temple, offering or sacrificing to the spirits of their ancestors. But the woman's basket which should contain her offerings (The Shih, I, ii, ode 4) is empty, and the man attempts to perform his part in slaying the victim (The Shih, II, vi, ode 6. 5) without effect.

with his house made large, but only serving as a screen to his household. When he looks at his door, it is still, and there is nobody about it. For three years no one is to be seen. There will be evil.

LV. The character Fǎng is the symbol of being large and abundant, and, as the name of this hexagram, denotes a condition of abundant prosperity. In the changes of human affairs a condition of prosperity has often given place to one of an opposite character. The lesson of the hexagram is to show to rulers how they may preserve the prosperity of their state and people. The component trigrams have the attributes of intelligence and of motive force, and the second is under the direction of the first. A ruler with these attributes is not likely to fail in maintaining his crown and prosperity, and it may well be said that the figure intimates progress and development. The king is told not to be anxious, but to study how he may always be like the sun in his meridian height, cheering and enlightening all.

The explanation of the Thwan is thus natural and easy. It will be found that a change is introduced in explaining the symbolism of the lines, which it is as well to point out here. Thus far we have found that to constitute a proper correlation between two lines, one of them must be whole, and the other divided. Here two undivided lines make a correlation. The law, evidently made for the occasion, goes far to upset altogether the doctrine of correlated lines. I have been surprised that the rules about the lines stated in the Introduction, pp. 15, 16, have held good so often. There have been various deviations from them, but none so gross as that in this hexagram.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. Its correlate is 4, which would in other figures be deemed unfortunate. But here even the Text calls 4 (for the reference must be to it) the mate of 1, and makes their belonging to different categories of no account. The lesson taught is that mutual helpfulness is the great instrument for the maintenance of prosperity. The subject of line 1 is encouraged to go forward.

Line 2 is divided, and in its proper place. Occupying the centre of the trigram of brightness, the intelligence of it should be concentrated in its subject; but his correlate is the weak 5, weak and in an improper place, so that he becomes the benighted ruler, and darkness is shed from him down on 2, which is strangely symbolised.

LVI. THE LÜ HEXAGRAM.



Lü intimates that (in the condition which it denotes) there may be some little attainment and progress. If the stranger or traveller be firm and correct as he ought to be, there will be good fortune.

1. The first line, divided, shows the stranger mean and meanly occupied. It is thus that he brings on himself (further) calamity.

The subject of 2 therefore, if he advance, will not be acceptable to his ruler, and will not be employed. The only way in which he can be useful by developing the light that is in him is pointed out in the conclusion. The constellation of the Bushel corresponds to our Ursa Major, or perhaps part of Sagittarius.

Line 3 is strong, in its proper place. It is the last line moreover of the trigram of Brightness. All these conditions are favourable to the employment of its subject; but its correlate is the weak 6, which is at the extremity of the trigram of movement. There is no more power therefore in 6, and the subject of 3 has no one to co-operate with him. His symbolism and auspice are worse than those of 2; but his own proper goodness and capacity will save him from error. Mei is a small star in or near the Bushel.

The symbolism of line 4 is the same as that of 2, till we come to the last sentence. Then there is the strange correlation of the two strong lines in 4 and 1; and the issue is good.

The subject of line 5 is in the ruler's place, himself weak, but 'the lord' of the trigram of movement. He can do little unhelped, but if he can bring into the work and employ in his service the talents of 1, 3, and 4, and even of 2, his correlate, the results will be admirable. Nothing consolidates the prosperity of a country so much as the co-operation of the ruler and able ministers.

All the conditions of line 6 are unfavourable, and its subject is left to himself without any helpers. He is isolated for long, and undone. The issue is only evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows the stranger, occupying his lodging-house, carrying with him his means of livelihood, and provided with good and trusty servants.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the stranger, burning his lodging-house, and having lost his servants. However firm and correct he (try to) be, he will be in peril.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the traveller in a resting-place, having (also) the means of livelihood and the axe, (but still saying), 'I am not at ease in my mind.'

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject shooting a pheasant. He will lose his arrow, but in the end he will obtain praise and a (high) charge.

6. The sixth line, undivided, suggests the idea of a bird burning its nest. The stranger, (thus represented), first laughs and then cries out. He has lost his ox(-like docility) too readily and easily. There will be evil.

LVI. The name Lû denotes people travelling abroad, and is often translated by 'strangers.' As early as the time of king Wăn, there was a class of men who went about from one state to another, pursuing their business as pedlars or travelling merchants; but in Mencius II, i, chap. 5. 3, it is used for travellers generally, whatever it was that took them out of their own states. Confucius himself is adduced as a travelling stranger; and in this hexagram king Wăn is supposed to have addressed himself to the class of such men, and told them how they ought to comport themselves. They ought to cultivate two qualities,—those of humility and integrity (firm correctness). By means of these they would escape harm, and would make some little attainment and progress. Their rank was too low to speak of great things in connexion with them. It is interesting to find travellers, strangers in a strange land, having thus a place in the YĪ.

For the manner in which the component trigrams are supposed

LVII. THE SUN HEXAGRAM.



Sun intimates that (under the conditions which it denotes) there will be some little attainment and progress. There will be advantage in movement

to give the idea that is in Lü, see Appendix II. In Appendix I there is an endeavour to explain the Thwan by means of the lines and their relation to one another.

Line 1 is weak, in an odd place, and at the very bottom or commencement of the hexagram. These conditions are supposed to account for the unfavourable symbolism and auspice.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place. That place, moreover, is the central. Hence the traveller—and he might here very well be a travelling merchant—is represented in the symbolism as provided with everything he can require; and though the auspice is not mentioned, we must understand it as being good.

Line 3 is strong, and in an even place. But it occupies the topmost place in the lower trigram; and its strength may be expected to appear as violence. So it does in the symbolism, and extraordinary violence as well. It seems unreasonable to suppose, as in the conclusion, that one so described could be in any way correct. The Khang-hsi editors remark that the subjects of 2 and 3 are represented as having 'lodging-houses,' and not any of those of the other lines, because these are the only two lines in the places proper to them!

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place. Hence its subject has not 'a lodging-house;' but has found a situation where he has shelter, though he is exposed to perils. Hence he is represented as having an axe, which may be available for defence. Still he is not at peace in his mind. The Khang-hsi editors observe well that the mention of an axe makes us think of caution as a quality desirable in a traveller.

Line 5, though weak, is in the centre of the upper trigram, which

onward in whatever direction. It will be advantageous (also) to see the great man.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject (now) advancing, (now) receding. It would be advantageous for him to have the firm correctness of a brave soldier.

2. The second line, undivided, shows the representative of Sun beneath a couch, and employing diviners and exorcists in a way bordering on confusion. There will be good fortune and no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject penetrating (only) by violent and repeated efforts. There will be occasion for regret.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows all occasion for repentance (in its subject) passed away. He takes game for its threefold use in his hunting.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune (to its

has the quality of brightness and elegance. It is held to be the lord of the trigram Lî; and lines 4 and 6 are on either side in loyal duty to defend and help. Then the shooting a pheasant is supposed to be suggested; an elegant bird,—by the trigram of elegance. When an officer was travelling abroad in ancient times, his gift of introduction at any feudal court was a pheasant. The traveller here emblemized is praised by his attached friends, and exalted to a place of dignity by the ruler to whom he is acceptable. It will be seen how the idea of the fifth line being the ruler's seat is dropt here as being alien from the idea of the hexagram, so arbitrary is the interpretation of the symbolism.

Line 6 is strong, in an even place, at the extremity of Lî and of the whole hexagram. Its subject will be arrogant and violent; the opposite of what a traveller should be; and the issue will be evil. The symbolism must be allowed to be extravagant. What bird ever burned its nest? And the character for 'ox' is strangely used for 'ox-like docility.'

subject). All occasion for repentance will disappear, and all his movements will be advantageous. There may have been no (good) beginning, but there will be a (good) end. Three days before making any changes, (let him give notice of them); and three days after, (let him reconsider them). There will (thus) be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the representative of penetration beneath a couch, and having lost the axe with which he executed his decisions. However firm and correct he may (try to) be, there will be evil.

LVII. With Sun as the fifth of the Fû-hsi trigrams we have become familiar. It symbolises both wind and wood; and has the attributes of flexibility (nearly allied to docility) and penetration. In this hexagram we are to think of it as representing wind with its penetrating power, finding its way into every corner and cranny.

Confucius once said (Analects 12. 19):—‘The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it.’ In accordance with this, the subject of the hexagram must be understood as the influence and orders of government designed to remedy what is wrong in the people. The ‘Daily Lecture’ says that the upper trigram denotes the orders issuing from the ruler, and the lower the obedience rendered to them by the people; but this view is hardly borne out by the Text.

But how is it that the figure represents merely ‘some little attainment?’ This is generally explained by taking the first line of the trigram as indicating what the subject of it can do. But over the weak first line are two strong lines, so that its subject can accomplish but little. The Khang-hsi editors, rejecting this view, contend that, the idea of the whole figure being penetration, line 1, the symbol of weakness and what is bad, will not be able to offer much resistance to the subjects of the other lines, which will enter and dispel its influence. They illustrate this from processes of nature, education, and politics; the effect they say is described as small, because the process is not to revolutionise or renew, but only to

LVIII. THE TUI HEXAGRAM.



Tui intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and attainment. (But) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

correct and improve. Such as it is, however, it requires the operation of the strong and virtuous, 'the great man.' Even all this criticism is not entirely satisfactory.

Line 1 is weak, where it should be strong. The movements of its subject are expressive of perplexity. He wants vigour and decision.

Line 2 is strong, and in the right place, and has a good auspice. Things are placed or hidden beneath a couch or bed; and the subject of the line appears as searching for them. He calls in divination to assist his judgment, and exorcists to expel for him what is bad. The work is great and difficult, so that he appears almost distracted by it; but the issue is good. For this successful explanation of the line, I am indebted to the Khang-hsi editors. The writer of the Text believed of course in divination and exorcism; which was his misfortune rather than his fault or folly.

Line 3 is in the right place for a strong line. But its position at the top of the lower trigram is supposed to indicate the restlessness, and here the vehemence, of its subject. And 6 is no proper correlate. All the striving is ineffective, and there is occasion for regret.

Line 4 is weak, as is its correlate in 1. But 4 is a proper place for a weak line, and it rests under the shadow of the strong and central 5. Hence the omens of evil are counteracted; and a good auspice is obtained. The game caught in hunting was divided into three portions:—the first for use in sacrifices; the second for the entertainment of visitors; and the third for the kitchen generally. A hunt which yielded enough for all these purposes was deemed very successful.

On line 5 *K'ang-ze* says:—'It is the seat of honour, and the

1. The first line, undivided, shows the pleasure of (inward) harmony. There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows the pleasure arising from (inward) sincerity. There will be good fortune. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject bringing round himself whatever can give pleasure. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject deliberating about what to seek his pleasure in, and not at rest. He borders on what would be injurious, but there will be cause for joy.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject trusting in one who would injure him. The situation is perilous.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows the pleasure of its subject in leading and attracting others.

place for the lord of Sun, from whom there issue all charges and commands. It is central and correct; we must find in its subject the qualities denoted by Sun in their greatest excellence. But those qualities are docility and accordance with what is right; and the advantage of firm correctness is insisted on. With this all will be right.' With the concluding sentence compare the conclusion of the Thwan of hexagram 18.

The evil that paragraph 6 concludes with would arise from the quality of Sun being carried to excess. I have followed the Khang-hsi editors in adopting a change of one character in the received Text.

LVIII. The trigram Tui symbolises water as collected in a marsh or lake; and its attribute or virtue is pleasure or complacent satisfaction. It is a matter of some difficulty to determine in one's mind how this attribute came to be connected with the trigram. The Khang-hsi editors say:—'When the airs of spring begin to blow, from the collections of water on the earth the moistening vapours rise up (and descend again); so, when the breath of health is vigorous in a man's person, the hue of it is

LIX. THE HWÂN HEXAGRAM.



Hwân intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. The king goes to his ancestral temple; and it will be advantageous to

displayed in his complexion. Akin to this is the significance of the hexagram Tui representing a marsh, as denoting pleasure. Although the yin lines give it its special character they owe their power and effect to the yang; so when the qualities of mildness and harmony prevail in a man, without true-heartedness and integrity to control and direct them, they will fail to be correct, and may degenerate into what is evil. Hence it is said that it will be advantageous to be firm and correct!

The feeling then of pleasure is the subject of this hexagram. The above quotation sufficiently explains the concluding characters of the T'hwān; but where is the intimation in Tui of progress and attainments? It is supposed to be in the one weak line surmounting each trigram and supported by the two strong lines. Fancy sees in that mildness and benignity energised by a double portion of strength.

Line 1, strong in the place of strength, with no proper correlate above, is thus confined to itself. But its subject is sufficient for himself. There will be good fortune.

Line 2, by the rule of place, should be weak, but it is strong. Without any proper correlate, and contiguous to the weak 3, the subject of it might be injuriously affected, and there would be cause for repentance. But the sincerity natural in his central position counteracts all this.

The view of the third paragraph that appears in the translation is derived from the Khang-hsi editors. The evil threatened in it would be a consequence of the excessive devotion of its subject to pleasure.

'The bordering on what is injurious' in paragraph 4 has reference to the contiguity of line 4 to the weak 3. That might have

cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject engaged in rescuing (from the impending evil) and having (the assistance of) a strong horse. There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject, amid the dispersion, hurrying to his contrivance (for security). All occasion for repentance will disappear.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject discarding any regard to his own person. There will be no occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject scattering the (different) parties (in the state); which leads to great good fortune. From the dispersion (he collects again good men standing out, a crowd) like a mound, which is what ordinary men would not have thought of.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject amidst the dispersion issuing his great announcements as the perspiration (flows from his body).

an injurious effect; but the subject of 4 reflects and deliberates before he will yield to the seduction of pleasure, and there is cause for joy.

The danger to the subject of line 5 is from the weak 6 above, in whom he is represented as 'trusting.' Possibly his own strength and sincerity of mind may be perverted into instruments of evil; but possibly, they may operate beneficially.

The symbolism of paragraph 6 is akin to that of 3, though no positive auspice is expressed. The subject of line 3 attracts others round itself for the sake of pleasure; the subject of this leads them to follow himself in quest of it.

He scatters abroad (also) the accumulations in the royal granaries. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject disposing of (what may be called) its bloody wounds, and going and separating himself from its anxious fears. There will be no error.

LIX. Hwân, the name of this hexagram, denotes a state of dissipation or dispersion. It is descriptive primarily of men's minds alienated from what is right and good. This alienation is sure to go on to disorder in the commonwealth; and an attempt is made to show how it should be dealt with and remedied.

The figure is made up of one of the trigrams for water and over it that for wind. Wind moving over water seems to disperse it, and awakes naturally in the beholder the idea of dissipation.

The intimation of progress and success is supposed to be given by the strong lines occupying the central places. The king goes to the ancestral temple, there to meet with the spirits of his ancestors. His filial piety moves them by the sincerity of its manifestation. Those spirits come and are present. Let filial piety—in our language, let sincere religion—rule in men's minds, and there will be no alienation in them from what is right and good or from one another. And if the state of the country demand a great or hazardous enterprise, let it be undertaken. But whatever is done, must be done with due attention to what is right, firmly and correctly.

Line 1, at the commencement of the hexagram, tells us that the evil has not yet made great progress, and that dealing with it will be easy. But the subject of the line is weak, and in an odd place. He cannot cope with the evil himself. He must have help, and he finds that in a strong horse, which description is understood to be symbolical of the subject of the strong second line.

Line 2 is strong, but in an even place. That place is, indeed, the central, but the attribute of the lower trigram Khan is peril. These conditions indicate evil, and action will be dangerous; but the subject of 2 looks to 1 below him, and takes shelter in union with its subject. Since the commentary of *K'hang-ze*, this has been the interpretation of the line.

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place. A regard for himself that would unfit its subject for contributing any service to the work of

LX. THE K'IEH HEXAGRAM.



K'ieh intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and attainment. (But) if the regulations (which it prescribes) be severe and difficult, they cannot be permanent.

I. The first line, undivided, shows its subject not

the hexagram might be feared; but he discards that regard, and will do nothing to be repented of. There is a change of style in the Chinese text at this point. As Wang Shǎn-ze (Yüan dynasty) says:—‘Here and henceforth the scattering is of what should be scattered, that what should not be scattered may be collected.’

Line 4, though weak, is in its correct place, and adjoins the strong 5, which is in the ruler's seat. The subject of 4, therefore, will fitly represent the minister, to whom it belongs to do a great part in remedying the evil of dispersion. And this he does. He brings dissentient partizanship to an end; and not satisfied with that, he collects multitudes of those who had been divided into a great body so that they stand out conspicuous like a hill.

Line 5 gives us the action of the ruler himself;—by his proclamations, and by his benevolence. *K'ü Hsf* and other critics enlarge on the symbolism of the perspiration, which they think much to the point. P. Regis avoids it, translating—‘Ille, magnas leges dissipans, facit ut penetrent(ur?).’ Canon McClatchie has an ingenious and original, so far as my Chinese reading goes, note upon it:—‘As sweat cures fevers, so do proclamations cure rebellions.’ Both of these translators miss the meaning of the other instance of the king's work.

Line 6 is occupied by a strong line, which has a proper correlate in 3; but 3 is at the top of the trigram of peril. The subject of 6 hurries away from association with the subject of it, but does so in the spirit of the hexagram, so that there is no error or blame attaching to him.

quitting the courtyard outside his door. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject not quitting the courtyard inside his gate. There will be evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject with no appearance of observing the (proper) regulations, in which case we shall see him lamenting. But there will be no one to blame (but himself).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject quietly and naturally (attentive to all) regulations. There will be progress and success.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject sweetly and acceptably enacting his regulations. There will be good fortune. The onward progress with them will afford ground for admiration.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject enacting regulations severe and difficult. Even with firmness and correctness there will be evil. But though there will be cause for repentance, it will (by and by) disappear.

LX. The primary application of the character *Kieh* was to denote the joints of the bamboo; it is used also for the joints of the human frame; and for the solar and other terms of the year. Whatever makes regular division may be denominated a *Kieh*; there enter into it the ideas of regulating and restraining; and the subject of this hexagram is the regulations of government enacted for the guidance and control of the people. How the constituent trigrams are supposed to suggest or indicate this meaning will be seen in Appendix II.

K'ü Hsi anticipates that symbolism in trying to account for the statement that the figure gives the promise of success and attainment; but the ground of this is generally made out by referring to the equal division of the undivided and divided lines and our having in 2 and 5, the central places, two undivided lines. An

LXI. THE KUNG FŪ HEXAGRAM.



Kung Fū (moves even) pigs and fish, and leads to good fortune. There will be advantage in cross-

important point concerning 'regulations' is brought out in the conclusion of the *Thwan*,—that they must be adapted to circumstances, and not made too strict and severe.

Line 1 is strong, and in its correct place. Its subject therefore would not be wanting in power to make his way. But he is supposed to be kept in check by the strong 2, and the correlate 4 is the first line in the trigram of peril. The course of wisdom therefore is to keep still. The character here rendered door is that belonging to the inner apartments, leading from the hall into which entrance is found by the outer gate, mentioned under line 2. The courtyard outside the door and that inside the gate is one and the same. The 'Daily Lecture' says that the paragraph tells an officer not to take office rashly, but to exercise a cautious judgment in his measures.

Line 2 is strong, in the wrong place; nor has it a proper correlate. Its subject keeps still, when he ought to be up and doing. There will be evil.

Line 3 should be strong, but it is weak. It is neither central nor correct. It has no proper correlate, and it is the topmost line in the trigram of complacent satisfaction. Its subject will not receive the yoke of regulations; and he will find out his mistake, when it is too late.

Line 4 is weak, as it ought to be, and its subject has respect to the authority of the strong ruler in 5. Hence its good symbolism and auspice.

Line 5 is strong, and in its correct place. Its subject regulates himself, having no correlate; but he is lord of the hexagram, and his influence is everywhere beneficially felt.

ing the great stream. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject resting (in himself). There will be good fortune. If he sought to any other, he would not find rest.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject (like) the crane crying out in her hidden retirement, and her young ones responding to her. (It is as if it were said), 'I have a cup of good spirits,' (and the response were), 'I will partake of it with you.'

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject having met with his mate. Now he beats his drum, and now he leaves off. Now he weeps, and now he sings.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject (like) the moon nearly full, and (like) a horse (in a chariot) whose fellow disappears. There will be no error.

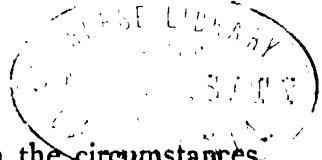
5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject perfectly sincere, and linking (others) to him in closest union. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject in chanticleer (trying to) mount to heaven. Even with firm correctness there will be evil.

Line 6 is weak, in its proper place. The subject of the topmost line must be supposed to possess an exaggerated desire for enacting regulations. They will be too severe, and the effect will be evil. But as Confucius (Analects 3. 3) says, that is not so great a fault as to be easy and remiss. It may be remedied, and cause for repentance will disappear.

LXI. *K'ung Fû*, the name of this hexagram, may be represented in English by 'Inmost Sincerity.' It denotes the highest quality of man, and gives its possessor power so that he prevails with spiritual beings, with other men, and with the lower creatures. It is the

LXII. THE HSIÃO KWO HEXAGRAM.



Hsião Kwo indicates that (in the circumstances which it implies) there will be progress and attain-

subject of the 'Doctrine of the Mean' from the 21st chapter onwards, where Remusat rendered it by 'la perfection,' 'la perfection morale,' and Intorcetta and his coadjutors by 'vera solidaque perfectio.' The lineal figure has suggested to the Chinese commentators, from the author of the first Appendix, two ideas in it which deserve to be pointed out. There are two divided lines in the centre and two undivided below them and above them. The divided lines in the centre are held to represent the heart or mind free from all pre-occupation, without any consciousness of self; and the undivided lines, on each side of it, in the centre of the constituent trigrams are held to denote the solidity of the virtue of one so free from selfishness. There is no unreality in it, not a single flaw.

The 'Daily Lecture' at the conclusion of its paraphrase of the Thwan refers to the history of the ancient Shun, and the wonderful achievements of his virtue. The authors give no instance of the affecting of 'pigs and fishes' by sincerity, and say that these names are symbolical of men, the rudest and most unsusceptible of being acted on. The Text says that the man thus gifted with sincerity will succeed in the most difficult enterprises. Remarkable is the concluding sentence that he must be firm and correct. Here, as elsewhere throughout the Yi, there comes out the practical character which has distinguished the Chinese people and their best teaching all along the line of history.

The translation of paragraph 1 is according to the view approved by the Khang-hsi editors. The ordinary view makes the other to whom the subject of line 1 looks or might look to be the subject of 4; but they contend that, excepting in the case of 3 and 6, the force of correlation should be discarded from the study of this

ment. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. (What the name denotes) may be done in small affairs, but not in great affairs. (It is like) the notes that come down from a bird on the wing ;—to descend is better than to ascend. There will (in this way) be great good fortune.

1. The first line, divided, suggests (the idea of) a bird flying, (and ascending) till the issue is evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject passing by his grandfather, and meeting with his

hexagram; for the virtue of sincerity is all centred in itself, thence derived and thereby powerful.

For paragraph 2, see Appendix III, Section i, 42. It is in rhyme, and I have there rendered it in rhyme. The 'young ones of the crane' are represented by line 1. In the third and fourth sentences we have the symbolism of two men brought together by their sympathy in virtue. The subject of the paragraph is the effect of sincerity.

The 'mate' of line 3 is 6. The principle of correlation comes in. Sincerity, not left to itself, is influenced from without, and hence come the changes and uncertainty in the state and moods of the subject of the line.

Line 4 is weak, and in its correct place. The subject of it has discarded the correlate in 1, and hastens on to the confidence of the ruler in 5, being symbolised as the moon nearly full. The other symbol of the horse whose fellow has disappeared has reference to the discarding of the subject of 1. Anciently chariots and carriages were drawn by four horses, two outsides and two insides. Lines 1 and 4 were a pair of these; but 1 disappears here from the team, and 4 goes on and joins 5.

Line 5 is strong and central, in the ruler's place. Its subject must be the sage on the throne, whose sincerity will go forth and bind all in union with himself.

Line 6 should be divided, but is undivided; and coming after 5, what can the subject of it do? His efforts will be ineffectual, and injurious to himself. He is symbolised by a cock—literally, 'the plumaged voice.' But a cock is not fitted to fly high, and in attempting to do so will only suffer hurt.

grandmother ; not attempting anything against his ruler, but meeting him as his minister. There will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject taking no extraordinary precautions against danger ; and some in consequence finding opportunity to assail and injure him. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject falling into no error, but meeting (the exigency of his situation), without exceeding (in his natural course). If he go forward, there will be peril, and he must be cautious. There is no occasion to be using firmness perpetually.

5. The fifth line, divided, (suggests the idea) of dense clouds, but no rain, coming from our borders in the west. It also (shows) the prince shooting his arrow, and taking the bird in a cave.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject not meeting (the exigency of his situation), and exceeding (his proper course). (It suggests the idea of) a bird flying far aloft. There will be evil. The case is what is called one of calamity and self-produced injury.

LXII. The name Hsião Kwo is explained both by reference to the lines of the hexagram, and to the meaning of the characters. The explanation from the lines appears immediately on comparing them with those of Tâ Kwo, the 28th hexagram. There the first and sixth lines are divided, and between are four undivided lines ; here the third and fourth lines are undivided, and outside each of them are two divided lines. The undivided or yang lines are great, the divided or yin lines are called small. In Hsião Kwo the divided or small lines predominate. But this peculiar structure of the figure could be of no interest to the student, if it were not for the meaning of the name, which is 'small excesses' or 'exceeding in what is small.' The author, accepted by us as king Wăn,

LXIII. THE KĪ 3Ī HEXAGRAM.



Kī 3Ī intimates progress and success in small matters. There will be advantage in being firm

had in his mind our distinction of essentials and non-essentials. Is it ever good to deviate from what is recognised as the established course of procedure? The reply is—never in the matter of right ; but in what is conventional and ceremonial—in what is non-essential—the deviation may be made, and will be productive of good. The form may be given up, but not the substance. But the thing must be done very carefully,—humbly and reverently, and in small matters.

The symbolism of the bird is rather obscure. The whole of it is intended to teach humility. It is better for the bird to descend, keeping near to where it can perch and rest, than to hold on ascending into the homeless regions of the air.

Line 1 is weak, in an odd place, and possessed by the ‘idea of exceeding,’ which belongs to the hexagram. Its correlate is the strong 4, belonging to the trigram *K’ān*, the attribute of which is movement. There is nothing to repress the tendency of 1 ; rather it is stimulated ; and hence the symbolism.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place, and in the centre. Its correlate is 5, which is also a weak line. The lines 3 and 4 between them are both strong ; and are supposed to represent the father and grandfather of the subject of 2 ; but he or she goes past them, and meets with the grandmother in 5. Again, 5 is the ruler’s seat. The subject of 2 moves on to him, but not as an enemy ; but humbly and loyally, as his minister according to the attributes of a weak line in the central place. It must be allowed that this view of the symbolism and its interpretation is obscure and strained.

The subject of line 3 is too confident in his own strength, and too defiant of the weak and small enemies that seek his hurt.

and correct. There has been good fortune in the beginning; there may be disorder in the end.

1. The first line, undivided, (shows its subject as a driver) who drags back his wheel, (or as a fox) which has wet his tail. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, (shows its subject as) a wife who has lost her (carriage-)screen. There is no occasion to go in pursuit of it. In seven days she will find it.

3. The third line, undivided, (suggests the case of) Kâu Jung who attacked the Demon region, but was three years in subduing it. Small men should not be employed (in such enterprises).

Line 4 is also strong, but the exercise of his strength by its subject is tempered by the position in an even place. He is warned, however, to continue quiet and restrain himself.

Line 5, though in the ruler's seat, is weak, and incapable of doing anything great. Its subject is called king or duke because of the ruler's seat; and the one whom in the concluding sentence he is said to capture is supposed to be the subject of 2.

The first part of the symbolism is the same as that of the Thwan under hexagram 9, q. v. I said there that it probably gave a testimony of the merit of the house of Kâu, as deserving the throne rather than the kings of Shang. That was because the Thwan contained the sentiments of Wăn, while he was yet only lord of Kâu. But the symbolism here was the work of the duke of Kâu, after his brother king Wû had obtained the throne. How did the symbolism then occur to him? May we not conclude that at least the hsiang of this hexagram was written during the troubled period of his regency, after the accession of Wû's son, king K'hang?

The Khang-hsi editors find in the concluding symbolism an incentive to humility:—'The duke, leaving birds on the wing, is content to use his arrows against those in a cave!'

Line 6 is weak, and is at the top of the trigram of movement. He is possessed by the idea of the hexagram in an extreme degree, and is incapable of keeping himself under restraint.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject with rags provided against any leak (in his boat), and on his guard all day long.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject (as) the neighbour in the east who slaughters an ox (for his sacrifice); but this is not equal to the (small) spring sacrifice of the neighbour in the west, whose sincerity receives the blessing.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with (even) his head immersed. The position is perilous.

LXIII. The character called *Kî* is used as a symbol of being past or completed. *Û* denotes primarily crossing a stream, and has the secondary meaning of helping and completing. The two characters, combined, will express the successful accomplishment of whatever the writer has in his mind. In dealing with this lineal figure, king Wăn was thinking of the condition of the kingdom, at length at rest and quiet. The vessel of the state has been brought safely across the great and dangerous stream. The distresses of the kingdom have been relieved, and its disorders have been repressed. Does anything remain to be done still? Yes, in small things. The new government has to be consolidated. Its ruler must, without noise or clamour, go on to perfect what has been wrought, with firmness and correctness, and ever keeping in mind the instability of all human affairs. That every line of the hexagram is in its correct place, and has its proper correlate is also supposed to harmonize with the intimation of progress and success.

Line 1, the first of the hexagram, represents the time immediately after the successful achievement of the enterprise it denotes;—the time for resting and being quiet. For a season, at least, all movement should be hushed. Hence we have the symbolism of a driver trying to stop his carriage, and a fox who has wet his tail, and will not tempt the stream again.

Line 2 is weak, and in its proper place. It also has the strong correlate 5; and might be expected to be forward to act. But it occupies its correct and central place, and suggests the symbol of a lady whose carriage has lost its screen. She will not advance

LXIV. THE WEI 31 HEXAGRAM.



Wei 31 intimates progress and success (in the circumstances which it implies). (We see) a young fox that has nearly crossed (the stream), when its tail gets immersed. There will be no advantage in any way.

further so soon after success has been achieved; but keep herself hidden and retired. Let her not try to find the screen. When it is said that she will find this 'after seven days,' the meaning seems to be simply this, that the period of K'î 31 will then have been exhausted, the six lines having been gone through, and a new period, when action will be proper, shall have commenced.

The strong line 3, at the top of the lower trigram, suggests for its subject one undertaking a vigorous enterprise. The writer thinks of Káo Tung, the sacrificial title of Wû Ting, one of the ablest sovereigns of the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1364-1324), who undertook an expedition against the barbarous hordes of the cold and bleak regions north of the Middle States. He is mentioned again under the next hexagram. He appears also in the Shû, IV, ix, and in the Shih, IV, iii, ode 5. His enterprise may have been good, and successful, but it was tedious, and the paragraph concludes with a caution.

Line 4 is weak, and has advanced into the trigram for water. Its subject will be cautious, and prepare for evil, as in the symbolism, suggested probably by the nature of the trigram.

'The neighbour in the East' is the subject of line 5, and 'the neighbour in the West' is the subject of the correlate 2, the former quarter being yang and the latter yin. Line 5 is strong, and 2 is weak; but weakness is more likely to be patient and cautious than strength. They are compared to two men sacrificing. The one presents valuable offerings; the other very poor ones. But the

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject (like a fox) whose tail gets immersed. There will be occasion for regret.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject dragging back his (carriage-)wheel. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject, with (the state of things) not yet remedied, advancing on; which will lead to evil. But there will be advantage in (trying to) cross the great stream.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject by firm correctness obtaining good fortune, so that all occasion for repentance disappears. Let him stir himself up, as if he were invading the Demon region, where for three years rewards will come to him (and his troops) from the great kingdom.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject by firm correctness obtaining good fortune, and having no occasion for repentance. (We see in him) the brightness of a superior man, and the possession of sincerity. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject

second excels in sincerity, and his small offering is the more acceptable.

The topmost line is weak, and on the outmost edge of Khân, the trigram of peril. His action is violent and perilous, like that one attempting to cross a ford, and being plunged overhead into the water.

LXIV. Wei 㷘 is the reverse of K'î 㷘. The name tells us that the successful accomplishment of whatever the writer had in his mind had not yet been realised. The vessel of the state has not been brought across the great and dangerous stream. Some have wished that the YĪ might have concluded with K'î 㷘, and the last hexagram have left us with the picture of human affairs all brought to good order. But this would not have been in harmony with the

full of confidence and therefore feasting (quietly). There will be no error. (If he) cherish this con-

idea of the Yî, as the book of change. Again and again it has been pointed out that we find in it no idea of a perfect and abiding state. Just as the seasons of the year change and pursue an ever-recurring round, so is it with the phases of society. The reign of order has been, and has terminated; and this hexagram calls us to see the struggle for its realisation recommenced. It treats of how those engaged in that struggle should conduct themselves with a view to secure the happy consummation.

How the figure sets forth the state of things by its constituent trigrams will appear in Appendix II. A similar indication is supposed to be given by the lines, not one of which is in the correct place; the strong lines being all in even places, and the weak lines in odd. At the same time each of them has a proper correlate; and so the figure gives an intimation of some successful progress. See also Appendix I.

The symbolism of the young fox suggests a want of caution on the part of those, in the time and condition denoted by the hexagram, who try to remedy prevailing disorders. Their attempt is not successful, and they get themselves into trouble and danger. Whatever can be done must be undertaken in another way.

I suppose a fox to be intended by the symbolism of line 1, bringing that animal on from the Thwan. Some of the commentators understand it of any animal. The line is weak, at the bottom of the trigram of peril, and responds to the strong 4, which is not in its correct place. Its subject attempts to be doing, but finds cause to regret his course.

The subject of line 2, strong, and in the centre, is able to repress himself, and keep back his carriage from advancing; and there is good fortune.

The Khang-hsî editors say that it is very difficult to understand what is said under line 3; and many critics suppose that a negative has dropt out, and that we should really read that 'it will not be advantageous to try and cross the great stream.'

Line 4, though strong, is in an even place; and this might vitiate the endeavours of its subject to bring about a better state of things. But he is firm and correct. He is in the fourth place moreover, and immediately above there is his ruler, represented by a weak line, humble therefore, and prepared to welcome his endeavours. Let him exert himself vigorously and long, as Kão Jung did in his

fidence, till he (is like the fox who) gets his head immersed, it will fail of what is right.

famous expedition (see last hexagram, line 3), and he will make progress and have success. Expeditions beyond the frontiers in those days were not very remote. Intercourse was kept up between the army and the court. Rewards, distinctions, and whatever was necessary to encourage the army, were often sent to it.

Line 5 is weak, in an odd place. But its subject is the ruler, humble and supported by the subject of the strong 2; and hence the auspice is very good.

The subject of line 6, when the work of the hexagram has been done, appears disposed to remain quiet in the confidence of his own power, but enjoying himself; and thereby he will do right. If, on the contrary, he will go on to exert his powers, and play with the peril of the situation, the issue will be bad.

THE APPENDIXES.

THE APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I.

Treatise on the Thwan, or king Wán's Explanations of the entire Hexagrams. ✓

SECTION I.

1. 1. Vast is the 'great and originating (power)' indicated by *K'ien*! All things owe to it their beginning:—it contains all the meaning belonging to (the name) heaven.

2. The clouds move and the rain is distributed; the various things appear in their developed forms.

3. (The sages) grandly understand (the connexion between) the end and the beginning, and how (the indications of) the six lines (in the hexagram) are accomplished, (each) in its season. (Accordingly) they mount (the carriage) drawn by those six dragons at the proper times, and drive through the sky.

4. The method of *K'ien* is to change and transform, so that everything obtains its correct nature as appointed (by the mind of Heaven); and (thereafter the conditions of) great harmony are preserved in union. The result is 'what is advantageous, and correct and firm.'

5. (The sage) appears aloft, high above all things, and the myriad states all enjoy repose.

The name Thwan, and the meaning of the character so-called, are sufficiently established. The Thwan are king Wán's explanations of the entire hexagrams. It seems impossible now to ✓

II. 1. Complete is the 'great and originating (capacity)' indicated by Khwăn! All things owe to it their birth;—it receives obediently the influences of Heaven.

2. Khwăn, in its largeness, supports and contains all things. Its excellent capacity matches the unlimited power (of *K'ien*). Its comprehension is wide, and its brightness great. The various things obtain (by it) their full development.

3. The mare is a creature of earthly kind. Its (power of) moving on the earth is without limit; it is mild and docile, advantageous and firm :—such is the course of the superior man.

ascertain how the character arose, and how it was named Thwan. The treatise on the Thwan is ascribed to Confucius; and I have considered in the Introduction, p. 30, whether the tradition to this effect may to any extent be admitted.

I. The hexagram *K'ien* is made up of six undivided lines, or of the trigram *K'ien*, Fû-hsi's symbol for heaven, repeated. The Thwan does not dwell upon this, but starts, in its exposition, from the word 'heaven,' supposing that the hexagram represented all the meaning which had ever been intended by that term. In paragraphs 1, 2, 4 the four attributes in Wăn's Text (2 being occupied with the second, though it is not expressly named) are illustrated by the phenomena taking place in the physical world.

In paragraphs 3 and 5, the subject is the sage. He is not named indeed; and Khung Ying-tâ (A. D. 574–648) does not introduce him till paragraph 5, when the meaning necessitates the presence of a human agent, who rules in the world of men as heaven does in that of nature. The 'connexion between the end and the beginning,' which he sees, is that of cause and effect in the operations of nature and the course of human affairs. The various steps in that course are symbolised by the lines of the hexagram; and the ideal sage, conducting his ideal government, taking his measures accordingly, is represented as driving through the sky in a carriage drawn by six dragons. *K'ü Hsi* extravagantly says that 'the sage is Heaven, and Heaven is the sage;' but there is nothing like this in the text.

4. 'If he take the initiative, he goes astray :—he misses, that is, his proper course. 'If he follow,' he is docile, and gets into his regular (course). 'In the south-west he will get friends :—he will be walking with those of his own class. 'In the north-east he will lose friends :—but in the end there will be ground for congratulation.

5. 'The good fortune arising from resting in firmness' corresponds to the unlimited capacity of the earth.

III. 1. In *Kun* we have the strong (*Khien*) and the weak (*Khwăn*) commencing their intercourse, and difficulties arising.

2. Movement in the midst of peril gives rise to 'great progress and success, (through) firm correctness.'

3. By the action of the thunder and rain, (which

II. As the writer in expounding the *Thwan* of hexagram 1 starts from the word 'heaven,' so here he does so from the symbolic meaning attached to 'earth.' What I have said on the Text about the difference with which the same attributes are ascribed to *Khien* and *Khwăn*, appears clearly in paragraph 1. It is the difference expressed by the words that I have supplied,—'power' and 'capacity.' *Khien* originates; *Khwăn* produces, or gives birth to what has been originated.

The 'penetrating,' or developing ability of *Khwăn*, as displayed in the processes of growth, is the subject of paragraph 2. 'The brightness' refers to the beauty that shines forth in the vegetable and animal worlds.

Paragraph 3 treats of the symbol of the 'mare,' to lead the mind to the course of 'the superior man,' the good and faithful minister and servant.

See the note, corresponding to paragraph 4, on the Text. 'Resting in firmness' is the normal course of *Khwăn*. Where it is pursued, the good effect will be great, great as the unlimited capacity of the earth.

are symbols of *K'ăn* and *Khan*), all (between heaven and earth) is filled up. But the condition of the time is full of irregularity and obscurity. Feudal princes should be established, but the feeling that rest and peace have been secured should not be indulged (even then).

IV. 1. In *Măng* we have (the trigram for) a mountain, and below it that of a rugged defile with a stream in it. The conditions of peril and arrest

III. *Kun* is made up of the trigrams *K'ăn* and *Khan*; but according to the views on king *Wăn*'s arrangement of the trigrams, as set forth especially in Appendix V, chap. 14, the six others come from *K'kien* and *Khwăn*, and are said to be their children. On the first application of *Khwăn* to *K'kien*, there results *K'ăn*, the first line of *K'kien* taking the place of the last of *Khwăn*; and on the second application, there results *Khan*, the middle line of *K'kien* taking the place of that of *Khwăn*. McClatchie renders here:—'The Thun (*Kun*) diagram represents the hard and the soft (air) beginning to have sexual intercourse, and bringing forth with suffering!' But there is nothing in the *Yi*, from the beginning to the end, to justify such an interpretation. Nor do I see how, from any account of the genesis by the component trigrams, the idea of the result as signifying a state of difficulty and distress can be readily made out.

In paragraph 2 there is an attempt from the virtues or attributes assigned to the trigrams to make out the result indicated in the *Thwan*. To move and excite is the quality of *K'ăn*; perilousness is the quality of *Khan*. The power to move is likely to produce great effects; to do this in perilous and difficult circumstances requires firmness and correctness. But neither is this explanation very satisfactory.

The first part of paragraph 3 depicts a condition of trouble and disorder in the natural world occasioned by the phenomena that are symbols of the significance of *K'ăn* and *Khan*; but this is symbolical again of the disorder and distress, political and social, characteristic of the time. Good princes throughout the nation would help to remedy that; but the supreme authority should not resign itself to indifference, trusting to them.

of progress (suggested by these) give (the idea in) Mǎng.

2. 'Mǎng indicates that there will be progress and success:'—for there is development at work in it, and its time of action is exactly what is right. 'I do not seek the youthful and inexperienced; he seeks me:'—so does will respond to will. 'When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him:'—for possessing the qualities of the undivided line and being in the central place, (the subject of the second line thus speaks). 'A second and third application create annoyance, and I do not instruct so as to create annoyance:'—annoyance (he means) to the ignorant.

(The method of dealing with) the young and ignorant is to nourish the correct (nature belonging to them);—this accomplishes the service of the sage.

IV. The trigram Kǎn has for its symbol in the natural world a mountain, which stands up frowningly, and stops or arrests the progress of the traveller. Stoppage, understood sometimes actively, and sometimes passively, is called the virtue or attribute indicated by it. Khan, as I said on p. 32, has water for its symbol, and especially in the form of rain. Here, however, the water appears as a stream in a difficult defile, such as ordinarily appears on an approach to a mountain, and suggesting perilousness as the attribute of such a position. From the combination of these symbols and their attributes the writer thinks that he gets the idea of the character (not the entire hexagram) Mǎng, as symbolical of ignorance and inexperience. See on 'the Great Symbolism' below.

Down to the last sentence of paragraph 2, all that is said is intended to show how it is that the figure indicates progress and success. The whole representation is grounded on the undivided line's being in the central place. It is the symbol of active effort for the teaching of the ignorant in the proper place and time; this being responded to by the divided fifth line, representing the ignorance to be taught as docile, 'will responds to will.' But the

V. I. Hsü denotes waiting. (The figure) shows peril in front ; but notwithstanding the firmness and strength (indicated by the inner trigram), its subject does not allow himself to be involved (in the dangerous defile);—it is right he should not be straitened or reduced to extremity.

2. When it is said that, 'with the sincerity declared in Hsü, there will be brilliant success, and with firmness there will be good fortune,' this is shown by the position (of the fifth line) in the place assigned by Heaven, and its being the correct position for it, and in the centre. 'It will be advantageous to go through the great stream ;'—that is, going forward will be followed by meritorious achievement.

subject of line 2 requires sincerity in the applicant for instruction, and feels that he must make his own teaching acceptable and agreeable. All this serves to bring out the idea of progress and success.

Then finally in the young and ignorant there is 'a correct nature,' a moral state made for goodness. The efficient teacher directing his efforts to bring out and nourish that, the progress and success will be 'great ;' the service done will be worthy of 'a sage.'

V. Hsü is composed of *K'ien*, having the quality of strength, and of *Khan*, having the quality of perilousness. The strong one might readily dare the peril, but he restrains himself and waits. This is the lesson of the hexagram,—the benefit of action well considered, of plans well matured.

The fifth line, as we have observed more than once already, is the place of honour, that due to the ruler or king. It is here called 'the Heavenly or Heaven-given seat,' the meaning of which expression is clear from its occurrence in the *Shih*, III, i, ode 2. 1. Five is an odd number, and the fifth is therefore the 'correct' place for an undivided line ; it is also the central place of the trigram, indicating how its occupant is sure to walk in the due mean. See further the notes on the Text, p. 68.

VI. 1. The upper portion of Sung is (the trigram representing) strength, and the lower (that representing) peril. (The coming together of strength and peril gives (the idea in) Sung.

2. 'Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one's contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction; but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune:'—a strong (line) has come and got the central place (in the lower trigram).

'If he must prosecute the contention to the (bitter) end, there will be evil:'—contention is not a thing to be carried on to extremity.

'It will be advantageous to meet with the great man:'—what he sets a value on is the due mean, and the correct place.

'It will not be advantageous to cross the great stream:'—one (attempting to do so) would find himself in an abyss.

VI. Paragraph 1 here is much to the same effect as the first sentence in the notes on the Thwan of the Text. It is said, 'Strength without peril would not produce contention; peril without strength would not be able to contend.'

2. 'A strong line has come and got the central place:'—this sentence has given rise to a doctrine about the changes of trigrams and hexagrams, which has obscured more than anything else the interpretation of the Yî. Where has the strong second line come from? From a hundred critics we receive the answer,—'From Tun (, or Sung. The doctrine of changing the figures by the manipulation of the stalks did spring up between the time of Wăn and his son and that of the composition of the Appendixes; but there is no trace of it in the real Text of the Yî; and it renders any scheme for the interpretation of the figures impossible. The

VII. 1. (The name) Sze describes the multitude (of the host). The 'firmness and correctness' (which the hexagram indicates) refer to (moral) correctness (of aim). When (the mover) is able to use the multitude with such correctness, he may attain to the royal sway.

2. There is (the symbol of) strength in the centre (of the trigram below), and it is responded to (by its proper correlate above). The action gives rise to perils, but is in accordance (with the best sentiments of men). (Its mover) may by such action distress all the country, but the people will follow him;—there will be good fortune, and what error should there be?

VIII. 1. 'Pî indicates that there is good fortune:—(the name) Pî denotes help; (and we see in the figure) inferiors docilely following (their superior).

editors of the imperial Yî allow this, and on the present passage discard the doctrine entirely, referring to the language of the Th w an on hexagrams 11 and 12 as fatal to it. See the notes there, and the Introduction, pp. 11–16. 'A strong line has come' is to be taken as equivalent simply to 'a strong line is there.'

What 'the great man sets a value on being the due mean and the correct place,' his decision in any matter of contention is sure to be right.

VII. That 'multitude' is given here as if it were the meaning of the name Sze arose, probably, from there being but one undivided line in the figure. That is the symbol of the general, all the other lines, divided, suggest the idea of a multitude obedient to his orders. The general's place in the centre of the lower trigram, with the proper correlate in line 5, suggests the idea of firmness and correctness that dominates in the hexagram. But in the last sentence it is the ruler, and not the general of the host, who is the subject. Compare what is said of him with Mencius, I, i, chap. 3; ii, chap. 5, &c.

2. 'Let (the principal party intended in it) re-examine himself, (as if) by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm;—if it be so, there will be no error:—all this follows from the position of the strong line in the centre (of the upper trigram). 'Those who have not rest will come to him:—high and low will respond to its subject. 'With those who are (too) late in coming it will be ill:—(for them) the way (of good fortune here indicated) has been exhausted.

IX. 1. In Hsião *K'ü* the weak line occupies its (proper) position, and (the lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes the name of Hsião *K'ü* (Small Restraint).

2. (It presents the symbols of) strength and flexibility. Strong lines are in the central places, and the will (of their subjects) will have free course. Thus it indicates that there will be progress and success.

3. 'Dense clouds but no rain' indicate the movement (of the strong lines) still going forward. The

'Perilousness' is the attribute of Khan, the lower trigram, and 'docility,' or 'accordance with others,' that of Khwân, the upper. War is like 'poison' to a country, injurious, and threatening ruin to it, and yet the people will endure and encounter it in behalf of the sovereign whom they esteem and love.

VIII. There is some error in the text here,—as all the critics acknowledge. I have adopted the decision of *K'ü Hsî*, which by a very small change makes the whole read consistently, and in harmony with other explanations of the Thwan. 'The inferiors' are the subjects of all the other lines gathering round their superior, represented in the fifth line.

'The way has been exhausted:—they do not seek to promote and enjoy union till it is too late. The sentiment is the same as that in the lines of Shakespeare about the tide in the affairs of men.

'Commencing at our western border' indicates that the (beneficial) influence has not yet been widely displayed.

X. 1. In *Lí* we have (the symbol of) weakness treading on (that of) strength.

2. (The lower trigram) indicates pleasure and satisfaction, and responds to (the upper) indicating strength. Hence (it is said), 'He treads on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him; there will be progress and success.'

3. (The fifth line is) strong, in the centre, and in

IX. 'The weak line' is said to occupy 'its proper position,' because it is in the fourth,—an even place. The 'responding' on the part of all the other lines above and below is their submitting to be restrained by it; and this arises simply from the meaning which king *Wăn* chose to attach to the hexagram.

But the restraint can only be small. The attributes of the two parts of the figure do not indicate anything else. The undivided line represents vigour and activity, and such a line is in the middle of each trigram. There cannot but be progress and success.

It is not easy to explain the symbolism of the last paragraph in harmony with the appended explanations. What *K'ǎng-ze*, Wang Fǎng, and other scholars say is to this effect:—Dense clouds ought to give rain. That they exist without doing so, shows the restraining influence of the hexagram to be still at work. But the other and active influence is, according to the general idea of the figure, continuing in operation;—there will be rain ere long. And this was taking place in the western regions subject to the House of *K'âu*, which still was only a fief of Shang. It was not for the inferior House to rule the superior. *K'âu* was for a time restrained by Shang. Let their positions be reversed by *K'âu* superseding Shang, and the rain of beneficent government would descend on all the kingdom. This seems to be the meaning of the paragraph. This is the answer to the riddle of it. Confucius, in his treatise on the *Thwan*, hints at it, but no Chinese critic has the boldness to declare it fully.

its correct place. (Its subject) occupies the God-(given) position, and falls into no distress or failure;—(his) action will be brilliant.

XI. 'The little come and the great gone in Thâi, and its indication that there will be good fortune with progress and success' show to us heaven and earth in communication with each other, and all things in consequence having free course, and (also) the high and the low, (superiors and inferiors), in communication with one another, and possessed by the same aim. The inner (trigram) is made up of the strong and undivided lines, and the outer of the weak and divided; the inner is (the symbol of) strength, and the outer of docility; the inner (represents) the superior man, and the outer the small man. (Thus) the way of

X. '(The symbol of) weakness' in paragraph 1, according to Wang Shăn-ze (Yüan dynasty), is line 3, urged by the two strong lines below, and having to encounter the three strong lines above. Hû Ping-wan (also of the Yüan dynasty) says that the whole of the lower trigram, Tui, partaking of the yin nature, is the symbol of weakness, and the whole of *K'ien* that of strength. The *K'ung* editors say that, to get the full meaning, we must hold both views.

Paragraph 2 has been sufficiently explained on the Thwan itself.

Paragraph 3 has also been explained; but there remains something to be said on the Chinese text for 'occupies the God-given position,' or, literally, 'treads on the seat of Tî.' Canon McClatchie has—'The imperial throne is now occupied.' I think that 'the seat of Tî' is synonymous with 'the seat of Heaven,' in paragraph 2 of this treatise on hexagram 5. If Confucius, or whoever was the writer, had before him the phrase as it occurs in the Shû, I, 12, the force of Tî will depend on the meaning assigned to it in that part of the Shû. That the fifth line occupies the place of authority is here the only important point.

the superior man appears increasing, and that of the small man decreasing.

XII. 'The want of good understanding between the (different classes of) men in Pht, and its indication as unfavourable to the firm and correct course of the superior man; with the intimation that the great are gone and the little come:—all this springs from the fact that in it heaven and earth are not in communication with each other, and all things in consequence do not have free course; and that the high and the low (superiors and inferiors) are not in communication with one another, and there are no (well-regulated) states under the sky. The inner (trigram) is made up of the weak and divided lines, and the outer of the strong and undivided: the inner is (the symbol of) weakness, and the outer of strength; the inner (represents) the small man, and the outer the superior man. Thus the way of the small man appears increasing, and that of the superior man decreasing.

XI. There is nothing to be said on the explanation of the Thwan here beyond what has been noticed on the different paragraphs of the Text. Canon McClatchie translates:—'The Thwan means that Heaven and Earth have now conjugal intercourse with each other . . . and the upper and lower (classes) unite together.' But in both clauses the Chinese characters are the same. Why did he not go on to say—'the upper and lower classes have conjugal intercourse together;' or rather, why did he not dismiss the idea of such intercourse from his mind altogether? Why make the Yî appear to be gross, when there is not the shadow of grossness in it? The paragraph here well illustrates how the ruling idea in all the antinomies of the Yî is that of authority and strength on the one side, and of inferiority and weakness on the other.

XII. All the symbolism here springs from the trigram Khwân occupying in the figure the inner or lower place, and K'ien the outer or upper. It is for the inner trigram to take the initiative;

XIII. 1. In Thung Zǎn the weak (line) has the place (of influence), the central place, and responds to (the corresponding line in) *Khien* (above); hence comes its name of Thung Zǎn (or 'Union of men').

2. Thung Zǎn says:—

3. The language, 'Thung Zǎn appears here (as we find it) in (the remote districts of) the country, indicating progress and success, and that it will be advantageous to cross the great stream,' is moulded by its containing the strength (symbolled) in *Khien*. (Then) we have (the trigram indicating) elegance and intelligence, supported by (that indicating) strength; with the line in the central, and its correct, position, and responding (to the corresponding line above):—(all representing) the correct course of the superior man. It is only the superior man who can comprehend and affect the minds of all under the sky.

XIV. 1. In Tâ Yû the weak (line) has the place of honour, is grandly central, and (the strong lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes its name of Tâ Yû (Having what is Great).

but how can earth (symbolised by *Khwǎn*) take the place of heaven (symbolised by *Khien*)? As in nature it is heaven that originates and not earth, so in a state the upper classes must take the initiative, and not the lower.

XIII. To understand the various points in this commentary, it is only necessary to refer to the Text of the hexagram. The proper correlate of line 2 is line 5, and I have said therefore that it 'responds to (the corresponding line in) *Khien*.' The editors of the Khang-hsi edition, however, would make the correlate to it all the lines of *Khien*, as being more agreeable to the idea of union.

I do not think that a second paragraph has been lost. The

2. The attributes (of its component trigrams) are strength and vigour with elegance and brightness. (The ruling line in it) responds to (the ruling line in the symbol of) heaven, and (consequently) its action is (all) at the proper times. In this way (it is said to) indicate great progress and success.

XV. 1. *K'ien* indicates progress and success. It is the way of heaven to send down its beneficial influences below, where they are brilliantly displayed. It is the way of earth, lying low, to send its influences upwards and (there) to act.

2. It is the way of heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble. It is the way of earth to overthrow the full and replenish the humble. Spiritual Beings inflict calamity on the full and bless the humble. It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble. Humility in a position of honour makes that still more brilliant; and in a low position men will not (seek to) pass beyond it. Thus it is that 'the superior man will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).'

'Thung Z'an says' is merely a careless repetition of the three concluding characters of paragraph 1.

XIV. The position in the fifth place indicates the dignity, and its being central, in the centre of the upper trigram, indicates the virtue, of the lord of the figure.

The strength of the lord, moreover, is directed by intelligence; and his actions are always at the proper time, like the seasons of heaven.

XV. The Thwan on this hexagram was so brief, that the writer here deals generally with the subject of humility, showing how it is valued by heaven and earth, by spirits and by men. The descent of the heavenly influences, and the low position of the earth in paragraph 1, are both emblematic of humility. The heavenly influences have their 'display' in the beauty and fertility of the earth.

XVI. 1. In Yü we see the strong (line) responded to by all the others, and the will (of him whom it represents) being carried out; and (also) docile obedience employing movement (for its purposes). (From these things comes) Yü (the Condition of harmony and satisfaction).

2. In this condition we have docile obedience employing movement (for its purposes), and therefore it is so as between heaven and earth;—how much more will it be so (among men) in ‘the setting up of feudal princes and putting the hosts in motion!’

3. Heaven and earth show that docile obedience in connexion with movement, and hence the sun and moon make no error (in time), and the four seasons do not deviate (from their order). The sages show such docile obedience in connexion with their movements, and hence their punishments and penalties are entirely just, and the people acknowledge it by their submission. Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Yü!

The way of heaven is seen, e.g. in the daily declining of the sun, and the waning of the moon after it is full; the way of earth in the fall of the year. On the meaning of ‘Spiritual Beings (Kwei Shān),’ see the Introduction, pp. 34, 35. It is difficult to say what idea the writer attached to the name. What he says of man’s appreciation of humility is striking, and, I believe, correct.

XVI. What is said in paragraph 1 about the lines has been pointed out in the notes on the Text. ‘Obedience’ is the attribute of Khwān, the lower trigram, which takes the initiative in the action of the figure; and here makes use of the movement, which is the attribute of K’ān, the upper trigram.

I can hardly trace the connexion between the different parts of paragraph 2. Does it not proceed on the harmony produced by the thunderous explosion between heaven and earth, as declared

XVII. 1. In Sui we see the strong (trigram) come and place itself under the weak; we see (in the two) the attributes of movement and pleasure:—this gives (the idea of) Sui.

2. 'There will be great progress and success; and through firm correctness no error:'—all under heaven will be found following at such a time.

3. Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Sui.

XVIII. 1. In Kû we have the strong (trigram) above, and the weak one below; we have (below) pliancy, and (above) stopping:—these give the idea of Kû (a Troublous Condition of affairs verging to ruin).

2. 'Kû indicates great progress and success:'—(through the course shown in it), all under heaven, there will be good order. 'There will be advantage in crossing the great stream:'—he who advances will encounter the business to be done. '(He should

in Appendix II? Then the analogy between natural phenomena and human and social experiences comes into play.

Paragraph 3 is also tantalising. Why does the writer introduce the subject of punishments and penalties? Are they a consequence of putting the hosts in motion? .

XVII. The trigrams *K'ăn* and *Tui* are distinguished as strong and weak, *K'ăn* representing, on king Wăn's scheme, 'the eldest son,' and *Tui*, 'the youngest daughter.' But 'the strong' here may mean the strong line, the lowest in the hexagram. As Wang Jung-kwan (Sung dynasty) says:—'The yang and strong line should not be below a yin and weak line, as we find it here. That is, in Sui the high places himself below the low, and the noble below the mean:'—esteeming others higher than himself, and giving the idea of following. Then *K'ăn* denotes the production or excitement of motion, and *Tui* denotes pleasure; and the union of these things suggests the same idea.

weigh well, however, the events of) three days before (the turning-point), and those (to be done) three days after it:—the end (of confusion) is the beginning (of order); such is the procedure of Heaven.

XIX. 1. In Lin (we see) the strong (lines) gradually increasing and advancing.

2. (The lower trigram is the symbol of) being pleased, and (the upper of) being compliant. The strong (line) is in the central position, and is properly responded to.

3. 'There is great progress and success, along with firm correctness:—this is the way of Heaven.

4. 'In the eighth month there will be evil:—(the advancing power) will decay after no long time.

XX. 1. The great Manifester occupies an upper place (in the figure), which consists of (the trigrams

XVIII. The symbolism here is the opposite of that in Sui. The upper trigram *K'ân* is strong, denoting, according to king Wăn, 'the youngest son; ' and the lower, Sun, is weak, denoting 'the eldest daughter.' For the eldest daughter to be below the youngest son is eminently correct, and helps to indicate the auspice of great success. The attribute of Sun is pliancy, and that of *K'ân* stoppage or arrest. The feeble pliancy confronted by the arresting mountain gives an idea of the evil state implied in *K'û*.

'Three days before and after the turning-point' is, literally, 'three days before and after *kiâ*,' *kiâ* being the name of the first of the 'earthly stems' among the cyclical characters. Hence it has the meaning of 'beginning,' and here denotes the turning-point, at which disorder gives place to order. According to 'the procedure of Heaven,' history is a narrative of change, one condition of affairs constantly giving place to another and opposite. 'A kingdom that cannot be moved' does not enter into the circle of Chinese ideas.

XIX. See what has been said on the fourth paragraph in pp. 98, 99 on the Text. The other paragraphs need no explanation beyond what appears in the supplemented translation.

whose attributes are) docility and flexibility. He is in the central position and his correct place, and thus exhibits (his lessons) to all under heaven.

2. 'Kwan shows its subject like a worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings;—with sincerity and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard):'—(all) beneath look to him and are transformed.

3. When we contemplate the spirit-like way of Heaven, we see how the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.

XXI. 1. The existence of something between the jaws gives rise to the name Shih Ho (Union by means of biting through the intervening article).

2. The Union by means of biting through the intervening article indicates 'the successful progress (denoted by the hexagram).'

The strong and weak (lines) are equally divided (in the figure). Movement is denoted (by the lower trigram), and bright intelligence (by the upper); thunder and lightning uniting in them, and having brilliant manifestation. The weak (fifth) line is in

XX. 'The great Manifester' is the ruler, the principal subject of the hexagram, and represented by line 5, near the top of the figure. In that figure the lower trigram is Khwăn, representing the earth, with the attribute of docility, and the upper is Sun, representing wind, with the attributes of flexibility and penetration. As is the place of line 5, so are the virtues of the ruler.

'The spirit-like way of Heaven' is the invisible and unfathomable agency ever operating by general laws, and with invariable regularity, in what we call nature. Compare with this paragraph, the definition of Shăn or Spirit in Appendix III, i, 32; and the doctrine of the agency of God, taught in Appendix VI, 8, 9.

the centre, and acts in its high position. Although it is not in its proper position, this is advantageous for the use of legal constraints.

XXII. 1. (When it is said that) P1 indicates that there should be free course (in what it denotes):—

2. (We see) the weak line coming and ornamenting the strong lines (of the lower trigram), and hence (it is said that ornament) 'should have free course.' On the other hand, the strong line above ornaments the weak ones (of the upper trigram), and hence (it is said) that 'there will be little advantage, if (ornament) be allowed to advance (and take the lead).' (This is illustrated in the) appearances that ornament the sky.

3. Elegance and intelligence (denoted by the lower trigram) regulated by the arrest (denoted by the upper) suggest the observances that adorn human (society).

4. We look at the ornamental figures of the sky, and thereby ascertain the changes of the seasons. We look at the ornamental observances of society, and understand how the processes of transformation are accomplished all under heaven.

XXI. The 'equal division of the strong and weak lines' is seen by taking them in pairs, though the order in the first pair is different from that in the two others. This is supposed to indicate the intelligence of the judgments in the action of the hexagram. *K'ān*, the lower trigram, symbolises movement; *Lî*, the upper, intelligence. The fifth line's acting in its high position does not intimate the formation of the figure from *Yî*, the 42nd hexagram, but calls attention to the fact that a weak line is here 'lord of judgment.' This does not seem natural, but the effect is good;—judgment is tempered by leniency.

XXII. The first paragraph is either superfluous or incomplete.

The language of paragraph 2 has naturally been pressed into the

XXIII. 1. Po denotes overthrowing or being overthrown. We see (in the figure) the weak lines (threatening to) change the (last) strong line (into one of themselves).

2. That 'it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever' appears from the fact that the small men are (now) growing and increasing. The superior man acts according to (the exigency of the time), and stops all forward movement, looking at the (significance of the) symbolic figures (in the hexagram). He values the processes of decrease and increase, of fulness and decadence, (as seen) in the movements of the heavenly bodies.

service of the doctrine of changing the figures by divining manipulation; see p. 219, on paragraph 2 of the Thwan of hexagram 6. But as the Khang-hsi editors point out, 'the weak line coming and ornamenting the two strong lines' simply indicates how substantiality should have the help of ornament, and 'the strong line above (or ascending) and ornamenting the two weak lines' indicates that ornament should be restrained by substantiality. Ornament has its use, but it must be kept in check.—The closing sentence has no connexion with what precedes. Some characters are wanting, to show how the writer passes on to speak of 'the ornamental figures of the sky.' The whole should then be joined on to paragraph 3. The 'figures of the sky' are all the heavenly bodies in their relative positions and various movements, producing day and night, heat and cold, &c. The observances of society are the ceremonies and performances which regulate and beautify the intercourse of men, and constitute the transforming lessons of sagely wisdom.

XXIII. 'The symbolic figures in the hexagram' are Khwăn, below, the representative of docility, acting as circumstances require; and Kăn, the representative of a mountain, which arrests the progress of the traveller. The superior man of the topmost line thus interprets them, and acts accordingly. Yet he is not left without hope. Winter is followed by spring; night is

XXIV. 1. 'Fû indicates the free course and progress (of what it denotes):'—it is the coming back of what is intended by the undivided line.

2. (Its subject's) actions show movement directed by accordance with natural order. Hence 'he finds no one to distress him in his exits and entrances,' and 'friends come to him, and no error is committed.'

3. 'He will return and repeat his proper course; in seven days comes his return:'—such is the movement of the heavenly (revolution).

4. 'There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made:'—the strong lines are growing and increasing.

5. Do we not see in Fû the mind of heaven and earth?

XXV. In Wû Wang we have the strong (first) line come from the outer (trigram), and become in the inner trigram lord (of the whole figure); we have (the attributes of) motive power and strength; we have the strong line (of the fifth place) in the

succeeded by day; the moon wanes, and then begins to wax again. So will it be in political life. As we read in the Hebrew prophet Isaiah, 'In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.'

XXIV. 'The movement of the heavenly revolution' in paragraph 3 has reference to the regular alternations of darkness and light, and of cold and heat, as seen in the different months of the year. Hâu Hsing-kwo (of the Thang dynasty) refers to the expressions in the Shih, I, xv, ode 1, 'the days of (our) first (month), second (month),' &c., as illustrating the use of day for month, as we have it here; but that is to explain what is obscure by what is more so; though I believe, as stated on the Text, that 'seven days' is here equivalent to 'seven months.'

'The mind of heaven and earth' is the love of life and of all goodness that rules in the course of nature and providence.

central position, and responded to (by the weak second):—there will be ‘great progress proceeding from correctness; such is the appointment of Heaven.

‘If (its subject and his action) be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction:’—whither can he (who thinks he is) free from all insincerity, (and yet is as here described) proceed? Can anything be done (advantageously) by him whom the (will and) appointment of Heaven do not help?

XXVI. 1. In (the trigrams composing) Tâ K’û we have (the attributes) of the greatest strength and of substantial solidity, which emit a brilliant light; and indicate a daily renewal of his virtue (by the subject of it).

2. The strong line is in the highest place, and suggests the value set on talents and virtue; there is power (in the upper trigram) to keep the strongest in restraint:—all this shows ‘the great correctness’ (required in the hexagram).

3. ‘The good fortune attached to the subject’s not seeking to enjoy his revenues in his own family’ shows how talents and virtue are nourished.

XXV. The advocates of one trigram’s changing into another, which ought not to be admitted, we have seen, into the interpretation of the Yî, make Wû Wang to be derived from Sung (No. 6), the second line there being manipulated into the first of this; but this representation is contrary to the words of the text, which make the strong first line come from the outer trigram, i. e. from K’ien. And so it does, as related, not very intelligibly, in Appendix V, 10, K’ân, the lower trigram here, being ‘the eldest son,’ resulting from the first application of Khwân to K’ien. The three peculiarities in the structure of the figure afford the auspice of progress and success; and very striking is the brief and emphatic declaration, that such progress is ‘the appointment of Heaven.’

4. 'It will be advantageous to cross the great stream:—(the fifth line, representing the ruler,) is responded to by (the second, the central line of *K'hien*, representing) Heaven.

XXVII. 1. 'Î indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune:—when the nourishing is correct, there will be good fortune. 'We must look at what we are seeking to nourish:—we must look at those whom we wish to nourish. 'We must by the exercise of our thoughts seek the proper aliment:—we must look to our own nourishing of ourselves.

2. Heaven and earth nourish all things. The sages nourish men of talents and virtue, by them to reach to the myriads of the people. Great is (the work intended by this) nourishing in its time!

XXVI. In paragraph 1, *Tâ K'û* evidently means the 'grand accumulation' of virtue, indicated by the attributes of its component trigrams. 'Substantial solidity' may very well be given as the attribute of mountains.

'The strong line in the highest place' of paragraph 2 is line 6, whose subject is thus above the ruler represented by 5, and has the open firmament for his range in doing his work. This, and his ability to repress the strongest opposition, show how he is supported by all that is correct and right.

In a kingdom where the object of the government is the accumulation of virtue, good and able men will not be left in obscurity.

What will not a high and good purpose, supported by the greatest strength, be able to do?

XXVII. Many of the critics, in illustration of paragraph 1, refer appropriately to Mencius, VI, i, chap. 14.

In illustration of paragraph 2 they refer to the times and court of Yáo and Shun, sage rulers, from whose cherishing and nourishing came Yü to assuage the waters of the deluge, 3î to teach the people agriculture, Hsieh as minister of instruction, Káo Yáo as minister of crime, and others;—all to do the work of nourishing the people.

XXVIII. 1. Tâ Kwo shows the great ones (= the undivided lines) in excess.

2. In 'the beam that is weak' we see weakness both in the lowest and the topmost (lines).

3. The strong lines are in excess, but (two of them) are in the central positions. The action (of the hexagram is represented by the symbols of) flexibility and satisfaction. (Hence it is said), 'There will be advantage in moving in any direction whatever; yea, there will be success.'

4. Great indeed is (the work to be done in) this very extraordinary time.

XXIX. 1. Khan repeated shows us one defile succeeding another.

2. This is the nature of water;—it flows on, without accumulating its volume (so as to overflow); it pursues its way through a dangerous defile, without losing its true (nature).

3. That 'the mind is penetrating' is indicated by the strong (line) in the centre. That 'action (in accordance with this) will be of high value' tells us that advance will be followed by achievement.

4. The dangerous (height) of heaven cannot be ascended; the difficult places of the earth are moun-

XXVIII. Paragraph 3. In the Great Symbolism 'wood' appears as the natural object symbolised by Sun, and not 'wind,' which we find more commonly. The attribute of 'flexibility,' however, is the quality of Sun, whether used of wind or of wood.

Paragraph 4. Such a time, it is said, was that of Yáo and Shun, of Thang the Successful, and of king Wû. What these heroes did, however, was all called for by the exigency of their times, and not by whim or principle of their own, which they wished to make prominent.

tains, rivers, hills, and mounds. Kings and princes arrange, by means of such strengths, to maintain their territories. Great indeed is the use of (what is here) taught about seasons of peril.

XXX. 1. Li means being attached to. The sun and moon have their place in the sky. All the grains, grass, and trees have their place on the earth. The double brightness (of the two trigrams) adheres to what is correct, and the result is the transforming and perfecting all under the sky.

2. The weak (second line) occupies the middle and correct position, and gives the indication of 'a free and successful course;' and, moreover, 'nourishing (docility like that of) the cow' will lead to good fortune.

XXIX. On paragraph 2 Liang Yin says:—'Water stops at the proper time, and moves at the proper time. Is not this an emblem of the course of the superior man in dealing with danger?'

On paragraph 4 the Khang-hsi editors say that to exercise one's self in meeting difficulty and peril is the way to establish and strengthen the character, and that the use of such experience is seen in all measures for self-defence, there being no helmet and mail like leal-heartedness and good faith, and no shield and tower like propriety and righteousness.

XXX. 'The double brightness' in paragraph 1 has been much discussed. Some say that it means 'the ruler,' becoming brighter and brighter. Others say that it means both the ruler and his ministers, combining their brightness. The former view seems to me the better. The analogy between the natural objects and a transforming and perfecting rule is far fetched.

'The central and correct position' in paragraph 2 can be said only of the second line, and not of the fifth, where an undivided line would be more correct. The 'and moreover' of the translation is 'therefore' in the original; but I cannot make out the force and suitability of that conjunction.

SECTION II.

XXXI. 1. Hsien is here used in the sense of Kan, meaning (mutually) influencing.

2. The weak (trigram) above, and the strong one below; their two influences moving and responding to each other, and thereby forming a union; the repression (of the one) and the satisfaction (of the other); (with their relative position), where the male is placed below the female:—all these things convey the notion of 'a free and successful course (on the fulfilment of the conditions), while the advantage will depend on being firm and correct, as in marrying a young lady, and there will be good fortune.'

3. Heaven and earth exert their influences, and there ensue the transformation and production of all things. The sages influence the minds of men, and the result is harmony and peace all under the sky. If we look at (the method and issues) of those influences, the true character of heaven and earth and of all things can be seen.

XXXII. 1. Hǎng denotes long continuance. The strong (trigram) is above, and the weak one below; (they are the symbols of) thunder and wind,

XXXI. Paragraph 2. Tui, the upper trigram, is weak and yin; and Kǎn, the lower, is strong and yang; see Appendixes III, ii, 4, and V, 10. Kǎn is below Tui; whereas the subject of the lower trigram should always take the initiative in these figures.

which are in mutual communication ; (they have the qualities of) docility and motive force ; their strong and weak (lines) all respond, each to the other :—these things are all found in Hǎng.

2. (When it is said that) ‘Hǎng indicates successful progress and no error (in what it denotes) ; but the advantage will come from being firm and correct,’ this indicates that there must be long continuance in its way of operation. The way of heaven and earth is to be long continued in their operation without stopping.

3. (When it is said that) ‘Movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous,’ this implies that when (the moving power) is spent, it will begin again.

4. The sun and moon, realising in themselves (the course of Heaven), can perpetuate their shining. The four seasons, by their changing and transforming, can perpetuate their production (of things). The sages persevere long in their course, and all under the sky are transformed and perfect. When we look at what they continue doing long, the natural tendencies of heaven, earth, and all things can be seen.

XXXII. All the conditions in paragraph 1 must be understood as leading to the indication of progress and success, which is explained in paragraph 2, and illustrated by the analogy of the course of heaven and earth.

‘Movement in any direction,’ as explained in paragraph 3, indicates the ever-occurring new modes and spheres of activity, to which he who is firm and correct is called.

Paragraph 4, and especially its concluding sentence, are of a meditative and reflective character not uncommon in the treatise on the Thwan.

XXXIII. 1. 'Thun indicates successful progress:'—that is, in the very retiring which Thun denotes there is such progress. The strong (line) is in the ruling place, (the fifth), and is properly responded to (by the second line). The action takes place according to (the requirement of) the time.

2. 'To a small extent it will (still) be advantageous to be firm and correct:'—(the small men) are gradually encroaching and advancing.

3. Great indeed is the significance of (what is required to be done in) the time that necessitates retiring.

XXXIV. 1. In *Tâ K'wang* we see that which is great becoming strong. We have the (trigram) denoting strength directing that which denotes movement, and hence (the whole) is expressive of vigour.

2. '*Tâ K'wang* indicates that it will be advantageous to be firm and correct:'—that which is great (should be) correct. Given correctness and greatness (in their highest degree), and the character and tendencies of heaven and earth can be seen.

XXXIII. 'The superior man,' it is said, 'advances or withdraws according to the character of the time. The strength and correct position of the fifth line show that he is able to maintain himself; and as it is responded to by the weak second line, no opposition to what is correct in him would come from any others. He might therefore keep his place; but looking at the two weak lines, 1 and 2, he recognises in them the advance and irrepressible progress of small men, and that for a time it is better for him to give way and withdraw from the field. Thus there is successful progress even in his retiring.'

XXXIV. Paragraph 1. 'That which is great' denotes, in the first place, the group of four strong lines which strikes us on

XXXV. 1. 3in denotes advancing.

2. (In 3in we have) the bright (sun) appearing above the earth; (the symbol of) docile submission cleaving to that of the Great brightness; and the weak line advanced and moving above:—all these things give us the idea of ‘a prince who secures the tranquillity (of the people), presented on that account with numerous horses (by the king), and three times in a day received at interviews.’

XXXVI. 1. (The symbol of) the Earth and that of Brightness entering into the midst of it give the idea of Ming Î (Brightness wounded or obscured).

2. The inner (trigram) denotes being accomplished and bright; the outer, being pliant and submissive. The case of king Wăn was that of one

looking at the figure, and then the superior man, or the strong men in positions of power, of whom these are the representatives. *K'ien* is the trigram of strength, and *K'ăn* that of movement.

Paragraph 2. ‘That which is great (should be) correct:’—that the ‘should be’ must be supplied in the translation appears from this, that the paragraph is intended to illustrate the text that ‘it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.’ The power of man becomes then a reflexion of the great power which we see working in nature, ‘impartially,’ ‘unselfishly.’

XXXV. To those who advocate the view that the hexagrams of the Yî have been formed by changes of the lines in manipulating with the divining stalks, the words of paragraph 2, that we have in the figure ‘the weak line advanced and moving above,’ suggest the derivation of 3in from Kwan, whose 4th and 5th lines are made to change places (). But we have seen that that view is inadmissible in the interpretation of the Yî. And a simple explanation of the language at once presents itself. As Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says, ‘Of the three “daughter” trigrams it is only L1 which has its divided line occupying the central place of honour, when it is the upper trigram in a hexagram.’

who with these qualities was yet involved in great difficulties.

3. 'It will be advantageous to realise the difficulty (of the position), and maintain firm correctness:—that is, (the individual concerned) should obscure his brightness. The case of the count of *K'1* was that of one who, amidst the difficulties of his House, was able (thus) to maintain his aim and mind correct.

XXXVII. 1. In *Kiâ Zăn* the wife has her correct place in the inner (trigram), and the man his correct place in the outer. That man and woman occupy their correct places is the great righteousness shown (in the relation and positions of) heaven and earth.

2. In *Kiâ Zăn* we have the idea of an authoritative ruler;—that, namely, represented by the parental authority.

3. Let the father be indeed father, and the son son; let the elder brother be indeed elder brother, and the younger brother younger brother; let the husband be indeed husband, and the wife wife:—then will the family be in its normal state. Bring the family to that state, and all under heaven will be established.

XXXVI. The sun disappearing, as we say, 'below the earth,' or, as the Chinese writer conceives it, 'into the midst of, or within the earth,' sufficiently indicates the obscuration or wounding of brightness,—the repression and resistance of the good and bright.

King Wăn was not of the line of Shang. Though opposed and persecuted by its sovereign, he could pursue his own course, till his line came in the end to supersede the other. It could not be so with the count of *K'1*, who was a member of the House of Shang. He could do nothing that would help on its downfall.

XXXVII. Paragraph 1 first explains the statement of the

XXXVIII. 1. In Khwei we have (the symbol of) Fire, which, when moved, tends upwards, and that of a Marsh, whose waters, when moved, tend downwards. We have (also the symbols of) two sisters living together, but whose wills do not move in the same direction.

2. (We see how the inner trigram expressive of) harmonious satisfaction is attached to (the outer expressive of) bright intelligence; (we see) the weak line advanced and acting above, and how it occupies the central place, and is responded to by the strong (line below). These indications show that 'in small matters there will (still) be good fortune.'

3. Heaven and earth are separate and apart, but the work which they do is the same. Male and female are separate and apart, but with a common will they seek the same object. There is diversity between the myriad classes of beings, but there is an analogy between their several operations. Great indeed are the phenomena and the results of this condition of disunion and separation.

Thwan, about the wife, represented by line 2; and then proceeds to the husband, represented by line 5. The two trigrams become representative of the family circle, and the wide world without it. In the reference to heaven and earth it is not supposed that they are really husband and wife; but in their relation and positions they symbolise that social relation and the individuals in it.

Paragraph 2, more closely rendered, would be—'That in K'ia Z'an there is an authoritative ruler is a way of naming father and mother.' Does the writer mean to say that while the assertion of authority was indispensable in a family, that authority must have combined in it both force and gentleness?

XXXVIII. In paragraph 1 we have first an explanation of the meaning of Khwei from the symbolism of Fû-hsi. Then follows

XXXIX. 1. *K'ien* denotes difficulty. There is (the trigram expressive of) perilousness in front. When one, seeing the peril, can arrest his steps (in accordance with the significance of the lower trigram), is he not wise?

2. (The language of) *K'ien*, that 'advantage will be found in the south-west,' refers to the (strong fifth line) advanced and in the central place. That 'there will be no advantage in the north-east,' intimates that the way (of dealing with the *K'ien* state) is exhausted. That 'it will be advantageous to see the great man,' intimates that advance will lead to achievement. That the places (of the different lines after the first) are those appropriate to them indicates firm correctness and good fortune, with which the regions (of the kingdom) are brought to their normal state. Great indeed is the work to be done in the time of *K'ien*!

an explanation from that ascribed to king Wăn, where Tui represents the youngest daughter and Lî the second. The Khang-hsi editors observe that in many hexagrams we have two daughters dwelling together, but that only in this and 49 is attention called to it. The reason, they say, is that in those two diagrams the sisters are the second and third daughters, while in the others one of them is the eldest, whose place and superiority are fixed, so that between her and either of the others there can be no division or collision.

About what is said, in paragraph 2, on the weak line, as advanced and acting above, see the note on hexagram 35.

The lesson of paragraph 3 is not unity in diversity, but union with diversity.

XXXIX. The upper or front trigram is *Khân*, the attribute of which is perilousness; the lower is *Kân*, of which the arresting, actively or passively, of movement or advance is the attribute. We can understand how the union of these attributes gives the ideas of difficulty and prudent caution.

The explanations in paragraph 2 of the phraseology of the *Thwan*

XL. 1. In *K'ieh* we have (the trigram expressive of) peril going on to that expressive of movement. By movement there is an escape from the peril:—(this is the meaning of) *K'ieh*.

2. 'In (the state indicated by) *K'ieh*, advantage will be found in the south-west:—the movement (thus) intimated will win all. That 'there will be good fortune in coming back (to the old conditions)' shows that such action is that of the due medium. That 'if some operations be necessary, there will be good fortune in the early conducting of them' shows that such operations will be successful.

3. When heaven and earth are freed (from the grasp of winter), we have thunder and rain. When these come, the buds of the plants and trees that produce the various fruits begin to burst. Great indeed are the phenomena in the time intimated by *K'ieh*.

are not all easily followed. It is said that the advantageousness of the south-west is due to the central line in 5; but if we are to look for the meaning of south-west in *Khwăn*, as in the diagram of king Wăn's trigrams, there is no strong central line in it. May *Khân*, as a yang trigram, be used for *Khwăn*?

XL. 1. The meaning of the hexagram is brought out sufficiently well in paragraph 1 by means of the attributes of the constituent trigrams.

2. How it is that the movement indicated in the first condition will 'win' all does not immediately appear. The Khang-hsî editors say that 'moving to the south and west' is the same as 'returning back to the old conditions,' and that 'winning all' and acting 'according to the due medium' are descriptive of the effect and method without reference to the symbolism. Another explanation might be devised; but I prefer to leave the matter in doubt.

3. Paragraph 3 shows the analogy of what takes place in nature to the beneficent social and political changes described in the text, as is done very frequently in this Appendix.

XLI. 1. In Sun (we see) the lower (trigram) diminished, and the upper added to. (But) the method (of action) implied in this operates also above (or, mounts upwards (also) and operates).

2. 'If there be sincerity in this method of diminution, there will be great good fortune; freedom from error; firmness and correctness that can be maintained; and advantage in every movement that shall be made. In what shall this (sincerity in the exercise of Sun) be employed? (Even) in sacrifice, two baskets of grain, (though there be nothing else), may be presented:'—for these two baskets there ought to be the fitting time. There is a time when the strong should be diminished, and the weak should be strengthened. Diminution and increase, overflowing and emptiness:—these take place in harmony with the conditions of the time.

XLI. 1. All that we see is two undivided lines in the lower trigram, and then a divided one, and exactly the opposite in the upper. But the whole figure could not but have this form from the process of its formation, whether by the gradual addition of the two primitive lines, or by the imposition of the whole trigrams on one another. To say that the upper lines of *K'ien* and *Khwan* changed places to express the idea of subjects contributing in taxes to the maintenance of their ruler is absurd; and if that thought were in the mind of king Wăn (which I very much doubt), it would only show how he projected his own idea, formed independently of the figure, into its lines.

On the second sentence, the Khang-hsi editors say:—'When a minister devotes his life in the service of his lord, or the people undertake their various labours in behalf of their government, these are instances of the ministering of those below to increase those above. But in this way the intercourse of the two becomes close and their aims become the same;—does not the method of action of those below communicate itself to those above?'

In paragraph 2 the subject of contribution, such as the payment of

XLII. 1. In Yt we see the upper (trigram) diminished, and the lower added to. The satisfaction of the people (in consequence of this) is without limit. What descends from above reaches to all below, so great and brilliant is the course (of its operation).

2. That 'there will be advantage in every movement which shall be undertaken' appears from the central and correct (positions of the second and fifth lines), and the (general) blessing (the dispensing of which they imply).

That 'it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream' appears from the action of wood (shown in the figure).

3. Yt is made up of (the trigrams expressive of) movement and docility, (through which) there is daily advancement to an unlimited extent. We have (also) in it heaven dispensing and earth producing, leading to an increase without restriction

taxes, passes into the background. The Khang-hsi editors say:— 'What is meant by diminishing in this hexagram is the regulation of expenditure or contribution according to the time. This would vary in a family according to its poverty or wealth; and in a state according to the abundance or scantiness of its resources. When it is said that there must be sincerity along with a diminution, it means that though such a diminution cannot be helped, yet what is given should be given sincerely. A small sacrifice sincerely offered is accepted. In the language, "There is a time when the strong should be diminished and the weak be strengthened," we are not to find the two baskets in the diminution of the strong. "The strong" is what is essential,—in this case sincerity; "The weak" is what is unimportant,—the amount and manner of the offering. If one supplement the insufficiency of his offering with the abundance of his sincerity, the insignificance of his two baskets will not be despised.'

of place. Everything in the method of this increase proceeds according to the requirements of the time.

XLII. 1. The process of the formation of the trigrams here is the reverse of that in the preceding hexagram; and is open to the remarks I have made on that. Of course the people are full of complacency and pleasure in the labours of their ruler for their good.

2. The mention of 'the action of wood' has reference to the upper trigram Sun, which is the symbol both of wind and wood. From wood boats and ships are made, on which the great stream may be crossed. In three hexagrams, this, 59, and 61, of which Sun is a part, we find mention made of crossing the great stream. It is generally said that the lower trigram K'ăn also symbolises wood; but that is obtained by a roundabout process. K'ăn occupies the place of the east in Wan's arrangement of the trigrams; but the east symbolises spring, when the growth of vegetation begins; and therefore K'ăn may symbolise wood! It was stated on p. 33, that the doctrine of 'the five elements' does not appear in the Yî. K'ăng-ze takes wood (木 mû), 'as a misprint for increase (益 yî).'

3. The words 'heaven dispensing and earth producing' are based on the fancied genesis of the figure from K'ien and Khwăn (䷀), the first lines in each changing places. It was the author of this Appendix, probably, who first introduced that absurd notion in connexion with the formation of Sun and Yî.

One rhyme runs through and connects these three paragraphs thus:—

'Yî spoils the high, gives to the low;
The people feel intense delight.
Down from above to all below,
The blessing goes, so large and bright.
Success will every movement mark,
Central its source, its course aright.
The great stream even may be crossed,
When planks of wood their strength unite.
Yî movement shows and docile feet,
Which progress day by day invite.
Heaven gives; productive earth responds;
Increase crowns every vale and height;

XLIII. 1. Kwâi is the symbol of displacing or removing. We see (in the figure) the strong (lines) displacing the weak. (We have in it the attributes of) strength and complacency. There is displacement, but harmony (continues).

2. 'The exhibition (of the criminal's guilt) in the royal courtyard' is suggested by the (one) weak (line) mounted on the five strong lines.

There 'is an earnest and sincere appeal (for sympathy and support), and a consciousness of the peril (involved in the undertaking):'—it is the realisation of this danger, which makes the method (of compassing the object) brilliant.

'He should make an announcement in his own city, and show that it will not be well to have recourse at once to arms:'—(if he have recourse to arms), what he prefers will (soon) be exhausted.

'There will be advantage in whatever he shall go forward to:'—when the growth of the strong (lines) has been completed, there will be an end (of the displacement).

And ceaselessly it hastens on,
Each season's gifts quick to requite.'

XLIII. 1. The last clause of paragraph 1 is good in itself, showing that the strong and worthy statesman in removing a bad man from the state is not actuated by any private feelings. The sentiment, however, as it is expressed, can hardly be said to follow from the symbolism.

Paragraph 2. The same may be said of all the notes appended to the different clauses of this second paragraph. Hû Ping-wăn (Yüan dynasty) says:—'If but a single small man be left, he is sufficient to make the superior man anxious; if but a single inordinate desire be left in the mind, that is sufficient to disturb the harmony of heavenly principles. The eradication in both cases must be complete, before the labour is ended.'

XLIV. 1. Kâu has the significance of unexpectedly coming on. (We see in it) the weak (line) coming unexpectedly on the strong ones.

2. 'It will not be good to marry (such) a female : '—one (so symbolised) should not be long associated with.

3. Heaven and earth meeting together (as here represented), all the variety of natural things become fully displayed.

4. When a strong (line) finds itself in the central and correct position, (good government) will greatly prevail all under the sky.

5. Great indeed is the significance of what has to be done at the time indicated by Kâu !

XLV. 1. 3hui indicates (the condition of union, or) being collected. We have in it (the symbol of) docile obedience going on to (what is expressed by that of) satisfaction. There is the strong line in the central place, and rightly responded to. Hence comes the (idea of) union.

2. 'The king will repair to his ancestral temple : '—

XLIV. On paragraph 1 the Khang-hsi editors say :—“The weak line meets with (or comes unexpectedly on) the strong ones ;”—the weak line, that is, plays the principal part. The case is like that of the minister who assumes the power of deciding for himself on all measures, or of a hen's announcing the morning ;—is not the name of (shameless) boldness rightly applied to it? Hence nothing more is said about the symbol of the bold female ; but attention is called to the second part of the Thwan.’

Paragraph 2 needs no remark. Paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 all speak of the importance of powers and parties meeting together,—in the world of nature, and in the sphere of human affairs. But I do not see how this sentiment is a natural sequel to that in 1 and 2, nor that it has any connexion with the teaching of the Thwan and Symbolism.

with the utmost filial piety he presents his offerings (to the spirits of his ancestors).

'It will be advantageous to meet the great man, and there will then be prosperity and success:—the union effected by him will be on and through what is correct.

'The use of great victims will conduce to good fortune; and in whatsoever direction movement is made, it will be advantageous:—all is done in accordance with the ordinances of Heaven.

3. When we look at the way in which the gatherings (here shown) take place, the natural tendencies (in the outward action) of heaven and earth and of all things can be seen.

XLVI. 1. (We find) the weak (line), as it finds the opportunity, ascending upwards.

2. We have (the attribute) of flexibility and that of obedience; we have the strong line (below) and its proper correlate above:—these things indicate that there will be 'great progress and success.'

XLV. The lower trigram in 3hui is Khwăn, whose attribute is docile obedience; and the upper is Tui, whose attribute is pleased satisfaction. Then we have the strong line in 5, and its proper correlate in 2. These things may give the idea of union. They might also give the idea of other good things.

The Khang-hsi editors say that though 'all is done in accordance with the ordinances of Heaven' follows the concluding clauses of the Thwan, yet the sentiment of the words must be extended to the other clauses as well. *Khâng-ze* says that 'the ordinances of Heaven' are simply the natural and practical outcome of 'heavenly principle';—in this case what should and may be done according to the conditions and requirements of the time. So do the critics of China try to shirk the idea of personality in 'Heaven.'

With paragraph 3, compare the concluding paragraphs of the Thwan *Kwan* on hexagrams 31, 32.

3. 'Seeking (by the qualities implied in Shǎng) to meet with the great man, its subject need have no anxiety:—there will be ground for congratulation.

'Advance to the south will be fortunate:—his aim will be carried out.

XLVII. 1. In Khwǎn (we see) the strong (lines) covered and obscured (by the weak).

2. We have in it (the attribute of) perilousness going on to that of satisfaction. Who is it but the superior man that, though straitened, still does not fail in making progress to his proper end?

'For the firm and correct, the (really) great man, there will be good fortune:—this is shown by the central positions of the strong (lines).

'If he make speeches, his words cannot be made good:—to be fond of arguing or pleading is the way to be reduced to extremity.

XLVI. The explanation of the first paragraph has given occasion to much difference of opinion. Some will have 'the weak (line)' to be 4; some 5; and some the whole of Khwǎn, the upper trigram. The advocates of 4, make it come from hexagram 40, the weak 3 of which ascends to the strong 4, displaces it, and takes its place; but we have seen repeatedly the folly of the doctrine of changing lines and figures. The great symbolism of Appendix II suggests the proper explanation. The lower trigram, Sun, represents here not wind but wood. The first line, weak, is the root of a tree planted beneath the earth. Its gradual growth symbolises the advance upwards of the subject of the hexagram, fostered, that is, by the circumstances of the time.

XLVII. 1. One sees the relative position of the strong and weak lines in the figure; but to deduce from that the idea expressed by Khwǎn requires a painful straining of the imagination. That idea was in the mind, and then the lines were interpreted accordingly.

2. 'Perilousness' is the attribute of the lower trigram, and 'satisfaction' that of the upper. The superior man, however straitened,

XLVIII. 1. (We have the symbol of) wood in the water and the raising of the water ; which (gives us the idea of) a well. A well supplies nourishment and is not (itself) exhausted.

2. 'The site of a town may be changed, while the fashion of its wells undergoes no change :—this is indicated by the central position of the strong lines (in the second and fifth places).

'The drawing is nearly accomplished, but the rope has not yet reached the water of the well :—its service has not yet been accomplished.

'The bucket is broken :—it is this that occasions evil.

XLIX. 1. In Ko (we see) water and fire extinguishing each other ; (we see also) two daughters dwelling together, but with their minds directed to

remains master of himself, and pursues the proper end of principle settled in his mind.

Why should the subject of Khwăn make speeches, be fond of arguing or pleading,—as the characters say, if we could translate them literally, 'setting a value on the mouth?' The reply to this is found in the trigram denoting 'satisfaction,' or 'being pleased.' The party in the extremity of Khwăn yet wishes and tries to make men pleased with him.

XLVIII. K'ang Khang-K'ang says :—'Khân, the upper trigram, represents water, and Sun, the lower, wood. This wood denotes the water-wheel or pulley with its bucket, which descends into the mouth of the spring, and brings the water up to the top.' This may be a correct explanation of the figure, though the reading of it from bottom to top seems at first to be strange.

Paragraph 2. That the fashion of the well does not undergo any (great) change is dwelt upon as illustrating the unchangeableness of the great principles of human nature and of government. But that this truth may be learned from the strong and central lines only produces a smile. So do the remarks on the other two sentences of the Thwan.

different objects :—(on account of these things) it is called (the hexagram of) Change.

2. 'It is believed in (only) after it has been accomplished :—when the change has been made, faith is accorded to it.

(We have) cultivated intelligence (as the basis of) pleased satisfaction, (suggesting) 'great progress and success,' coming from what is correct.

When change thus takes place in the proper way, 'occasion for repentance disappears.'

3. Heaven and earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions. Thang changed the appointment (of the line of Hsiâ to the throne), and Wû (that of the line of Shang), in accordance with (the will of) Heaven, and in response to (the wishes of) men. Great indeed is what takes place in a time of change.

L. 1. In Ting we have (symbolically) the figure of a caldron. (We see) the (symbol of) wood entering into that of fire, which suggests the idea of cook-

XLIX. Paragraph 1. Lî, the lower trigram, represents fire, and Tui, the upper, represents water. Water will extinguish fire, and fire again will dry up water. Each, to all appearance, produces a change in the other. Again, according to king Wăn's scheme of the trigrams, as shown on p. 33, and in Figure 1, Plate III, Lî is the second, and Tui the youngest daughter. Their wills are likely to differ in love and other things; but this symbolism does not so readily suggest the idea of change.

2. The first sentence suggests how the dislike to change on the part of people generally is overcome.

The second suggests how change proceeding from intelligence and giving general satisfaction will be successful.

Paragraph 3 tells us how the greatest natural and the greatest political changes are equally successful and admirable when conducted aright.

ing. The sages cooked their offerings in order to present them to God, and made great feasts to nourish their wise and able (ministers).

2. We have the symbol of) flexible obedience, and that (which denotes) ears quick of hearing and eyes clear-sighted. (We have also) the weak (line) advanced and acting above, in the central place, and responded to by the strong (line below). All these things give the idea of 'great progress and success.'

LI. 1. *Kǎn* (gives the intimation of) ease and development.

2. 'When the (time of) movement (which it indicates) comes, (its subject) will be found looking out with apprehension : '—that feeling of dread leads to happiness. 'And yet smiling and talking cheerfully : '—the issue (of his dread) is that he adopts (proper) laws (for his course).

'The movement (like a crash of thunder) terrifies

L. 1. See the notes on the Text of the Thwan about the figure of a caldron in Ting. Its component trigrams are Sun representing wood, and Li representing fire ; which may very well suggest the idea of cooking. The last sentence of the paragraph is entirely after the style of 'the Great Symbolism.' The Khang-hs' editors say that the distinction between *3ing* and *Ting* appears here very clearly, the former relating to the nourishment of the people, and the latter to the nourishing men of worth. They add that the reality of the offerings to God is such nourishing. 'God' is here *Shang Ti*, which Canon McClatchie translates 'the First Emperor,' adding in a note, 'The Chinese Jupiter, the Emperor of gods and men!'

2. The first sentence deduces the sentiment of the Thwan from the attributes or virtues of the trigrams with considerable amplification of the virtue of Li. The second line of Li, as being divided, calls forth in other hexagrams the same notice as here. It is the most important line in the figure, and being responded to by the strong 2, gives an indication of the 'great progress and success.'

all within a hundred li:—it startles the distant and frightens the near.

‘He will be like the sincere worshipper, who is not startled into letting go his ladle and cup of sacrificial spirits:’—he makes his appearance, and maintains his ancestral temple and the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, as presiding at all sacrifices.

LII. 1. Kǎn denotes stopping or resting;—resting when it is the time to rest, and acting when it is the time to act. When one’s movements and restings all take place at the proper time for them, his way (of proceeding) is brilliant and intelligent.

2. Resting in one’s resting-point is resting in one’s proper place. The upper and lower (lines of the hexagram) exactly correspond to each other, but are without any interaction; hence it is said that ‘(the subject of the hexagram) has no consciousness of self; that when he walks in his courtyard, he does not see (any of) the persons in it; and that there will be no error.’

LI. Paragraph 1. See what is said on the Text.

2. The explanations of the Thwan here are good; but in no way deduced from the figure.

3. The portion of the text printed in a different type is supposed to have dropt out of the Chinese copies. The explanation of it that follows is based on Wǎn’s view of Kǎn as representing the oldest son. See on the Text.

LII. 1. The Khang-hsi editors give their opinion that what is said in the first sentence of this paragraph, after the explanation of the name, illustrates the first sentence of the Thwan, and that the other sentence illustrates the rest of the Thwan. It may be so, but the whole of the Thwan appears in paragraph 2.

2. The hexagram being made up of Kǎn repeated, lines 1, 2, 3 are of course the same as 4, 5, and 6. But it will be seen that there is not a proper correlation among them all. I do not see,

LIII. 1. The advance indicated by *K'ien* is (like) the marrying of a young lady which is attended by good fortune.

2. (The lines) as they advance get into their correct places:—this indicates the achievements of a successful progress.

The advance is made according to correctness:—(the subject of the hexagram) might rectify his country.

3. Among the places (of the hexagram) we see the strong undivided line in the centre.

4. 'In (the attributes of) restfulness and flexible penetration we have (the assurance of) an (onward) movement that is inexhaustible.

LIV. 1. By *K'wei Mei* (the marrying away of a younger sister) the great and righteous relation between heaven and earth (is suggested to us). If heaven and earth were to have no intercommunication, things would not grow and flourish as they do. The marriage of a younger sister is the end (of her maidenhood) and the beginning (of her motherhood).

2. We have (in the hexagram the desire of)

however, that this furnishes any ground for the entire obliviousness of self, which the *Thwan* makes out to be in the figure.

LIII. The first sentence of paragraph 2 describes the lines from 2 to 5 all getting into their proper places, as has been pointed out on the Text, and that sentence is symbolical of what is said in the second. 'The rectification of the country' is the reality of 'the successful progress.'

'The strong undivided line' in paragraph 3 is the fifth of the figure.

Out of rest comes movement to go on for an indefinite time, and be succeeded by rest again;—as says paragraph 4.

pleasure and, on the ground of that, movement following. The marrying away is of a younger sister.

3. 'Any action will be evil : '—the places (of the lines) are not those appropriate to them.

'It will be in no wise advantageous : '— the weak (third and fifth lines) are mounted on strong lines.

LV. 1. Fǎng has the signification of being great. It is made up of the trigrams (representing)

LIV. 1. Kwei Mei in this Appendix has the meaning simply of marriage, and for Mei we might substitute Nü, 'daughter' or 'young lady.' This appears from the writer's going on to point out, as elsewhere, the analogy between the growth of things in nature from the interaction of heaven and earth and the increase of mankind through marriage. He does this with a delicate touch. There is no grossness in the original any more than there is in the translation.

But how are we to reconcile this reference to the action of heaven and earth with the bad auspice of the Thwan? The Khang-hsi editors felt the pressure of this difficulty, and they adduce a similar inconsistency in the account of hexagram 44 in this treatise, adding, 'From this we may say that the interaction of the yin and yang cannot be dispensed with, but that we ought to be careful about it in the beginning in order to prevent mischief in the end. This is the doctrine of the Yi.' This is very well, but it is no solution of the difficulty. The editors could not admit that the author of the Appendix did not understand or did not deal fairly with the Text; for that author, they thought, was Confucius.

2. The same editors say that paragraph 2 implies both that the desire for the marriage originated with the lady, and that she was aware that the gentleman was older than herself.

3. The position of a divided line above an undivided is always represented as an evil omen; it is difficult to understand why. There is less of an appearance of reason about it than in some other things which are said about the lines. The lines are where they cannot but be from the way in which the figures were formed.

intelligence and movement directed by that intelligence. It is thus that it has that signification.

2. 'The king has reached the condition (denoted by Fǎng):'—he has still to make it greater.

'There is no occasion to be anxious. Let him be as the sun at noon:'—it is for him to cause his light to shine on all under the sky.

3. When the sun has reached the meridian height, it begins to decline. When the moon has become full, it begins to wane. The (interaction of) heaven and earth is now vigorous and abundant, now dull and scanty, growing and diminishing according to the seasons. How much more must it be so with (the operations of) men! How much more also with the spiritual agency!

LVI. 1. 'Lü indicates that there may be some small attainment and progress:'—the weak (line) occupies the central place in the outer (trigram), and is obedient to the strong (lines on either side of it). (We have also the attributes of quiet) resting closely attached to intelligence (in the com-

LV. The Khang-hsi editors remark that paragraph 1 is not so much explaining the meaning of the name Fǎng, as accounting for the hexagram, composed of Lî and Kǎn, having such a meaning.

Paragraph 3 seems rather contrary to the lesson of the hexagram. According to it, prosperity cannot be maintained, any more than we can have the other seasons without winter or perpetual day without night; but the object of the essay is to exhort to the maintenance of prosperity. Is it the case that the rise of every commonwealth and cause must be followed by its decay and fall? The mind refuses to admit the changes of the seasons, &c., as a true analogy for all moral and intellectual movements. See an important remark on the concluding sentence in the Introduction, pp. 34, 35.

ponent trigrams). Hence it is said, 'There may be some small attainment and progress. If the stranger or traveller be firm and correct as he ought to be, there will be good fortune.'

2. Great is the time and great is the right course to be taken as intimated in Lü!

LVII. 1. The double Sun shows how, in accordance with it, (governmental) orders are reiterated.

2. (We see that) the strong (fifth line) has penetrated into the central and correct place, and the will (of its subject) is being carried into effect; (we see also) the weak (first and fourth lines) both obedient to the strong lines (above them). It is hence said, 'There will be some little attainment and progress. There will be advantage in movement onward in whatever direction. It will be advantageous also to see the great man.'

LVI. What is said in paragraph 1 is intended to explain the Thwan, and not to account for the meaning of the name Lü. It is assumed that Lü means a stranger; and the writer from the position of the fifth line, and from the attributes of the component trigrams, derives the ideas of humility, docility, a quiet restfulness, and intelligence as the characteristics proper to a stranger, and which are likely to lead to his attaining what he desires, and then advancing.

LVII. 1. The language of this paragraph has often occurred to me in reading commands and addresses issued by the emperors of China, such as the essays on the precepts in what is called the Sacred Edict, the reiteration employed in many of which is remarkable.

Paragraph 2. The 'obedience of the weak lines to the strong ones' grows, in a way not very perceptible, from the idea of the hexagram, and the quality of the trigram as denoting penetration and flexibility.

LVIII. 1. Tui has the meaning of pleased satisfaction.

2. (We have) the strong (lines) in the centre, and the weak (lines) on the outer edge (of the two trigrams), (indicating that) in pleasure what is most advantageous is the maintenance of firm correctness. Through this there will be found an accordance with (the will of) heaven, and a correspondence with (the feelings of) men. When (such) pleasure goes before the people, (and leads them on), they forget their toils; when it animates them in encountering difficulties, they forget (the risk of) death. How great is (the power of) this pleased satisfaction, stimulating in such a way the people!

LIX. 1. 'Hwan intimates that there will be progress and success:—(we see) the strong line (in the second place) of the lower trigram, and not suffering any extinction there; and (also) the weak line occupying its place in the outer trigram, and uniting (its action) with that of the line above.

2. 'The king goes to his ancestral temple:—the king's (mind) is without any deflection.

3. 'It will be advantageous to cross the great stream:—(the subject of the hexagram) rides in

LVIII. The feeling of pleasure going before the people and leading them on to endure toil and encounter death must be supposed to be produced in them by the example and lessons of their ruler. Lü Faû-hsien paraphrases this portion of the text thus:—'When the sage with this precedes them, he can make them endure toil without any wish to decline it, and go with him into difficulty and danger without their having any fear.' I think this was intended to be the teaching of the hexagram, but the positive expression of it is hardly discernible.

(a vessel of) wood (over water), and will do so with success.

LX. 1. 'K'ieh intimates progress and attainment:—the strong and weak (lines) are equally divided, and the strong lines occupy the central places.

2. 'If the regulations (which K'ieh prescribes) be severe and difficult, they cannot be permanent:—its course (of action) will in that case come to an end.

3. (We have the feeling of) pleasure and satisfaction directing the course amidst peril. (We have) all regulations controlled (by authority) in its proper place. (We have) free action proceeding from the central and correct position.

4. Heaven and earth observe their regular terms, and we have the four seasons complete. (If rulers) frame their measures according to (the due) regulations, the resources (of the state) suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt.

LIX. 1. This paragraph has been partially anticipated in the notes on the Thwan. The second line is said to suffer 'no extinction,' because the lower trigram is that of peril. The Khang-hsî editors say that the former part of this paragraph shows how the root of the work of the hexagram is strengthened, and the latter part how the execution of that work is secured.

The conclusion of paragraph 2 is, literally, 'The king indeed is in the middle.' This does not mean, as some say, that the king is in the middle of the temple, but that his mind or heart is exactly set on the central truth of what is right and good.

The upper trigram Sun represents both wind and wood. To explain the meaning of Hwan, the significance of wind is taken; the writer here seizes on that of wood, as furnishing materials for a boat in which the great stream can be crossed.

LX. Paragraph 1. See what is said on the Text of the Thwan.

LXI. 1. In *Kung Fû* we have the (two) weak lines in the innermost part (of the figure), and strong lines occupying the central places (in the trigrams). (We have the attributes) of pleased satisfaction and flexible penetration. Sincerity (thus symbolled) will transform a country.

2. 'Pigs and fish (are moved), and there will be good fortune:—sincerity reaches to (and affects even) pigs and fishes.

'There will be advantage in crossing the great stream:—(we see in the figure) one riding on (the emblem of) wood, which forms an empty boat.

3. In (the exercise of the virtue denoted by) *Kung Fû*, (it is said that) 'there will be advantage in being firm and correct:—in that virtue indeed we have the response (of man) to Heaven.

'Its course will come to an end' is the opposite of the intimation in *Kieh* of progress and attainment.

In paragraph 3 the writer returns to this intimation of the figure:—by the attributes of the trigrams; by the appropriate positions of lines 4 and 5; and by the central and correct place of 5.

Paragraph 4 illustrates the importance of doing things according to rule by reference to the operations of nature and the enactments and institutions of sage rulers.

LXI. 1. The structure of the lineal figure which is here insisted on has been pointed out in explaining the *Thwan*. On what is further said as to the attributes of the trigrams and their effect, *K'ang-ze* observes:—'We have in the sincerity shown in the upper trigram superiors condescending to those below them in accordance with their peculiarities, and we have in that of the lower those below delighted to follow their superiors. The combination of these two things leads to the transformation of the country and state.'

Paragraph 2. The two divided lines in the middle of the figure are supposed to give the semblance of an empty boat, and an

LXII. 1. In Hsião Kwo (we see) the small (lines) exceeding the others, and (giving the intimation of) progress and attainment.

2. Such 'exceeding, in order to its being advantageous, must be associated with firmness and correctness:—that is, it must take place (only) according to (the requirements of) the time.

3. The weak (lines) are in the central places, and hence (it is said that what the name denotes) may be done in small affairs, and there will be good fortune.

4. Of the strong (lines one) is not in its proper place, and (the other) is not central, hence it is said that (what the name denotes) 'should not be done in great affairs.'

5. (In the hexagram) we have 'the symbol of a bird on the wing, and of the notes that come down from such a bird, for which it is better to descend than to ascend, thereby leading to great good fortune:—to ascend is contrary to what is reasonable in the case, while to descend is natural and right.

empty boat, it is said (with doubtful truth), is not liable to be upset. The trigram Sun symbolises both wind and wood.

A good commentary on paragraph 3 is supplied in many passages of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' e. g. chap. 20. 18:—'Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men.'

LXII. Paragraph 1. That the small lines exceed the others appears at a glance. The intimation of progress and attainment is less clear. Compare the first paragraph of Appendix I to hexagram 33.

'The requirements of the time' in paragraph 2 cannot make

LXIII. 1. 'K'î 3î intimates progress and success:—in small matters, that is, there will be that progress and success.

2. 'There will be advantage in being firm and correct:—the strong and weak (lines) are correctly arranged, each in its appropriate place.

3. 'There has been good fortune in the beginning:—the weak (second line) is in the centre.

4. 'In the end' there is a cessation (of effort), and 'disorder arises:—the course (that led to rule and order) is (now) exhausted.

LXIV. 1. 'Wei 3î intimates progress and success (in the circumstances which it implies):—the weak (fifth) line is in the centre.

2. 'The young fox has nearly crossed the stream:—but he has not yet escaped from the midst (of the danger and calamity).

right wrong or wrong right; but they may modify the conventional course to be taken in any particular case.

It is easy to explain paragraphs 3 and 4, but what is said in them carries no conviction to the mind.

The sentiment of paragraph 5 is good, apart from the symbolism, which is only perplexing.

LXIII. For paragraphs 1 and 2, see the note on the Text of the Thwan.

It is difficult to see the concatenation in paragraph 3 between the sentiment of the Thwan and the nature of the second line. The Khang-hsî editors compare this hexagram and the next with 11 and 12, observing that the goodness of Thâi (11) is concentrated, as here, in the second line.

The sentiment of paragraph 4 is that which we have often met with,—that things move on with a constant process of change. Disorder succeeds to order, and again order to disorder.

‘Its tail gets immersed. There will be no advantage in any way:’—there is not at the end a continuance (of the purpose) at the beginning. Although the places (of the different lines) are not those appropriate to them, yet a strong (line) and a weak (line always) respond to each other.

LXIV. Paragraph 1. The indication is derived from the fifth line, divided, which is in the ruler’s place. It occupies a strong place, has for its correlate the strong 2, and is itself in the centre of the yin trigram Lî.

Paragraph 2. Line 2 represents ‘the young fox.’ A strong line in the midst of the trigram of peril, its subject will be restless; and responding to the ruler in 5, he will be forward and incautious in taking action. The issue will be evil, and the latter end different from the beginning. What is said in the last sentence shows further how Wei 3î indicates progress.

APPENDIX II.

Treatise on the Symbolism of the Hexagrams, and of the duke /
of Kâu's Explanations of the several Lines.

SECTION I.

I. Heaven, in its motion, (gives the idea of) strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity.

1. 'The dragon lies hid in the deep;—it is not the time for active doing : '—(this appears from) the strong and undivided line's being in the lowest place.

2. 'The dragon appears in the field : '—the diffusion of virtuous influence has been wide.

3. 'Active and vigilant all the day : '—(this refers to) the treading of the (proper) path over and over again.

4. 'He seems to be leaping up, but is still in the deep : '—if he advance, there will be no error.

5. 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky : '—the great man rouses himself to his work.

6. 'The dragon exceeds the proper limits;—there will be occasion for repentance : '—a state of fulness, that is, should not be indulged in long.

7. 'The same undivided line is used' (in all the places of this hexagram), but the attribute of heaven (thereby denoted) should not (always) take the foremost place.

Like the Text under each hexagram, what is said under each in this treatise on its symbolism is divided into two portions. The

II. The (capacity and sustaining) power of the earth is what is denoted by *Khwān*. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue supports (men and) things.

1. 'He is treading on hoarfrost;—the strong ice will come (by and by):'—the cold (air) has begun to take form. Allow it to go on quietly according to its nature, and (the hoarfrost) will come to strong ice.

2. The movement indicated by the second line, divided, is 'from the straight (line) to the square.' '(Its operation), without repeated effort, in every way advantageous,' shows the brilliant result of the way of earth.

3. 'He keeps his excellence under restraint, but firmly maintains it:'—at the proper time he will manifest it. 'He may have occasion to engage in the king's service:'—great is the glory of his wisdom.

first is called 'the Great Symbolism,' and is occupied with the tri-grammatic composition of the hexagram, to the statement of which is always subjoined an exhibition of the use which should be, or has been, made of the lesson suggested by the meaning of the whole figure in the administration of affairs, or in self-government. If the treatise be rightly ascribed to Confucius, this practical application of the teaching of the symbols is eminently characteristic of his method in inculcating truth and duty; though we often find it difficult to trace the connexion between his premiss and conclusion. This portion of the treatise will be separated by a double space from what follows,—'the Lesser Symbolism,' in the explanations of the several lines.

I. *K'ien* is formed by redoubling the trigram of the same name. In the case of other hexagrams of similar formation, the repetition of the trigram is pointed out. That is not done here, according to *K'ü Hsi*, 'because there is but one heaven.' But the motion of heaven is a complete revolution every day, resumed again the next; so moves 'the unwearied sun from day to day,' making it a good symbol of renewed, untiring effort.

4. 'A sack tied up;—there will be no error:—this shows how, through carefulness, no injury will be received.

5. 'The yellow lower-garment;—there will be great good fortune:—this follows from that ornamental (colour's) being in the right and central place.

6. 'The dragons fight in the wild:—the (onward) course (indicated by Khwăn) is pursued to extremity.

7. '(The lines are all weak and divided, as appears from) the use of the number six:—but (those who are thus represented) becoming perpetually correct and firm, there will thereby be a great consummation.

II. Khwăn is formed by redoubling the trigram of the same name and having 'the earth for its symbol.' As in the former hexagram, the repetition is emphatic, not otherwise affecting the meaning of the hexagram. 'As there is but one heaven,' says Kû Hsi, 'so there is but one earth.' The first part of 'the Great Symbolism' appears in Canon McClatchie's version as—'Khwăn is the generative part of earth.' By 'generative part' he probably means 'the productive or prolific faculty.' If he mean anything else, there comes out a conclusion antagonistic to his own view of the 'mythology' of the Yî. The character Shî, which he translates by 'generative part,' is defined in Dr. Williams' dictionary as 'the virility of males.' Such is the special significance of it. If it were so used here, the earth would be masculine.

It is difficult to say exactly what the writer meant by—'The superior man, in accordance with this, and with his large nature, supports (men and) things.' Lin Hsi-yüan (Ming dynasty) says:—'The superior man, in his single person, sustains the burden of all under the sky. The common people depend on him for their rest and enjoyment. Birds and beasts and creeping things, and the tribes of the vegetable kingdom, depend on him for the fulfilment of their destined being. If he be of a narrow mind and cold virtue, how can he help them? Their hope in him would be in vain.'

'The Smaller Symbolism' is sufficiently dealt with in the notes on the Text.

III. (The trigram representing) clouds and (that representing) thunder form *Kun*. The superior man, in accordance with this, (adjusts his measures of government) as in sorting the threads of the warp and woof.

1. Although 'there is a difficulty in advancing,' the mind (of the subject of the line) is set on doing what is correct. While noble, he humbles himself to the mean, and grandly gains the people.

2. The difficulty (to the subject of) the second line, divided, arises from its place over the undivided line below it. 'The union and children after ten years' shows things resuming their regular course.

3. 'One pursues the deer without the (guidance of the) forester:—(he does so) in (his eagerness to) follow the game. 'The superior man gives up the chase, (knowing that) if he go forward he will regret it:—he would be reduced to extremity.

4. 'Going forward after such a search (for a helper)' shows intelligence.

5. 'Difficulty is experienced (by the subject of the fifth line) in bestowing his rich favours:—the extent to which they reach will not yet be conspicuous.

6. 'He weeps tears of blood in streams:—how can the state (thus emblemed) continue long?

III. *Khan* represents water, especially in the form of rain. Here its symbol is a cloud. The whole hexagram seems to place us in the atmosphere of a thunderous sky overhung with thick and gloomy clouds, when we feel oppressed and distressed. This is not a bad emblem of the political state in the mind of the writer. When the thunder has pealed, and the clouds have discharged their

IV. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and beneath it that for a spring issuing forth from Mǎng. The superior man, in accordance with this, strives to be resolute in his conduct and nourishes his virtue.

1. 'It will be advantageous to use punishment:'—the object being to bring under the influence of correcting law.

2. 'A son able to (sustain the burden of) his family:'—as appears from the reciprocation between this strong line and the weak (fifth line).

3. 'A woman (such as is here represented) should not be taken in marriage:'—her conduct is not agreeable to what is right.

4. 'The regret arising from ignorance bound in chains' is due to the special distance of (the subject of this line) from the solidity (shown in lines 2 and 6).

5. 'The good fortune belonging to the simple lad without experience' comes from his docility going on to humility.

burden of rain, the atmosphere is cleared, and there is a feeling of relief. But I fail again to discern clearly the connexion between the symbolism and the lesson about the superior man's administration of affairs.

The subject of the first line of the Smaller Symbolism is represented by the undivided line, and therefore is firm and correct. He is noble, but his place is below the divided lines, symbols of the weak and mean (see Appendix IV, i, 1).

Line 2. 'Things resume their regular course:'—the subject is now at liberty to seek a union with the subject of line 5, according to the rules of the symbolism. Lines 1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6, the corresponding lines of the trigrams, are correlates.

The subject of line 4 naturally recurs to the correlate in line 1. He is the natural helper in the case, and he has the ability.

6. 'Advantage will come from warding off injury:'—(the subject of this line) above and (the ignorant) below, all do and are done to in accordance with their nature.

V. (The trigram for) clouds ascending over that

IV. 'The spring here issuing forth' is different from the defile with a stream in it, in the explanation of the Thwan; different moreover from 'rain,' mentioned also as the phenomenon which is the natural symbol of Khan. The presence of water, however, is common to the three. But the water of the spring, or of the stream, would flow away from the hill, and not be stopped by it; as an emblem therefore of the ignorance and inexperience denoted by Măng it is not suitable. Kû Hsî says that 'the water of a spring is sure to move on and gradually advance.' This may serve as a symbol of the general process and progress of education, though it gives no account of the symbolism of the hill. It serves also to explain in part the transition of the writer to the subject of the superior man, and his dealing apparently with himself.

Does line 1 set forth the use of punishment as the dernier resort, undesirable, but possibly unavoidable, to bring men in subjection to law?

The force of line 2 comes out fully in the Thwan.

That a woman such as is represented in line 3 should not be taken in marriage is clear enough; but I do not see the bearing of the illustration on the proper lesson in the hexagram.

Line 3 separates 4 from 2, and 5 separates it from 6. Weak in itself, it is farther removed than any other from the two strong lines in the hexagram, and is represented as 'cribbed' in its ignorance.

The fifth is the most honourable place in the figure, and here is occupied by a weak line. This looks, however, to the occupant of line 2, less honourable than itself, and is marked by the two attributes that are named. Compare what is said on line 2.

A strong line in the topmost place must represent, according to the scheme of the hexagram, one who uses force in the cause of education; but the force is put forth not on the ignorant, but on those who would keep them ignorant, or increase their ignorance. The subject of this line, therefore, acts according to his nature, and the subjects of all the weak lines below are cared for as is best for them.

for the sky forms Hsü. The superior man, in accordance with this, eats and drinks, feasts and enjoys himself (as if there were nothing else to employ him).

1. 'He is waiting in the (distant) border:—he makes no movement to encounter rashly the difficulties (of the situation). 'It will be advantageous for him constantly to maintain (the purpose thus shown), in which case there will be no error:—he will not fail to pursue that regular course.

2. 'He is waiting on the sand:—he occupies his position in the centre with a generous forbearance. Though 'he suffer the small injury of being spoken (against),' he will bring things to a good issue.

3. 'He is waiting in the mud:—calamity is (close at hand, and as it were) in the outer (trigram). 'He himself invites the approach of injury:—if he be reverent and careful, he will not be worsted.

4. 'He is waiting in (the place of) blood:—he accommodates himself (to the circumstances of the time), and hearkens to (its requirements).

5. 'The appliances of a feast, and the good fortune through being firm and correct,' are indicated by (the position in) the central and correct place.

6. 'Guests come unurged (to give their help), and if (the subject of the line) receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end:—though the occupant and the place are not suited to each other, there has been no great failure (in what has been done).

V. 'The cloud,' it is said, 'that has risen to the top of the sky, has nothing more to do till it is called on, in the harmony of heaven

VI. (The trigram representing) heaven and (that representing) water, moving away from each other, form Sung. The superior man, in accordance with this, in the transaction of affairs takes good counsel about his first steps.

1. 'He does not perpetuate the matter about which (the contention is):'—contention should not be prolonged. Although 'he may suffer the small (injury) of being spoken against,' his argument is clear.

2. 'He is unequal to the contention; he retires and keeps concealed, stealthily withdrawing from it:'—for him from his lower place to contend with (the stronger one) above, would be to (invite) calamity, as if he brought it with his hand to himself.

3. 'He confines himself to the support assigned

and earth, to discharge its store of rain.' This gives to the writer the idea of waiting; and the superior man is supposed to be taught by this symbolism to enjoy his idle time, while he is waiting for the approach of danger and occasion for action.

'The regular course' of the subject of line 1 seems to be the determination to wait, at a distance from danger, the proper time to act.

The subject of line 2, which is undivided and in the centre, is thereby shown to be possessed of a large and generous forbearance.

The recognition of the circumstances of the time, and hearkening to its requirements, explain, in paragraph 4, 'the retreat from the cavern,' which is not here repeated from the Text. The line being weak and divided, its subject knows his own incompetency, and takes this prudent step.

K'û says that he does not understand what is said under line 6,—that the occupant and the place are not suited to each other, for the yin line being in the sixth, an even place, seems to be where it ought to be. We are only surprised that cases of inconsistency in these explanations are not more numerous.

to him of old:’—(thus) following those above him, he will have good fortune.

4. ‘He returns to (the study of Heaven’s) ordinances, changes (his wish to contend), and rests in being firm and correct:’—he does not fail (in doing what is right).

5. ‘He contends;—and with great fortune:’—this is shown by his holding the due mean and being in the correct place.

6. ‘He receives the robe through his contention:’—but still he is not deserving of respect.

VII. (The trigram representing) the earth and in the midst of it that representing water, form Sze. The superior man, in accordance with this, nourishes and educates the people, and collects (from among them) the multitudes (of the hosts).

I. ‘The host goes forth according to the rules (for) such a movement:’—if those rules be not observed, there will be evil.

VI. The symbolism here is different from that in the Text of the Thwan. We have the visible sky ascending and water or rain descending, which indicate, one hardly sees how, opposition and contention. The lesson as to the course of the superior man is a good one, but might with equal propriety be deduced from many other hexagrams.

Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says that the first part of paragraph 2 is all to be taken as the language of the duke of Kâu, the characters being varied; the rest is the remark of the writer of this treatise.

It is observed that the returning to (the study of Heaven’s) ordinances, and changing the wish to contend, in paragraph 4, are not two things, but only one; ‘the ordinances (ming) meaning what is right in principle.’ The wish to contend was wrong in principle, and is now abandoned.

‘The robe’ takes the place of ‘the leathern sash’ in paragraph 6; but the sash was merely an appendage of the robe.

2. 'He is in the midst of the host, and there will be good fortune:—he has received the favour of Heaven. 'The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders (of) his favour:—(the king) cherishes the myriad regions in his heart.

3. 'The host with the possibility of its having many idle leaders:—great will be its want of success.

4. 'The host is in retreat; but there is no error:—there has been no failure in the regular course.

5. 'The oldest son leads the host:—its movements are directed by him in accordance with his position in the centre. 'Younger men idly occupy their positions:—the employment of such men is improper.

6. 'The great ruler delivers his charges:—thereby he rightly apportions merit. 'Small men should not be employed:—they are sure to throw the states into confusion.

VII. 'The Great Symbolism' here is not more satisfactory than in other paragraphs of it which have already come before us. *K'ü Hsi* says:—'As the water is not outside the earth, so soldiers are not outside the people. Therefore if (a ruler) be able to nourish the people, he can get the multitudes (of his hosts).' Is the meaning this,—that originally the people and soldiers are one body; that a portion of the people are taken out from among the mass, as occasion requires, to do the duty of soldiers; and that the nourishment and education of the people is the best way to have good soldiers ready for use on any emergency? Compare the saying of Confucius in *Analects XIII, xxx*.

What is said on the second line, that the general 'has received the favour of Heaven,' refers of course to the entire confidence reposed in him by the ruler or king, the subject of line 5. In this way Thien here is equal to Thien wang, so frequent in the 'Spring and Autumn,' and meaning—'King by the grace of

VIII. (The trigram representing) the earth, and over it (that representing) water, form P1. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, established the various states and maintained an affectionate relation to their princes.

1. From 'the seeking union with its object' shown in the first line, divided, there will be other advantages.

2. 'The movement towards union and attachment proceeds from the inward (mind):'—(the party concerned) does not fail in what is proper to himself.

3. 'Union is sought with such as ought not to be associated with:'—but will not injury be the result?

4. 'Union is sought (by the party intended here) with one beyond himself, and (in this case) with a worthy object:'—he is following (the ruler) above him.

5. 'The good fortune belonging to the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment' appears in the correct and central position (of the fifth line, undivided).

(The king's) neglecting (the animals) confronting him (and then fleeing), and (only) taking those who present themselves as it were obediently, is seen in

Heaven.' But the great powers given to the general are from the king's wish through him to promote the good of all the nation.

In military operations there must be one ruling will and mind. A divided authority is sure to be a failure. But 'a retreat' is no evidence of failure in a campaign. When advance would lead to disaster, retreat is the regular course to pursue.

Other ways can be found to reward small men. They ought not to be placed in situations where the condition of others will depend on them.

'his allowing the escape of those in front of him.' 'That the people of his towns do not warn one another (to prevent such escape),' shows how he, in his high eminence, has made them pursue the due course.

6. 'He seeks union and attachment without taking the first (step to such an end):'—there is no possibility of a (good) issue.

IX. (The trigram representing) the sky, and that representing wind moving above it, form Hsiao *K'ên*. The superior man, in accordance with this, adorns the outward manifestation of his virtue.

1. 'He returns and pursues his own path:'—it is right that there should be good fortune.

2. 'By the attraction (of the subject of the former line) he returns (to its own course),' and is in the central place:—neither will he err in what is due from him.

3. 'Husband and wife look on each other with averted eyes:'—(the subject of line three is like a

VIII. 'Water upon the face of the earth' is supposed to be an emblem of close union. Of the mere fact of close union this may be accepted as a fair illustration, and of its completeness. Some other symbolism might set forth better the tendency of parties to union, and their seeking it. What is said about the ancient kings is more pertinent to the meaning of the hexagram than in many other applications in 'the Great Symbolism.' The king appears in it not only as the centre, but as the cause, of union.

'The other advantages' under line 1 refer to all the benefits that will result from sincerity and union, which are in themselves good.

It is hardly possible to make what is said under line 5, on the royal huntings, agree with the account of them given on the same line in the duke of *K'âu*'s text. I suspect that there is some corruption of the text. The two verbs 'neglecting' and 'taking' seem to be used, the one for the other.

husband who) cannot maintain correctly his relations with his wife.

4. 'He is possessed of sincerity; his (ground for) apprehension is dismissed:—(the subjects of the lines) above agree in aim with him.

5. 'He is possessed of sincerity, and draws others to unite with him:—he does not use only his own rich resources.

6. 'The rain has fallen and (the onward progress) is stayed:—the power (denoted in the figure) has accumulated to the full. 'If the superior man prosecute his measures, there will be evil:—he will find himself obstructed.

IX. The suitability of the symbolism here is made all to turn on the wind. 'Wind,' says *K'ü*, 'is simply the air, without solid substance; it can restrain, but not for long.' The wind moves in the sky for a time, and then ceases. The process of thought from the symbol to the lesson is not easily traced. Is it meant to say that virtue manifesting itself outwardly—in the carriage and speech—is, however good, but a small matter, admirable in an officer, or even a feudal lord, but that we look for more in a king, the Head of a nation?

K'äng-ze calls attention to the addition to the duke of *K'âu*'s explanation in the notice on line 2, that 'it is in the central place,' adding that this explains how the subject of the line restrains himself, and does not go beyond what is due from him.

Only half of the symbolism in the Text of line 3 is taken up here. Line 1, it is said, is far from line 4, the *mauvais sujet* of the hexagram, and little affected by it; line 2 is nearer, but, being in the centre, suffers little; line 3 is close on it, and, not being in the centre, comes under its evil influence; while line 6 gives no help.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place, appropriate to it; and hence its subject is said to 'have sincerity.' Being the first line, moreover, of Sun, the two others take their character from it.

Line 5, being undivided, and occupying the most important place in the figure, according to the value usually attached to the lines, is

X. (The trigram representing) the sky above, and below it (that representing the waters of) a marsh, form Lt. The superior man, in accordance with this, discriminates between high and low, and gives settlement to the aims of the people.

1. 'He treads his accustomed path and goes forward:—singly and exclusively he carries out his (long-cherished) wishes.

2. 'A quiet and solitary man, to whom, being firm and correct, there will be good fortune:—holding the due mean, he will not allow himself to be thrown into disorder.

3. 'A one-eyed man (who thinks that he) can see:—he is not fit to see clearly. 'A lame man (who thinks that he can) tread well:—one cannot walk along with him. 'The ill fortune of being bitten' arises from the place not being the proper one for him. 'A (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler:—this is owing to his aims being (too) violent.

4. 'He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune:—his aim takes effect.

5. 'He treads resolutely; and though he be firm and correct, there is peril:—this is due to his being in the position that is correct and appropriate to him.

said 'to be rich,' or 'to have rich resources.' With these he unites with the 'subjects' of line 4 to effect their common object.

Under line 6 we are told that the restraint is at its height, and the restrained should keep still for a time. The paragraph is metrical. The paragraphs to lines 1, 2, 3, all rhyme together. So do those to 4, 5; and now under 6, we have a couplet:—

'Lo! rain, lo! rest, the power is full!
Good man! hold hard. Obstructions rule.'

6. 'There will be great good fortune,' and that in the occupancy of the topmost line :—this is great matter for congratulation.

XI. (The trigrams for) heaven and earth in communication together form Thâi. The (sage) sovereign, in harmony with this, fashions and completes (his regulations) after the courses of heaven and earth, and assists the application of the adaptations furnished by them,—in order to benefit the people.

1. 'The good fortune of advance, (as suggested by the emblem of) the grass pulled up,' arises from the will (of the party intended) being set on what is external to himself.

2. 'He bears with the uncultivated, and proves himself acting in accordance with the due mean :—for (his intelligence is) bright and (his capacity is) great.

3. 'There is no going away so that there shall not be a return' refers to this as the point where the interaction of heaven and earth takes place.

4. 'He comes fluttering (down), not relying on

X. 'The sky above and a marsh lying below it is true,' says *Khâng-ze*, 'in nature and reason; and so should be the rules of propriety on which men tread.' This symbolism is far-fetched; and so is the application of it, if in any way drawn from it. But it is true that the members of a community or nation must keep their several places and duties in order to its being in a state of good order.

For lines 1, 2, 3, and 4, see notes on the Text.

If we might translate the conclusion of what is said on line 5, by—'in the position that is correctly appropriate to him,' the meaning would be more clear, though still the assumption which I have pointed out on the Text would underlie the statement; and as evidently as there, what is said under line 6 is but a truism.

his own rich resources:—both he and his neighbours are out of their real (place where they are). ‘They have not received warning, but (come) in the sincerity (of their hearts):’—this is what they have desired in the core of their hearts.

5. ‘By such a course there is happiness, and there will be great good fortune:’—(the subject of the line) employs the virtue proper to his central position to carry his wishes into effect.

6. ‘The city wall returned back into the moat’ shows how the (governmental) orders have (long) been in disorder.

XII. (The trigrams of) heaven and earth, not in intercommunication, form Phī. The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains (the manifestation) of his virtue, and avoids the calamities (that threaten him). There is no opportunity of conferring on him the glory of emolument.

XI. It is difficult to translate the application of ‘the Great Symbolism’ here, so that it shall be intelligible to a reader. *Khǎng-ze* says:—‘A ruler should frame his laws and regulations so that the people may avail themselves of the seasons of heaven, and of the advantages afforded by the earth, assisting their transforming and nourishing services, and completing their abundant and admirable benefits. Thus the breath of spring, calling forth all vegetable life, gives the law for sowing and planting; the breath of autumn, completing and solidifying all things, gives the law for ingathering and storing,’ &c.

The subject of line 1 has ‘his will on what is external to himself:’—he is bent on going forward.

K’û Hsî explains what is said on paragraph 4, that the upper lines ‘are out of their real place where they are,’ or, literally, ‘have lost their substantiality,’ by the remark that ‘their proper place, as being weak lines, is below.’ The editors of the imperial edition prefer another explanation, on which I need not enter.

1. 'The good fortune through firm goodness, (suggested by) the pulling up of the grass,' arises from the will (of the parties intended) being bent on (serving) the ruler.

2. 'The great man, comporting himself as the distress and obstruction require, will have success:'—he does not allow himself to be disordered by the herd (of small men).

3. That 'his shame is folded in his breast' is owing to the inappropriateness of his position.

4. 'He acts in accordance with the ordination (of Heaven), and commits no error:'—the purpose of his mind can be carried into effect.

5. 'The good fortune of the great man' arises from the correctness of his position.

6. 'The distress and obstruction having reached its end, it is overthrown and removed:'—how could it be prolonged?

XII. 'The Great Symbolism' here is sufficiently explained in the first Appendix. The application, however, is here again difficult, though we may try to find in it a particular instance of the interruption of communication,—in great merit not meeting with its reward.

The subject of the first line is one of the cluster of small men who are able to change their mind, and set their hearts to love their ruler.

The subject of the second line is a 'great man,' and occupies the place in the centre.

The subject of the third line is weak, and does not occupy his correct position;—hence the symbolism.

The fourth line is near the fifth, the ruler's place. It is a strong line in an even place; but acting according to the will of Heaven or of the ruler, its subject gets his purpose carried out.

The subject of the fifth line is the great man, the ruler in his right place. Hence he is successful, and in the last line, we see

XIII. (The trigrams for) heaven and fire form Thung Zăn. The superior man, in accordance with this), distinguishes things according to their kinds and classes.

1. '(The representative of) the union of men is just issuing from his gate : '—who will blame him ?

2. '(The representative of) the union of men appears in relation with his kindred : '—that is the path to regret.

3. 'He hides his arms in the thick grass : '—because of the strength of his opponent. 'For three years he makes no demonstration : '—how can he do anything ?

4. 'He is mounted on his city-wall ; ' but yielding to the right, 'he does not proceed to make the attack (he contemplated).' (Where it is said), 'There will be good fortune,' (that shows how) he feels the strait he is in, and returns to the rule of law.

5. The first action of (the representative of) the union of men (here described) arises from his central position and straightforward character. 'The meeting secured by his great host' intimates that the opponents of it have been overcome.

6. '(The representative of) the union of men appears in the suburbs : '—his object has not yet been attained.

how the distress and obstruction are come to an end. It was in the order of change that they should do so.

XIII. The style of 'heaven and fire form Thung Zăn' is such as to suggest the appearance of fire ascending up, blazing to the sky, and uniting with it. The application of the symbolism is again perplexing.

In line 1, the party just issuing from his gate has all the world

XIV. (The trigram for) heaven and (that of) fire above it form Tâ Yû. The superior man, in accordance with this, represses what is evil and gives distinction to what is good, in sympathy with the excellent Heaven-conferred (nature).

1. This first line, undivided, of Tâ Yû shows no approach to what is injurious.

2. 'A large waggon with its load' refers to the (virtue) accumulated (in the subject of the line), so that he will suffer no loss (in the conduct of affairs).

3. 'A feudal prince presents his offerings to the son of Heaven:'—a small man (in such a position) does (himself) harm.

4. 'He keeps his great resources under restraint:'—his wisdom discriminates clearly (what he ought to do).

5. 'His sincerity is reciprocated by all the others:'—his sincerity serves to stir and call out what is in their minds. 'The good fortune springing from a display of proper majesty' shows how they might (otherwise) feel too easy, and make no preparation (to serve him).

before him, with which to unite. Selfish thoughts disposing to union have no place in him.

In line 2, union (only) with kindred implies narrowness of mind.

For line 3, see note on the Text.

In line 4, stress should be laid on 'yielding to the right.'

For line 5, see note on the Text.

The Khang-hsi editors append the following note to the last paragraph:—'Under line 1 it is said that "union in the open country indicates progress and success," while here it is only said that "with union in the suburbs there is no cause for repentance." Beyond the suburbs was the open country, and till the union reached so far, the object of the hexagram was not attained. We may truly say that Confucius was a skilful reader of the duke of Kâu.' Of course the editors did not doubt Confucius' authorship of all the Appendixes.

6. 'The good' fortune attached to the topmost line of Tâ Yû' arises from the help of Heaven.

XV. (The trigram for) the earth and (that of) a mountain in the midst of it form *K'ien*. The superior man, in accordance with this, diminishes what is excessive (in himself), and increases where there is any defect, bringing about an equality, according to the nature of the case, in his treatment (of himself and others).

1. 'The superior man who adds humility to humility' is one who nourishes his (virtue) in lowliness.

2. 'The good fortune consequent on being firm and correct, where the humility has made itself recognised,' is owing to the possessor's having (the virtue) in the core of his heart.

3. 'The superior man of (acknowledged) merit, and yet humble:'—the myriads of the people will submit to him.

4. 'One, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirs up his humility the more:'—(but in doing so) he does not act contrary to the (proper) rule.

5. 'He may advantageously use the force of arms:'—correcting, that is, those who do not submit.

XIV. 'Fire above the sky' will shine far; and this is supposed to symbolise the vastness of the territory or of the wealth implied in the possession of what is great. The superior man, in governing men, especially in a time of prosperity and wealth, must set himself to develop what is good in them, and repress what is evil. And this will be in accordance with the will of Heaven, which has given to all men a nature fitted for goodness.

All the comment that is necessary on the symbolism of the several lines may be gathered from the comments on the Text.

6. 'His humility has made itself recognised :— (but) all his aims have not yet been attained. 'He may employ the force of arms, (but only) in correcting (his own) towns and state.'

XVI. (The trigrams for) the earth and thunder issuing from it with its crashing noise form Yü. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, composed their music and did honour to virtue, presenting it especially and most grandly to God,

XV. The earth is low, and in the midst of it is a high mountain; but I fail to see how this can symbolise humility. Nor does Regis' representation of it much improve the case:—'Monte' (ait glossa) 'nihil est altius in terra, quae est summe abjecta. At cum is declivis sit, imago esse potest humilis modestiae.' I find the following note on the paragraph in my copy of the 'Daily Lessons' (see Preface):—'The five yin lines above and below symbolise the earth; the one yang line in the centre is "the mountain in the midst of the earth." The many yin lines represent men's desires; the one yang line, heavenly principle. The superior man, looking at this symbolism, diminishes the multitude of human desires within him, and increases the single shoot of heavenly principle; so does he become grandly just, and can deal with all things evenly according to the nature of each. In whatever circumstances or place he is, he will do what is right.' This is certainly very ingenious, but one shrinks from accepting a view that is not based on the component trigrams.

Under line 1, 'nourishes his (virtue)' is, literally, 'pastures himself.' He is all humility. That makes him what he is.

Under line 4, 'the (proper) rule' is the rule proper for the subject of the line in his circumstances so near the place of the ruler.

Under line 5, 'the refusal to submit' makes an appeal to force necessary. Even the best and humblest ruler bears the sword, and must not bear it in vain.

K'ü Hsi bases all that is said under line 6 on its being a weak line; so that the humble ruler is unable even at the close of the action described in the figure to accomplish all his objects, and must limit his field even in appealing to arms.

when they associated with Him (at the service) their highest ancestor and their father.

1. 'The (subject of the) first line proclaims his pleasure and satisfaction : '—there will be evil ; his wishes have been satisfied to overflowing.

2. '(He sees a thing) without waiting till it has come to pass ; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune : '—this is shown by the central and correct position (of the line).

3. 'He looks up (for favours), while he indulges the feeling of satisfaction ; there will be occasion for repentance : '—this is intimated by the position not being the appropriate one.

4. 'From him the harmony and satisfaction come ; great is the success which he obtains : '—his aims take effect on a grand scale.

5. '(The subject of) the fifth line has a chronic complaint : '—this is shown by his being mounted on the strong (line). 'He still lives on without dying : '—he is in the central position, (and its memories of the past) have not yet perished.

6. 'With darkened mind devoted to the harmony and satisfaction (of the time), 'as shown in the top-most (line) :—how can one in such a condition continue long ?

XVI. 'The Great Symbolism' here is more obscure than usual. A thunderstorm clears the air and removes the feeling of oppression, of which one is conscious before its occurrence. Is this all that is meant by making the trigrams of the earth and thunder form Yü, the hexagram of harmony and satisfaction? What is meant, moreover, by making the thunder 'issue,' as the Chinese text says, from the earth? Then as to the application of this symbolism, I can trace the author's idea but imperfectly. To say that the thunder crash suggested the use of music, as some critics do, is

XVII. (The trigram for the waters of) a marsh and (that for) thunder (hidden) in the midst of it form Sui. The superior man in accordance with this, when it is getting towards dark, enters (his house) and rests.

1. 'He is changing the object of his pursuit:'—but if he follow what is correct, there will be good fortune. 'He goes beyond (his own) gate to find associates:'—he will not fail (in the method he pursues).

2. 'He cleaves to the little boy:'—he cannot be with the two at the same time.

3. 'He cleaves to the man of age and experience:'—by the decision of his will, he abandons (the youth) below.

4. 'He is followed and obtains adherents:'—according to the idea (of the hexagram), this is evil. 'He is sincere in his course:'—showing his intelligence, and leading to achievement.

5. 'He is sincere in fostering what is excellent:'—his position is correct and in the centre.

absurd. The use of music at sacrifices, however, as assisting the union produced by those services between God and his worshippers, and the present and past generations, agrees with the general idea of the figure. I must suppose that the writer had in mind the sacrifices instituted by the duke of Kâu, as related in the Hsião King, chap. ix.

Pleasure has operated injuriously on the subject of line 1. He calls attention to himself.

Only a part of the symbolism of line 2 is referred to here. Such an omission is not uncommon;—as in lines 3 and 4 also.

With 'the memories of the past not perishing' compare Mencius, II, Section i, chap. 1. 6-13.

In line 6 the action of the hexagram is over. If one puts off changing his evil way any longer, there remains no more hope for him.

6. 'The sincerity is firmly held and clung to, as shown in the topmost line:—(the idea of the hexagram) has reached its extreme development.

XVIII. (The trigram for) a mountain, and below it that for wind, form Kû. The superior man, in accordance with this, (addresses himself to) help the people and nourish his own virtue.

1. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father:—he feels that he has entered into the work of his father.

2. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his mother:—he holds to the course of the due mean.

3. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father:—in the end there will be no error.

4. 'He views indulgently the troubles caused by his father:—if he go forward, he will not succeed.

5. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father, and obtains praise:—he is responded to (by the subject of line two) with all his virtue.

XVII. An explosion of thunder amidst the waters of a marsh would be succeeded by a tremulous agitation of those waters; so far there would be a following of the movement of the lower trigram by the upper. Then in the application of the symbolism we have an illustration of action following the time, that is, according to the time; which is a common use of the Chinese character Sui. Neither the symbolism, however, nor its application adds much to our understanding of the text.

Paragraph 1 consists of two lines that rhyme; and paragraphs 4 (two lines), 5, and 6 do the same. According to Kû Yen-wû, paragraphs 2 and 3 also rhyme; but this appears to me doubtful. The symbolism of these paragraphs is sufficiently explained in the notes on the Text. Some peculiarities in their style (in Chinese) are owing to the bonds of the rhyme.

6. 'He does not serve either king or feudal lord:—
but his aim may be a model (to others).

XIX. (The trigram for) the waters of a marsh
and that for the earth above it form Lin. The
superior man, in accordance with this, has his pur-
poses of instruction that are inexhaustible, and
nourishes and supports the people without limit.

1. 'The good fortune through the firm correct-
ness of (the subject of the first line) advancing in
company (with the subject of the second)' is due to
his will being set on doing what is right.

2. 'The good fortune and every possible advan-
tage attending the advance (of the subject of the
second line), in company (with the subject of the
first),' arises from the fact that those (to whom the
advance is made) are not yet obedient to the ordi-
nances (of Heaven).

3. 'He (shows himself) well pleased to advance:—
his position is not that appropriate to him. 'If he
become anxious, however, about his action,' his error
will not be continued.

4. 'The freedom from error consequent on the

XVIII. 'When the wind,' says *K'äng-ze*, 'encounters the
mountain, it is driven back, and the things about are all scattered
in disorder; such is the emblem of the state denoted by Kû.'
'The nourishing of virtue' appears especially in line 6; all the
other lines belong to the 'helping of the people.'

The subject of line 1 has entered into the work of his father,
and brings it about that his father is looked on as blameless. The
'due mean' of line 2 is according to the caution in the Text.
The Khang-hsi editors interpret the explanation of line 5 as 'he
takes up (the course of his father) with all his virtue.' I think they
are wrong.

advance in the highest mode' is due to the (various) appropriateness of the position.

5. 'What befits the great ruler' means the pursuing the course of the due mean.

6. 'The good fortune consequent on the advance of honesty and generosity' is due to the will (of the subject of the line) being set on the subjects of (the first two lines of) the inner (trigram).

XX. (The trigram representing) the earth, and that for wind moving above it, form Kwan. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, examined the (different) regions (of the kingdom), to see the (ways of the) people, and set forth their instructions.

1. 'The looking of a lad shown by the first line, divided,' indicates the way of the inferior people.

XIX. 'The earth descending or approaching the marsh' is, according to K'ü Hsî, symbolical of the approach of superiors to the inferior people, and then the two predicates about the superior man are descriptive of him in that approach, the instruction being symbolised by Tui, and the supporting by Khwân. The Khang-hsî editors, wishing to defend the explanation of lin by 'great,' in Appendix VI, which they ascribe to Confucius, say:—'Lin means "great." The earth above the waters of the marsh shows how full those waters are, rising to the level of the earth, and thus expressing the idea of greatness.' This representation is lame and impotent.

K'ü Hsî says he does not understand what is said on line 2. The interpretation in my version is the ordinary one, but I am not satisfied with it. The Khang-hsî editors try to solve the difficulty; but I am not able to follow them.

The same editors compare the conclusion of paragraph 6 in the symbolism of hexagram 11. 'What is external' there, and 'what is internal here,' have, they say, the same reference,—the state, namely, of the whole kingdom, the expressions differing according to the different standpoints from which they are made. The view in the translation is that of K'ü Hsî. It is difficult to hold the balance between them. The newer view, perhaps, is the preferable.

2. 'The firm correctness of a woman, in peeping out from a door' is also a thing to be ashamed of (in a superior man).

3. 'He looks at (the course of) his own life, to advance or recede (accordingly):'—he will not err in the path (to be pursued).

4. 'He contemplates the glory of the kingdom:'—(thence) arises the wish to be a guest (at court).

5. 'He contemplates his own life(-course):'—he should (for this purpose) contemplate (the condition of) the people.

6. 'He contemplates his own character:'—he cannot even yet let his mind be at rest.

XXI. (The trigrams representing) thunder and lightning form Shih Ho. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, framed their penalties with intelligence, and promulgated their laws.

1. 'His feet are in the stocks, and he is deprived of his toes:'—there is no walking (to do evil).

2. 'He bites through the soft flesh, and (goes on)

XX. Wind moving above the earth has the widest sweep, and nothing escapes its influence; it penetrates everywhere. This symbolism is more appropriate to the subject in hand than that of many other hexagrams. Personal influence in a ruler effects much; but the ancient kings wished to add to that the power of published instructions, specially adapted to the character and circumstances of the people. Sun, representing the wind, is well adapted to denote this influence;—see the Analects, XII, xix.

The looking in line 1 is superficial, and does not reach far.

Line 3. 'He will not err in the path to be pursued;'—advancing or receding as is best.

Line 4. 'The glory of the kingdom' is the virtue of the sovereign and the character of his administration. With the sentiment compare Mencius, VII, i, chap. 21. 2.

to bite off the nose : '—(the subject of the line) is mounted on the strong (first line).

3. 'He meets with what is disagreeable and hurtful : '—his position is not the proper one for him.

4. 'It will be advantageous to him to realise the difficulty of his task and be firm, in which case there will be good fortune : '—his light has not yet been sufficiently displayed.

5. 'Let him be firm and correct, realising the peril (of his position), and there will be no error : '—he will possess every quality appropriate (to his position and task).

6. 'He wears the cangue and is deprived of his ears : '—he hears, but will not understand.

XXII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and that for fire under it form Pi. The superior man, in accordance with this, throws a brilliancy around his various processes of government, but does not dare (in a similar way) to decide cases of criminal litigation.

XXI. *Khǎng-ze* says that thunder and lightning are always found together, and hence their trigrams go together to give the idea of union intended in Shih Ho. The one trigram symbolising majesty and the other brightness or intelligence, the application of the hexagram here is easier and more natural than in many other cases.

1. 'There is no walking : '—that is, the subject of the line will not dare to offend any more.

2. "Being mounted on the strong first line" means,' says *Khǎng-ze*, 'punishing a strong and vehement man, when severity is required, as is denoted by the central position of the line.'

4. 'His light has not been sufficiently displayed ; ' that is, there is still something for him to do :—he has to realise the difficulty of his position and be firm.

1. 'He can discard a carriage and walk on foot :—righteousness requires that he should not ride.

2. 'He adorns his beard :—he rouses himself to action (only) along with the (subject of the) line above.

3. 'The good fortune consequent on his ever maintaining firm correctness' is due to this,—that to the end no one will insult him.

4. 'The place occupied by the fourth line, divided,' affords ground for doubt (as to its subject); but '(as the subject of the third pursues) not as a robber, but as intent on a matrimonial alliance,' he will in the end have no grudge against him.

5. 'The good fortune falling to the fifth line, divided,' affords occasion for joy.

6. 'The freedom from error attached to (the subject of) the topmost line, with no ornament but the (simple white),' shows how he has attained his aim.

XXII. 'A mountain,' says *Khāng-ze*, 'is a place where we find grass, trees, and a hundred other things. A fire burning below it throws up its light, and brings them all out in beauty; and this gives the idea of ornament, or being ornamented. The various processes of government are small matters, and elegance and ornament help their course; but great matters of judgment demand the simple, unornamented truth.'

The subject of line 1 does not care for and does not need ornament. He will walk in the way of righteousness without it.

Paragraph 3 tells us that it is not ornament, but correct firmness, which secures the respect of others.

In the fourth place, and cut off from line 1 by 2 and 3, we might doubt how far the subject of 4 would continue loyal to the subject of 1. But he does continue loyal, through the character and object of the subject of 3.

The *Khang-hsi* editors say :—'Line 5 occupies the place of honour, and yet prefers simplicity and exalts economy; its subject

XXIII. (The trigrams representing) the earth, and (above it) that for a mountain, which adheres to the earth, form Po. Superiors, in accordance with this, seek to strengthen those below them, to secure the peace and stability of their own position.

1. 'He overthrows the couch by injuring its legs:'—thus (he commences) his work of ruin with what is lowest (in the superior man).

2. 'He destroys the couch by injuring its frame:'—(the superior man) has as yet no associates.

3. That 'there will be no error on the part of this one among the overthrowers' arises from the difference between him and the others above and below.

4. 'He has overthrown the couch, and (proceeds to injure) the skin (of him who lies on it):'—calamity is very near at hand.

5. 'He obtains for them the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace:'—in the end there will be no grudge against him.

6. 'The superior man finds himself in a carriage:'—he is carried along by the people. 'The small men (by their course) overthrow their own dwellings:'—they can never again be of use to them.

might change and transform manners and customs;'—it is a small matter to say of him that he affords occasion for joy.

The subject of line 6 has more of the spirit of the hexagram than in most hexagrams. His being clothed in simple white crowns the lesson that ornament must be kept in a secondary place.

XXIII. 'A mountain,' says Yü Fan (towards the end of the Han dynasty), 'stands out high above the earth; here it appears as lying on the earth:—plainly it has been overturned.' On the

XXIV. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for thunder in the midst of it form Fû. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, on the day of the (winter) solstice, shut the gates of the passes (from one state to another), so that the travelling merchants could not (then) pursue their journeys, nor the princes go on with the inspection of their states.

1. 'Returning (from an error) of no great extent' is the prelude to the cultivation of the person.

2. 'The good fortune attendant on the admirable return (of the subject of the second line)' is due to his condescension to the virtuous (subject of the line) below.

3. Notwithstanding 'the perilous position of him

other hand, Liû Mû (early in the Sung dynasty) says:—'A mountain has the earth for its foundation. If the earth be thick, the mountain preserves its height. So it is with the sovereign and people.' The application might be deduced from either view.

It is hard to tell whether 'the lowest' in paragraph 1 should be supplemented as I have done. If not, then the explanation is a mere truism.

Khăng-ze is precise and decisive in supplementing the explanation of paragraph 2 as in the translation.

See on the Text of lines 3 and 4.

On paragraph 5, the *Khang-hsi* editors say admirably:—'The fifth line is weak, and yet occupies the most honourable place in the figure,—emblematic of a queen; and as its subject leads on the subjects of the other lines to obtain the favours given to the inmates of the palace, she, it is plain, has neither jealousy nor any other injurious temper that might incur blame for tending to overthrow the ruler.'

Paragraph 6 shows the ruler restored to the favour of the people, and the restoration of concord in the state. The small men have done their worst, and there is an end of their attempts—for a time.

who has made many returns,' there will be no error through (his aiming after righteousness).

4. 'He moves right in the centre (among those represented by the other divided lines), and yet returns alone :—his object is to pursue the (proper) path.

5. 'The noble return, giving no ground for repentance,' is due to (the subject of the line) striving to perfect himself in accordance with his central position.

6. 'The evil consequent on being all astray on the subject of returning' is because the course pursued is contrary to the proper course for a ruler.

XXIV. 'Thunder in the midst of the earth' is thunder shut up and silent, just able to make its presence felt. So is it with the first genial stirrings of life after the winter solstice ; so is it with the first returning steps of the wanderer to virtue. As the spring of life has to be nursed in quietness, so also has the purpose of good. The ancient statutes here referred to must have been like the present cessation from public and private business at the time of the new year, when all the Chinese people are for a time dissolved in festivity and joy.

Canon McClatchie translates here :—'The ancient kings on this culminating day (i. e. the seventh) closed their gates,' &c. 'Culminating day' does not give us the meaning so well as 'the day of the solstice ;' but where does the translator find the explanatory 'the seventh,' which he puts in parentheses? In my own 'salad' days of Chinese knowledge I fancied there might be in paragraph 1 of the Text some allusion to a primitive sabbath ; but there is no ground for introducing 'seven days,' or 'the seventh day,' into this paragraph of the Great Symbolism.

'The virtuous subject of the first line' is in paragraph 2 called *zăn*, 'the benevolent' or 'loving.' It is the only case in all the symbolism of the *Yî* where we find that term used as an adjective. It is emphatic here for 'humanity,' man in his ideal.

The other paragraphs present nothing for remark beyond what has been said on the Text of the duke of *Kâu*.

XXV. The thunder rolls all under the sky, and to (every)thing there is given (its nature), free from all insincerity. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, (made their regulations) in complete accordance with the seasons, thereby nourishing all things.

1. When 'he who is free from insincerity makes any movement,' he will get what he desires.

2. 'He reaps without having ploughed :'(the thought of) riches to be got had not risen (in his mind).

3. 'The passer-by gets the ox :'(this proves a calamity to the people of the neighbourhood.

4. 'If he can remain firm and correct there will be no error :'(he firmly holds fast (his correctness).

5. 'Medicine in the case of one who is free from insincerity!'—it should not be tried (at all).

6. 'The action (in this case) of one who is free from insincerity' will occasion the calamity arising from action (when the time for it is) exhausted.

XXV. The composition of the hexagram is given here in a manner different from what we have met with in the account of any of the preceding figures; and as the text is not called in question, I have made the best I could in the translation of the two commencing clauses. The application of the symbolism to what the ancient kings did is also hard to comprehend.

The paragraph on line 1 is another way of saying that in the course of things real goodness may be expected to be fortunate,—'by the appointment of Heaven.'

Paragraph 2. 'The thought of getting rich had not risen in his mind :'(he did what he did, because it was right, not because of the gain it would bring him.

On paragraph 3, it is said, 'The superior man seeks simply to be free from insincerity, and leaves the questions of happiness and calamity to Heaven.'

Paragraph 5. 'Sickness ought not to happen to one who

XXVI. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and in the midst of it that (representing) heaven, form Tâ K'û. The superior man, in accordance with this, stores largely in his memory the words and deeds of former men, to subserve the accumulation of his virtue.

1. 'He is in a position of peril; it will be advantageous for him to stop his advance:—he should not rashly expose himself to calamity.

2. '(He is as) a carriage from which the strap under it has been removed:—being in the central position, he will incur no blame.

3. 'There will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance:—(the subject of) the topmost line is of the same mind with him.

4. 'The great good fortune indicated by the fourth line, divided,' shows that there is occasion for joy.

5. 'The good fortune indicated by the fifth line, divided,' shows that there is occasion for congratulation.

6. 'In command of the firmament of heaven:—the way is grandly open for movement.

is perfectly sincere. If it do happen, he must refer it to some inexplicable will of Heaven. As that has afflicted, so it will cure.'

Paragraph 6. 'When a thing is over and done, submission and acquiescence are what are required, and not renewed attempts at action.'

XXVI. I have quoted, in the Introduction, p. 37, K'û Hsi's remark on the Great Symbolism here. K'ang-ze says:—'Heaven is the greatest of all things, and its being in the midst of a mountain gives us the idea of a very large accumulation. And so great

XXVII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and under it that for thunder form 1̂. The superior man, in accordance with this, (enjoins) watchfulness over our words, and the temperate regulation of our eating and drinking.

1. 'You look at me till your (lower) jaw hangs down : '—(the subject of the line) is thus shown unfit to be thought noble.

2. 'The evil of advance by the subject of the second line, divided,' is owing to his leaving in his movements his proper associates.

3. 'For ten years let him not take any action : '—his course is greatly opposed (to what is right).

4. 'The good fortune attached to looking downwards for (the power to) nourish,' shows how brilliant will be the diffusion (of that power) from (the subject of the line's) superior position.

5. 'The good fortune from abiding in firmness' is due to the docility (of the subject of the line) in following (the subject of the line) above.

6. 'The good fortune, notwithstanding the peril

is the labour of the superior man in learning, acquiring, and remembering, to accumulate his virtue.'

Paragraph 1. The 'calamity' is that of opposition from, or repression by, the subject of line 4.

Paragraph 3. When the action of the hexagram has reached line 6, its work is done. The subject of 6 will no longer exercise repression, but join with that of 3, assisting him to advance.

Paragraph 4. The subject of line 4 has indeed occasion for joy. Without the use of punishment for crimes committed, by precaution anticipating them, without any trouble he has repressed evil. The 'joy' gives place in paragraph 5 to 'congratulation,' the people being all interested in the action of the ruler.

of his position, of him from whom comes the nourishing,' affords great cause for congratulation.

XXVIII. (The trigram representing) trees hidden beneath that for the waters of a marsh forms Tâ Kwo. The superior man, in accordance with this, stands up alone and has no fear, and keeps retired from the world without regret.

1. 'He places mats of the white mâo grass under things set on the ground:'—he feels his weakness and his being in the lowest place, (and uses extraordinary care).

2. 'An old husband and a young wife:'—such association is extraordinary.

3. 'The evil connected with the beam that is weak' arises from this, that no help can be given (to the condition thus represented).

4. 'The good fortune connected with the beam curving upwards' arises from this, that it does not bend towards what is below.

5. 'A decayed willow produces flowers:'—but how can this secure its long continuance? 'An old

XXVII. I do not think that the Great Symbolism here is anything but that of a thunderstorm, dispersing the oppression that hangs over nature, and followed by genial airs, and the reviving of all vegetation. But there is nothing analogous to the thunder in the application. 'Words,' it is said, 'nourish virtue; food and drink nourish the body.'

Paragraph 1. As Mencius said, 'He that nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man.'

Paragraph 2. Neither the subject of line 1, nor of line 6, is the proper associate of 2.

The other paragraphs are sufficiently illustrated in the notes on the Text.

wife and a young husband : '—this also is a thing to be ashamed of.

6. 'Evil follows wading with (extraordinary) boldness (through the stream) : '—but (the act) affords no ground for blame.

XXIX. (The representation of) water flowing on continuously forms the repeated Khan. The superior man, in accordance with this, maintains constantly the virtue (of his heart) and (the integrity of) his conduct, and practises the business of instruction.

1. 'In the double defile, he enters a cavern within it : '—he has missed his (proper) way, and there will be evil.

2. 'He will get a little (of the deliverance) that he seeks : '—he will not yet escape from his environed position.

3. 'Whether he comes or goes, he is confronted by a defile : '—he will never (in such circumstances) achieve any success.

XXVIII. *K'ang-ze* says on the Great Symbolism :—'The waters of a marsh moisten and nourish the trees. When here it is said that they destroy and extinguish the trees, their action is very extraordinary.' This explanation is very far-fetched ; and so is what the same scholar says on the application of it. I need not give it here, nor have I found, or myself made out, any other more easy and natural.

Paragraph 2. 'Such an association is extraordinary : '—the characters also imply, perhaps, that it is successful.

Paragraph 3. The beam being broken, any attempt to sustain it will have no effect in supporting the roof.

Paragraph 5. The shoots produced in line 2 will grow into a new and vigorous tree. The flowers here will soon decay, and the withered trunk continue the same. For what will a young man marry an old woman ? There will be no children ;—it can only be from some mercenary object.

4. ' (Nothing but) a bottle of spirits and a subsidiary basket of rice: '—(these describe) the meeting at this point of (those who are represented by) the strong and weak lines.

5. ' The water in the defile is not full (so as to flow away): '—(the virtue indicated by) the central situation is not yet (sufficiently) great.

6. ' The sixth line, divided, shows its subject missing his (proper) course: '—' there will be evil for three years.'

XXX. (The trigram for) brightness, repeated, forms Li. The great man, in accordance with this, cultivates more and more his brilliant (virtue), and diffuses its brightness over the four quarters (of the land).

1. ' The reverent attention directed to his confused steps ' is the way by which error is avoided.

2. ' The great good fortune (from the subject of the second line) occupying his place in yellow ' is owing to his holding the course of the due mean.

3. ' A position like that of the declining sun: '—how can it continue long ?

4. ' How abrupt is the manner of his coming ! '—none can bear with him.

5. ' The good fortune attached to the fifth line,

XXIX. The application of the Great Symbolism is here more perplexing even than usual. What is said of the superior man is good, but there is no reference in it to the subject of danger.

The subject of line 3 goes and comes, moves up and down, backwards and forwards; making no advance. This can be of no use in extricating him from the danger.

Those represented in line 4 by the strong and weak lines are the ruler and his minister.

divided,' is due to its occupying the place of a king or a prince.

6. 'The king employs him in his punitive expeditions:'—the object is to bring the regions to a correct state.

SECTION II.

XXXI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for (the waters of) a marsh form Hsien. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps his mind free from pre-occupation, and open to receive (the influences of) others.

1. 'He moves his great toe:'—his mind is set on what is beyond (himself).

2. Though 'there would be evil; yet, if he abide (quiet) in his place, there will be good fortune:'—through compliance (with the circumstances of his condition and place) there will be no injury.

3. 'He moves his thighs:'—he still does not (want to) rest in his place. His will is set on 'following others:'—what he holds in his grasp is low.

4. 'Firm correctness will lead to good fortune,

XXX. In the Great Symbolism Lî is used in the sense of brightness. There was no occasion to refer to its other meaning. 'The great man' rather confirms the interpretation of the 'double brightness' in the treatise on the Thwan as indicating the ruler.

Paragraph 2. As yellow is a 'correct' colour, so is the due mean the correct course.

Paragraph 3. 'The declining sun,' say the Khang-hsî editors, 'is an emblem of the obscuration coming over the virtue of the mind.'

Paragraph 4. 'None can bear with him' refers to the second part of the symbolism of the line, which is not given here.

and prevent all occasion for repentance : '—there has not yet been any harm from (a selfish wish to) influence. 'He is unsettled in his movements : '—(his power to influence) is not yet either brilliant or great.

5. 'He (tries to) move the flesh along the spine above the heart : '—his aim is trivial.

6. 'He moves his jaws and tongue : '—he (only) talks with loquacious mouth.

XXXI. In various ways the waters of a marsh, placed high above the adjacent land, will descend to water and fertilise them. This symbolism agrees sufficiently well with the idea of influence passing between a superior and inferior party in relation with each other. There is nothing in the representation, however, to suggest particularly the relation between husband and wife ; and the more I think of it, the more doubtful it becomes to me that king Wan intended by the trigrams of this figure to give the idea of man and wife. The application of the symbolism is sufficiently appropriate. The commentators see in it especially the lesson of humility—emptiness of self, or poverty of spirit—in order that the influences to which we are subjected may have free course.

Paragraph 1. What is beyond one's self is represented by line 4, a proper correlate of 1. There is the desire to influence ; but it is ineffectively exhibited.

Paragraph 2. 'Compliance (with the circumstances of his condition and place)' is merely another way of 'being firm and correct.'

Paragraph 3. The language, 'What he holds in his grasp is low,' makes *K'ü Hsü* and the older commentators generally understand low of lines 1 and 2, and their weak subjects. But 'following' leads the mind to the lines above, as the *Khang-hsü* editors point out. 'Low' is to be understood in the sense of 'mean.'

Paragraph 4. The 'being firm and correct' appears here as equivalent to the want of 'a selfish wish to influence.'

Paragraph 5. The triviality of the aim explains the ineffectiveness of the movement, but not its giving no occasion for repentance. That the *mei* which are moved are behind and above the region of the heart seems too mechanical and trivial an explanation.

XXXII. (The trigram representing) thunder and that for wind form Hǎng. The superior man, in accordance with this, stands firm, and does not change his method (of operation).

1. 'The evil attached to the deep desire for long continuance (in the subject of the first line)' arises from the deep seeking for it at the commencement (of things).

2. 'All occasion for repentance on the part of the subject of the second line, undivided, disappears:—he can abide long in the due mean.

3. 'He does not continuously maintain his virtue:—nowhere will he be borne with.

4. (Going) for long to what is not his proper place, how can he get game?

5. 'Such firm correctness in a wife will be fortunate:—it is hers to the end of life to follow with an unchanged mind. The husband must decide what is right, and lay down the rule accordingly:—for him to follow (like) a wife is evil.

6. 'The subject of the topmost line is exciting himself to long continuance:—far will he be from achieving merit.

XXXII. How the interaction of wind and thunder symbolises the lesson of the hexagram, and especially the application in this paragraph of that symbolism, is a question I have not been able to solve.

Paragraph 1. The stress of what is said under line 1 is here made to lie on its being the first line of the figure.

Paragraph 2. Line 2 is in the centre of its trigram, and that position, here as often elsewhere, symbolises the course of its subject.

Paragraph 3. The Khang-hsi editors make the application here= 'nowhere can he bear (to remain).'

XXXIII. (The trigram representing) the sky and below it that for a mountain form Thun. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps small men at a distance, not by showing that he hates them, but by his own dignified gravity.

1. There is 'the perilousness of the position shown by the retiring tail : '—but if 'no movement' be made, what disaster can there be?

2. 'He holds it as by (a thong from the hide of) a yellow ox : '—his purpose is firm.

3. 'The peril connected with the case of one retiring, though bound,' is due to the (consequent) distress and exhaustion. 'If he were (to deal as in) nourishing a servant or concubine, it would be fortunate for him : '—but a great affair cannot be dealt with in this way.

4. 'A superior man retires notwithstanding his likings; a small man cannot attain to this.'

5. 'He retires in an admirable way, and with firm correctness there will be good fortune : '—this is due to the rectitude of his purpose.

6. 'He retires in a noble way, and his doing so will be advantageous in every respect : '—he who does so has no doubts about his course.

From paragraph 5 it appears that what is right will vary in different cases. The lesson of the hexagram is perseverance in what is right in each particular case.

XXXIII. K'ü Hsî says :—'The sky is illimitable; a mountain is high, but has its limits; the union of these is an emblem of retiring.' I do not understand such emblemizing. K'häng-ze says :—'Below the sky is a mountain. The mountain rises up below the sky, and its height is arrested, while the sky goes up higher and higher, till they come to be apart from each other. In this we have an emblem of retiring and avoiding.' We feel somewhat as

XXXIV. (The trigram representing) heaven and above it that for thunder form Tâ Kwang. The superior man, in accordance with this, does not take a step which is not according to propriety.

1. 'He manifests his vigour in his toes : '—this will certainly lead to exhaustion.

2. 'The second line, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune : '—this is due to its being in the centre, (and its subject exemplifying the due mean).

3. 'The small man uses all his strength ; in the case of the superior man it is his rule not to do so.'

4. 'The fence is opened and the horns are not entangled : '—(the subject of the line) still advances.

5. 'He loses his ram and hardly perceives it : '—he is not in his appropriate place.

6. 'He is unable either to retreat or to advance : '—this is owing to his want of care. 'If he realise the difficulty (of his position), there will be good fortune : '—his error will not be prolonged.

if there were a meaning in this ; but, as in many other cases, both the symbolism and its application are but dimly apprehended.

The symbolism of the various lines is sufficiently explained on the Text. Paragraph 5 is but a repetition of the Text without additional explanation.

XXXIV. In illustration of the symbolism of the trigrams here, *Kháng-ze* says well :—'Thunder rolling above in the sky and making all things shake is the emblem of great power.' In passing on to its application he starts with a beautiful saying of antiquity, that 'the strong man is he who overcomes himself.' That this thought was in the mind of the writer of the paragraph on the Great Symbolism I can well believe ; but the analogy between the natural and the moral and spiritual worlds in passing from the phenomenon of thunder to this truth is a thing to be felt, and that can hardly be described.

XXXV. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) coming forth above it form 3in. The superior man, according to this, gives himself to make more brilliant his bright virtue.

1. 'He appears wishing to advance, but (at the same time) being kept back :—all-alone he pursues the correct course. 'Let him maintain a large and generous mind, and there will be no error :—he has not yet received an official charge.

2. 'He will receive this great blessing :—for he is in the central place and the correct position for him.

3. 'All (around) trust him :—their (common) aim is to move upwards and act.

4. '(He advances like) a marmot. However firm and correct he may be, his position is one of peril :—his place is not that appropriate for him.

5. 'Let him not concern himself whether he fails or succeeds :—his movement in advance will afford ground for congratulation.

6. 'He uses his horns only to punish (the rebellious people of) his city :—his course of procedure is not yet brilliant.

Paragraph 1. 'This will lead to exhaustion ;' and from that will follow distress and other evils.

The central position and the due moral mean in paragraph 2 is another instance of the felt analogy referred to above.

In paragraph 3 nothing is added to the Text ; and on the symbolism nothing is said.

Paragraph 5. 'He is not in his appropriate place :' this is said simply because an odd place ought to be filled by a strong line.

XXXV. The sun rising above the earth, and then travelling up to his meridian height, readily suggests the idea of advancing. On

XXXVI. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) entering within it form Ming Í. The superior man, in accordance with this, conducts his management of men ;—he shows his intelligence by keeping it obscured.

1. 'The superior man (is revolving his) going away: '—(in such a case) he feels it right not to eat.

2. 'The good fortune of (the subject of) the second line, divided,' is due to the proper fashion of his acting according to his circumstances.

3. With the aim represented by 'hunting in the south' a great achievement is accomplished.

4. 'He has (just) entered into the left side of the belly (of the dark land): '—he is still able to carry out the idea in his (inner) mind.

5. 'With the firm correctness of the count of Kí,' his brightness could not be (quite) extinguished.

6. 'He had at first ascended to (the top of) the sky: '—he might have enlightened the four quarters

the application of this symbolism, Hû Ping-wăn (Yüan dynasty) says :—'Of strong things there is none so strong as heaven ; and hence the superior man after its pattern makes himself strong ; of bright things there is none so bright as the sun, and after its pattern he makes himself bright.'

If the subject of line 1 had received an official charge, then when unrecognised by his sovereign, and obstructed in his progress, his correct course would have been to cease to advance, and retire from the office in which he was not allowed to carry out his principles.

There is nothing said on line 2 to explain particularly the symbolism of 'the grandmother' in the Text.

'The course of procedure' in paragraph 6 has still an element of force in it, which is more than 'the firm correctness' that was to king Wăn the ideal character of a feudal lord, and therefore his light is not yet that of the full-orbed sun.

of the kingdom. 'His future shall be to go into the earth:'—he has failed to fulfil the model (of a ruler).

XXXVII. (The trigram representing) fire, and that for wind coming forth from it, form *K'ia Z'an*. The superior man, in accordance with this, orders his words according to (the truth of) things, and his conduct so that it is uniformly consistent.

1. 'He establishes restrictive regulations in his household:'—(he does so), before any change has taken place in their wills.

2. 'The good fortune attached to the second line, divided,' is due to the docility (of its subject), operating with humility.

3. When 'the members of the household are treated with stern severity,' there has been no (great) failure (in the regulation of the family). When 'wife and children are smirking and chattering,' the (proper) economy of the family has been lost.

4. 'The family is enriched, and there is great

XXXVI. The application of the Great Symbolism here is in itself sufficiently natural; but this meaning of the hexagram hardly appears in the text, till we come to the sixth line.

Paragraph 1. 'He thinks it right not to eat;'—he does not purposely fast; but when he has nothing to eat, he does not complain. He thinks it right that it should be so in the case.

Paragraph 2. 'The proper fashion of acting' is suggested by the weak line's being in the central place.

Paragraph 3. 'The great achievement is accomplished;' but such achievement was not what prompted to action.

Paragraph 4. 'The idea in his inner mind' is the idea of withdrawing from the position and escaping; but the meaning is obscure. See on the Text.

good fortune:—this is due to the docility (belonging to the subject of the line), and its being in its correct place.

5. 'The influence of the king extends to his family:—the intercourse between them is that of mutual love.

6. 'The good fortune connected with the display of majesty' describes (the result of) the recovery of the true character.

XXXVII. The Symbolism here is certainly far-fetched. 'As wind,' it is said, 'comes first from fire, so does transforming influence emanate from the family.' But the subject of the hexagram is the regulation and not the influence of the family. Then the application is good for the superior man's cultivation of himself; but this again is only connected indirectly with the regulation of the family.

The sooner preventive measures are presented to the youthful mind the better; but does not prohibition imply that a change in the good will has taken place?

In paragraph 2 'docility' is suggested by the weak line. 'The humility' comes out of Sun, the upper trigram, whose attribute is pliant flexibility.

Yü Yen (Yüan dynasty) ingeniously observes on paragraph 4 that the riches of a family are not to be sought in its wealth, but in the affection and harmony of its members. Where these prevail, the family is not likely to be poor, and whatever it has will be well preserved.

The mention 'of mutual love' is unusual in Chinese writings, and must be considered remarkable here. 'The husband,' says *K'ang-ze*, 'loves his helpmate in the house; the wife loves him who is the pattern for the family.' But however admirable the sentiment is, it comes from the mind of the writer, and is not drawn from the Text.

Paragraph 6. It is said on this, that the majesty is not designedly assumed or put on; but the effect of the character remoulded and perfected. The words of Mencius are aptly quoted in illustration of the lesson:—'If a man himself do not walk in the (right) path, it will not be walked in (even) by his wife and children.'

XXXVIII. (The trigram representing) fire above, and that for (the waters of) a marsh below, form Khwei. The superior man, in accordance with this, where there is a general agreement, yet admits diversity.

1. 'He meets with bad men (and communicates with them):'—(he does so), to avoid the evil of their condemnation.

2. 'He happens to meet with his lord in a bye-passage:'—but he has not deviated (for this meeting) from the (proper) course.

3. 'We see his carriage dragged back:'—this is indicated by the inappropriateness of the position (of the line).

'There is no (good) beginning, but there will be a (good) end:'—this arises from his meeting with the strong (subject of the topmost line).

4. 'They blend their sincere desires together, and there will be no error:'—their (common) aim is carried into effect.

5. 'With his hereditary minister (he unites closely and easily) as if he were biting through a piece of skin:'—his going forward will afford ground for congratulation.

6. 'The good fortune symbolised by meeting with (genial) rain' springs from the passing away of all doubts.

XXXVIII. The application here of the Symbolism is correct, but neither of them comes up to the idea of disunion which is in Khwei.

The various paragraphs seem to need no illustration beyond what may be found in the notes on the Text.

XXXIX. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and above it that for water, form *K'ien*. The superior man, in accordance with this, turns round (and examines) himself, and cultivates his virtue.

1. 'Advancing will conduct to (greater) difficulties, while remaining stationary will afford ground for praise:—the proper course is to wait.

2. 'The minister of the king struggles with difficulty on difficulty:—in the end no blame will be attached to him.

3. 'He advances, (but only) to (greater) difficulty; he remains stationary, and returns to his former associates:—they, (represented in) the inner (trigram), rejoice in him.

4. 'To advance will (only be to) encounter (greater) difficulties; he remains stationary, and unites (with the subject of the line above):—that is in its proper place and has the solidity (due to it in that position).

5. 'He struggles with the greatest difficulties, while friends are coming (to help him):—he is in the central position, and possesses the requisite virtue.

6. 'To advance will (only) increase the difficulties, while his remaining stationary will (be productive of) great (merit):—his aim is to assist the (subject of the line) inside of him.

'It will be advantageous to meet the great man:—by his course he follows that noble (lord of the figure).

XXXIX. The Symbolism is described here a little differently from the form of it in Appendix I. *K'hang-ze* brings the same meaning out of it, however, in the following way:—'We have here a steep and difficult mountain, and again on the top of that there

XL. (The trigram representing) thunder and that for rain, with these phenomena in a state of manifestation, form *K'ieh*. The superior man, in accordance with this, forgives errors, and deals gently with crimes.

1. The strong (fourth) line and the weak line here are in correlation:—we judge rightly in saying that 'its subject will commit no error.'

2. 'The good fortune springing from the firm correctness of the second line, undivided,' is due to its subject holding the due mean.

3. For 'a porter with his burden to be riding in a carriage' is a thing to be ashamed of. 'It is he himself that tempts the robbers to come:—on whom besides can we lay the blame? (See Appendix III, i, 48.)

4. 'Remove your toes:—the places (of this line

is water; each of the two trigrams is an emblem of perilousness. There is peril, both above and below, in the figure; and hence it represents the difficulties of the state.' The application of the symbolism is illustrated by the words of Mencius, 'When we do not, by what we do, realise (what we desire), we must turn inwards and examine ourselves in every point.'

From the lesson in paragraph 2 we saw that the moral value of conduct is independent of failure or success. It is said, 'Though the difficulties be too great for him to overcome, the sage accepts his desire, in order to stimulate others to loyal devotedness.'

On paragraph 3, Khung Ying-tâ says:—'Of the three lines of the lower trigram only the third is yang, above the two others which are of the yin nature. They cling to it, and are represented as if rejoicing in it.

The view given of paragraph 4 is that of the Khang-hsî editors.

'The friends' in paragraph 5 are the subjects of the second line, the correlate of 5, and also of the two other lines of the lower trigram.

Sû Shih (A. D. 1036–1101) remarks on paragraph 6 that by 'the inside,' and 'the noble,' we are to understand the subject of line 5.

and of the third and first) are all inappropriate to them.

5. When 'the superior man executes his function of removing (whatever is injurious to the idea of the hexagram),' small men will of themselves retire.

6. 'A prince with his bow shoots a falcon:—thus he removes (the promoters of) rebellion.

XLI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and beneath it that for the waters of a marsh form Sun. The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains his wrath and represses his desires.

1. 'He suspends his own affairs and hurries away (to help the subject of the fourth line):'—the (subject of that) upper (line) mingles his wishes with his.

XL. It is a common saying that thunder and rain clear the atmosphere, and a feeling of oppression is relieved. The last paragraph of Appendix I, however, leads us to understand the Symbolism of the phenomena of spring. The application seems to refer to the gentle policy of a conqueror forward to forgive the opposition of those who offer no more resistance.

The subject of line 2 is a minister or officer; and the Khang-hsi editors say that while straightforwardness, symbolised by the arrow, is the first duty of an officer, if he do not temper that quality by pursuing the due medium, which is symbolised by the yellow colour of the arrow, but proceed by main force, and that only, to remove what is evil, he will provoke indignation and rebellion. The 'three foxes' are not alluded to in this second paragraph.

On paragraph 4 the same editors say:—'The subject of this line is not in the central nor in an odd place; he has for his correlate the subject of line 1 and for his close associate that of line 3, both of which lines are weak in strong places. Hence it is said, that they are all in places inappropriate to them.'

What paragraph 5 says, that 'the small men retire,' means that believing in the sincerity of the ruler's determination to remove all evil men, they retire of themselves, or strive to conform to his wishes.

2. 'It will be advantageous for (the subject of) the second line, undivided, to maintain his firm correctness : '—his central position gives its character to his aim.

3. 'One man, walking,' (finds his friend) :—when three are together, doubts rise among them.

4. 'He diminishes the ailment under which he labours : '—this is matter for joy.

5. 'The great good fortune attached to the fifth line, divided,' is due to the blessing from above.

6. 'He gives increase to others without taking from what is his own : '—he obtains his wish on a grand scale.

XLI. 'The waters of a marsh are continually rising up in vapour to bedew the hill above it, and thus increase its verdure ; what is taken from the marsh gives increase to the hill.' This is very far-fetched. In the application again the superior man acts only on himself, and for himself ;—which has nothing to do with those of low degree giving to those above them. This application, however, agrees with what, as we have seen on the Text, was *Kháng-ze's* view of the meaning of the hexagram.

The explanation appended to paragraph 1 seems to be to account for the subject of line 1 hurrying away to the help of line 4.

'His aim' is to abide where he is, and help the subject of 5 by the exhibition of 'firm correctness.'

The *Khang-hsü* editors observe that paragraph 3 is true indeed of three men ; and not of three men only, but of many repetitions of thought or action.

The same editors say on paragraph 5 that 'the blessing from above is explained, by many, of the oracles obtained through divining with the tortoise-shell ; but that looking at the text on line 2 of the next hexagram, and that *Ti* (spoken of there) is the lord of all spirits, the term "above" here is most naturally explained of Heaven's mind, whose acceptance cannot be gainsaid by men or spirits.'

Kháng-ze says on paragraph 6, though I do not see the rele-

XLII. (The trigram representing) wind and that for thunder form Yt. The superior man, in accordance with this, when he sees what is good, moves towards it; and when he sees his errors, he turns from them.

1. 'If the movement be greatly fortunate, no blame will be imputed to him : '—though it is not for one in so low a position to have to do with great affairs.

2. 'Parties add to his stores : '—they come from beyond (his immediate circle) to do so.

3. 'Increase is given by means of what is evil and difficult : '—as he has in himself (the qualities called forth).

4. 'His advice to his prince is followed : '—his (only) object in it being the increase (of the general good).

5. '(The ruler) with sincere heart seeks to benefit (all below) : '—there need be no question (about the result). '(All below) with sincere heart acknowledge (his goodness) : '—he gets what he desires on a great scale.

6. 'To his increase none will contribute : '—this expresses but half the result. 'Many will seek to assail him : '—they will come from beyond (his immediate circle) to do so.

vancy of his remarks :—' Dwelling on high, and taking nothing from those below him, but on the contrary giving more to them, the superior man accomplishes his aim on a grand scale. The aim of the superior man is simply to be increasing what others have ;—that and nothing else.'

XLII. The Symbolism here is different from what we gather from the former Appendix. Sun no longer symbolises wood, but, as

XLIII. (The trigram representing) heaven and that for the waters of a marsh mounting above it form Kwâi. The superior man, in accordance with this, bestows emolument on those below him, and dislikes allowing his gifts to accumulate (undispensed).

1. 'Without (being able to) succeed, he goes forward:—this is an error.

2. 'Though hostile measures be taken against him, he need not be anxious:—he pursues the course of the due mean.

3. 'The superior man looks bent on cutting off the culprit:—there will in the end be no error.

4. 'He walks slowly and with difficulty:—he is not in the place appropriate to him.

'He hears these words, but does not believe them:—he hears, but does not understand.

5. 'If his action be in harmony with his central

it more commonly does, wind. Thunder and wind, it is supposed, increase each the other; and their combination gives the idea of increase. Then the application, good in itself, must be treated very nicely, as it is by the Khang-hsf editors, in order to make out any connexion between it and the Symbolism.

Paragraph 1. 'One in a low position should not move in great affairs;—not a son, it is said, while his father is alive; nor a minister, while his ruler governs; nor a member of an official department, while its head directs its affairs. If such a one do initiate such an affair, only great success will excuse his rashness.

Paragraph 2. Line 5 is the proper correlate of 2; and its subject will be among the contributing parties. But others 'beyond' will be won to take part with him.

Paragraph 3. There is a soul of good even in men who seem only evil; and adversity may quicken it.

Paragraph 6. As in line 2 the attractive power of benevolence is shown, so in line 6 we have the repulsive power of selfishness exhibited. Mark the 'from beyond' in both paragraphs.

position, there will be no error :—but his standing in the due mean is not yet clearly displayed.

6. 'There is the misery of having none on whom to call :—the end will be that he cannot continue any longer.

XLIV. (The trigram representing) wind and that for the sky above it form Kâu. The sovereign, in accordance with this, delivers his charges, and promulgates his announcements throughout the four quarters (of the kingdom).

1. 'Tied and fastened to a metal drag :—(this

XLIII. We can only understand the mounting of the waters of a marsh up into the sky of the phenomenon of evaporation ; and certainly the waters so formed into clouds will be condensed, and come down again as rain. This may be taken as an image of dispersion, but not of displacement in the sense of the Text of the hexagram.

The first clause of the application follows naturally enough from the above interpretation of the Symbolism. Kû Hsi says he does not understand the second clause. Many critics adopt the view of it which appears in the translation.

Paragraph 2 does not mention the precautionary measures taken in the Text by the subject of the line, from which the conclusion would follow quite as naturally as from his central position. The Khang-hsi editors, however, say that the not having recourse lightly to force is itself the due course.

Line 3 responding, and alone of all the strong lines responding to 6, may appear at first irresolute, and not prepared for decided measures ; but 'in the end' its subject does what is required of him.

The contiguity of line 5 to the divided 6, is supposed to have some bad effect on its subject, so that while he does what his central position requires, it is not without an effort. 'If a man,' says K'ang-ze, 'cherish a single illicit desire in his mind, he has left the right way. The admonition here conveyed is deep.'

describes the arrest of) the weak (line) in its advancing course.

2. 'He has a wallet of fish : '—it is right for him not to allow (the subject of the first line) to get to the guests.

3. 'He walks with difficulty : '—but his steps have not yet been drawn (into the course of the first line).

4. 'The evil' indicated by there being 'no fish in the wallet' is owing to (the subject of the line) keeping himself aloof from the people.

5. 'The subject of the fifth line, undivided, keeps his brilliant qualities concealed : '—as is indicated by his central and correct position.

'(The good issue) descends (as) from Heaven : '—his aim does not neglect the ordinances (of Heaven).

6. 'He receives others on his horns : '—he is exhausted at his greatest height, and there will be cause for regret.

XLIV. Wind, blowing all-under the sky, penetrates everywhere, and produces its natural effect; and it is a good application of this phenomenon that follows; but it has nothing to do with the meaning of Kâu and the interpretation of the hexagram, as taught in the Text. The Khang-hsi editors perceive this, and deal with the Symbolism after a method of their own, on which it is unnecessary to enter.

Paragraph 1. My supplement, 'This describes the arrest of,' is a conclusion from the whole of the Text on the line. All the commentaries have it.

In the 'Daily Lecture' it is said that the lesson of paragraph 2 is that 'the subject of the line should make the repression of 1 his own exclusive work, and not allow it to pass on to the subject of any of the other lines.' That view is rather different from the one indicated in my supplement.

'His steps have not been drawn into the course of the first

XLV. (The trigram representing the) earth and that for the waters of a marsh raised above it form 3hui. The superior man, in accordance with this, has his weapons of war put in good repair, to be prepared against unforeseen contingencies.

1. 'In consequence disorder is brought into the sphere of his union : '—his mind and aim are thrown into confusion.

2. 'He is led forward ; there will be good fortune, and freedom from error : '—(the virtue proper to) his central place has not undergone any change.

3. 'If he go forward, he will not err : '—in the subject of the topmost line there is humility and condescension.

4. 'If he be grandly fortunate, he will receive no blame : '—(this condition is necessary, because) his position is not the one proper to him.

5. 'There is the union (of all) under him in the place of dignity : '—(but) his mind and aim have not yet been brilliantly displayed.

line : '—we have to supply, 'and therefore there will be no great error.'

Paragraph 4. See what is said on the Text. But that the subject of the line stands alone is owing, it is here implied, to his own impatience. If he could exercise forbearance, he would find a proper opportunity to check the advance of the subject of line 1.

The subject of line 5, while mindful of his task in the hexagram,—to repress the advance symbolised by 1,—yet keeps his wise plans concealed till the period of carrying them into execution, determined by the ordinances of Heaven, has arrived. Then comes the successful stroke of his policy as if it were directly from Heaven.

The subject of line 6 really accomplishes nothing to repress the advance of the unworthy ; but he keeps himself from evil communication with them. He is not to be charged with blameable error, though more and better might have been expected of him.

6. 'He sighs and weeps : '—he does not yet rest in his topmost position.

XLVI. (The trigram representing) wood and that for the earth with the wood growing in the midst of it form Shǎng. The superior man, in accordance with this, pays careful attention to his virtue, and accumulates the small developments of it till it is high and great.

1. 'He is welcomed in his advance upwards, and there will be great good fortune : '—(the subjects of) the upper (trigram) are of the same mind with him.

2. 'The sincerity of the subject of the second line, undivided,' affords occasion for joy.

3. 'He advances upwards (as into) an empty city : '—he has no doubt or hesitation.

4. 'The king employs him to prevent his offerings on mount K'hi : '—such a service (of spiritual Beings) is according to (their mind).

XLV. What has this Great Symbolism to do with the idea and preservation of union? The question is answered in this way :—A marsh whose waters are high up above the earth must be kept in by banks and dykes, to keep them together, to preserve them from being dispersed. So the union of a people must be preserved by precautions against what would disturb and destroy it. Of such precautions the chief is to be prepared to resist attack from without, and to put down internal sedition.

Paragraph 3. The topmost line is the last in Tui, whose attribute is complacent satisfaction, appearing in flexibility or docility.

Paragraph 5. 'His mind and aim have not yet been brilliantly displayed : '—this is in explanation of the case that some may even still not have confidence in him.

Paragraph 6. The topmost position is that of the trigram ; the subject of the line might bid farewell to all the work of the hexagram ; but he cannot bear to do so.

5. 'He is firmly correct, and will therefore enjoy good fortune. He ascends the stairs (with all due ceremony):'—he grandly succeeds in his aim.

6. 'He blindly advances upwards,' and is in the highest place:—but there is decay in store for him, and he will not (preserve) his riches.

XLVII. (The trigram representing) a marsh, and (below it that for a defile, which has drained the other dry so that there is) no water in it, form Khwăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, will sacrifice his life in order to carry out his purpose.

1. 'He enters a dark valley:'—so benighted is he, and without clear vision.

2. 'He is straitened amidst his wine and viands:'—(but) his position is central, and there will be ground for congratulation.

XLVI. See what has been said on the Great Symbolism in Appendix I. The application which is made of it here may be accepted, though it has nothing to do with the teaching of the Text about the gradual rise of a good officer to high social distinction and influence.

Paragraph 1. Instead of finding in this the three lines of Khwăn and their subjects, *Khǎng-ze* makes 'the upper' denote only line 2.

Paragraph 2. The subject of line 2 in his loyal devotion to 5, will do much good and benefit many; hence we have the words, 'affords occasion for joy.'

Paragraph 3. 'He has no doubt or hesitation:'—but this is presuming rather on his strength.

Paragraph 4. The Khang-hsî editors say:—'Such an employment of men of worth to do service to spiritual Beings is serving them according to their mind.'

Paragraph 6. When one has reached the greatest height, he should think of retiring. Ambition otherwise may overleap itself.

3. 'He lays hold of thorns : '—(this is suggested by the position of the line) above the strong (line).

'He enters his palace, and does not see his wife : '—this is inauspicious.

4. 'He proceeds very slowly (to help the subject of the first line) : '—his aim is directed to (help) that lower (line). Although he is not in his appropriate place, he and that other will (in the end) be together.

5. 'His nose and feet are cut off : '—his aim has not yet been gained.

'He is leisurely, however, in his movements, and is satisfied : '—his position is central and (his virtue) is correct.

'It will be well for him to be (as sincere as) in sacrificing : '—so shall he receive blessing.

6. 'He is straitened as if bound with creepers : '—(his spirit and action) are unsuitable.

'(He says), "If I move, I shall repent of it." And he does repent (of former errors), which leads to good fortune : '—so he (now) goes on.

XLVII. The first sentence of the Great Symbolism is constructed differently from any which has presented itself in the previous 46 hexagrams. Literally translated, it would be 'a marsh with no water is Khwân ;' and this might certainly suggest to us a condition of distress. But how does this come out of the trigrams? The upper one is Tui, representing a marsh ; and the lower is Khân, representing water in a defile. The collocation of the two suggests the running of the water from the marsh or lake into the stream, which will soon empty the other. Such is the view which occurred to myself ; and it is the same as that given by K'ü Hsi :—'The water descending and leaking away, the marsh above will become dry.' The application is good in itself, but the concatenation between it and the Symbolism is hardly discernible.

XLVIII. (The trigram representing) wood and above it that for water form 3ing. The superior man, in accordance with this, comforts the people, and stimulates them to mutual helpfulness.

1. 'A well so muddy that men will not drink of it:—this is indicated by the low position (of the line).

'An old well to which the birds do not come:—it has been forsaken in the course of time.

2. 'A well from which by a hole the water escapes, and flows away to the shrimps:—(the subject of this second line has) none co-operating with him (above).

3. 'The well has been cleared out, but is not used:—(even) passers-by would be sorry for this.

A prayer is made 'that the king were intelligent:—for then blessing would be received.

4. 'A well the lining of which is well laid. There will be no error:—the well has been put in good repair.

5. 'The waters from the cold spring are (freely) drunk:—this is indicated by the central and correct position (of the line).

6. 'The great good fortune' at the topmost place

So stupid is the subject of line 1 that by his own act he increases his distress.

The Khang-hsi editors say that the 'ground for congratulation in paragraph 2 is the banqueting and sacrificing.' I rather think it is the measure of help, which it is intimated the subject will give in removing the straitness and distress of the time.

See the extract from the Khang-hsi editors on the symbolism of the third line of the Text.

The difficulties attending the symbolism of the Text of lines 4, 5, and 6 are not lightened by what we find in this Appendix.

indicates the grand accomplishment (of the idea in the hexagram).

XLIX. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and that for fire in the midst of them form Ko. The superior man, in accordance with this, regulates his (astronomical) calculations, and makes clear the seasons and times.

1. 'He is bound with (the skin of) a yellow ox:—he should in his circumstances be taking action.

2. 'He makes his changes when some time has passed:—what he does will be matter of admiration.

3. 'The change (contemplated) has been three times fully discussed:—to what else should attention (now) be directed?

4. 'The good fortune consequent on changing (existing) ordinances' is due to the faith reposed in his aims.

5. 'The great man produces his changes as the tiger does when he changes his stripes:—their beauty becomes more brilliant.

XLVIII. The Great Symbolism here may well enough represent a well, it being understood that the water which is above the wood is that raised by it for irrigation and other uses. What is said, moreover, in the application is more akin to the idea of the hexagram than in most of the other cases. It is certainly one way in which the ruler should nourish the people.

It is said on paragraph 1:—'Those who have a mind to do something in the world, when they look at this line, and its symbolism, will learn how they ought to exert themselves.'

Rather in opposition to what I have said on the Text of line 4, the 'Daily Lecture' observes here:—'The cultivation of one's self, which is represented here, is fundamental to the government of others.'

6. 'The superior man produces his changes as the leopard does when he changes his spots:—their beauty becomes more elegant.

'Small men change their faces:—they show themselves prepared to follow their ruler.

L. (The trigram representing) wood and above it that for fire form Ting. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps his every position correct, and maintains secure the appointment (of Heaven).

1. 'The caldron is overturned, and its feet turned upwards:—but this is not (all) contrary (to what is right).

'There will be advantage in getting rid of what was bad:—thereby (the subject of the line) will follow the more noble (subject of the fourth line).

2. 'There is the caldron with the things (to be cooked) in it:—let (the subject of the line) be careful where he goes.

'My enemy dislikes me:—but there will in the end be no fault (to which he can point).

3. 'There is the caldron with (the places for) its

XLIX. Wise men, occupying themselves with the determination of the seasons and questions of time, have in all ages based their judgments on the observation of the heavenly bodies. We find this insisted on in the first book of the Shû, by the ancient Yáo. But how this application of the Great Symbolism really flows from it, I must confess myself unable to discover. Once, however, when I was conversing about the Yî with a high Chinese dignitary, who was a well-read scholar also so far as his own literature was concerned, he referred to this paragraph as proving that all our western science had been known to Fû-hsî and Confucius!

What is said on the several lines is sufficiently illustrated in the notes on the Text.

ears changed :—(its subject) has failed in what was required of him (in his situation).

4. 'The contents designed for the ruler's use are overturned and spilt :—how can (the subject of the line) be trusted ?

5. 'The caldron has yellow ears :—the central position (of the line) is taken as (a proof of) the solid (virtue of its subject).

6. 'The rings of jade' are at the very top :—the strong and the weak meet in their due proportions.

LI. (The trigram representing) thunder, being repeated, forms *K'ān*. The superior man, in accordance with this, is fearful and apprehensive, cultivates (his virtue), and examines (his faults).

1. 'When the (time of) movement comes, he will be found looking out with apprehension :—that feeling of dread leads to happiness.

L. The Great Symbolism here has come before us in the treatise on the *Thwan*. Of the application of that symbolism I can only say that, as has been seen in many other hexagrams, while good enough in itself, it is far-fetched.

The same remark may be made on the explanation of the Text of the first line. I can myself do little more than guess at its meaning. The *Khang-hsi* editors observe that nothing is said about the case of the 'concubine' in the Text; but that it is covered by the 'following the more noble,' 'so condensed and complete are the words of the sage!'

The same editors find a pregnant sense in the conclusion of paragraph 2 :—'There will be no fault in me to which my enemy can point, and his disposition to find fault will be diminished.'

'What was required of the caldron in the third line was that that line and line 5, instead of 6, should be correlates;' but there is little meaning in such a statement.

The subject of line 4 cannot be trusted again. He has failed in doing what was his proper work.

'He yet smiles and talks cheerfully:'—the issue (of his dread) is that he adopts (proper) laws (for his course).

2. 'When the movement approaches, he is in a position of peril:'—(a weak line) is mounted on a strong (one).

3. 'He is distraught amid the startling movements going on:'—(the third line) is in a position unsuitable to it.

4. 'Amid the startling movements, he sinks supinely in the mud:'—the light in him has not yet been brilliantly developed.

5. 'He goes and comes amid the startling movements, and (always) in peril:'—full of risk are his doings.

'What he has to do has to be done in his central position:'—far will he be from incurring any loss.

6. 'Amid the startling movements he is in breathless dismay:'—he has not found out (the course of) the due mean.

'Though evil (threatens), he will not fall into error:'—he is afraid of being warned by his neighbours.

LII. (Two trigrams representing) a mountain, one over the other, form Kǎn. The superior man, in

LI. The account of the Great Symbolism here calls for no remark. Nor does the application of it; but may it not be too late to fear, and order anew one's thoughts and actions when the retributions in providence are taking place? Commentators are haunted by the shadow of this question; but they are unable rightly to meet it.

Paragraph 1 is the same as 2 in Appendix I.

Paragraph 4. Compare paragraph 4 of hexagram 21, Appendix II.

accordance with this, does not go in his thoughts beyond the (duties of the) position in which he is.

1. 'He keeps his toes at rest : '—he does not fail in what is correct (according to the idea of the figure).

2. 'He cannot help him whom he follows : '—(he whom he follows) will not retreat to listen to him.

3. 'He keeps the loins at rest : '—the danger (from his doing so) produces a glowing heat in the heart.

4. 'He keeps the trunk of his body at rest : '—he keeps himself free (from agitation).

5. 'He keeps his cheek bones at rest : '—in harmony with his central position he acts correctly.

6. 'There is good fortune through his devotedly maintaining his restfulness : '—to the end he shows himself generous and good.

LII. According to the view of the Khang-hsî editors, the application should be translated :—'The superior man, in accordance with this, thinks anxiously how he shall not go beyond the duties of his position.' It is difficult to decide between this shade of the meaning, and the more common one which I have followed.

The toes play a great part in walking ; but they are here kept at rest, and so do not lose the correct idea of Kăn.

There is no correlation between lines 2 and 3, and thence the subject of 3 will hold on its upward way without condescending to 2.

K'ang-ze finds an unsatisfactory auspice in paragraph 4. Line 4 represents a great minister who should be able to guide all to rest where they ought to be ; but he can only keep himself from agitation.

Yü P'ăn (Ming dynasty) says on paragraph 5 :—'Words should not be uttered rashly. Then, when uttered, they will be found

LIII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for a tree form *K'ien*. The superior man, in accordance with this, attains to and maintains his extraordinary virtue, and makes the manners of the people good.

1. 'The danger of a small officer (as represented in the first line)' is owing to no fault of his in the matter of what is right.

2. 'They eat and drink joyfully and at ease : '—but not without having earned their food.

3. 'A husband goes and does not return : '—he separates himself from his comrades.

'A wife is pregnant, but will not nourish her child : '—she has failed in her (proper) course.

'It might be advantageous in resisting plunderers : '—by acting as here indicated men would preserve one another.

4. 'They may light on the flat branches : '—there is docility (in the line) going on to flexible penetration.

5. 'In the end the natural issue cannot be prevented. There will be good fortune : '—(the subject of the line) will get what he desires.

6. 'Their feathers can be used as ornaments. There will be good fortune : '—(the object and character of the subject of the line) cannot be disturbed.

accordant with principle. But it is only the master of the virtue belonging to the due mean who can attain to this.'

LIII. The Khang-hsi editors, to bring out the suitability of the Great Symbolism and its application, say :—'A tree springing up on the ground is a tree as it begins to grow. A tree on a hill is high and large. Every tree when it begins to grow, shows its

LIV. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and over it that for thunder form Kwei Mei. The superior man, in accordance with this, having regard to the far-distant end, knows the mischief (that may be done at the beginning).

1. 'The younger sister is married off in a position ancillary to that of the real wife:'—it is the constant practice (for such a case).

'Lame on one leg, she is able to tramp along:'—she can render helpful service.

2. 'There will be advantage in maintaining the firm correctness of a solitary widow:'—(the subject of

branches and twigs gradually becoming long. Every morning and every evening show some difference; and when the tree is high and great, whether it be of an ordinary or extraordinary size, it has taken years to reach its dimensions. This illustrates the difference between the advance in Shāng (46) and that in K'ien. Then the maintenance of extraordinary virtue in the application and the improvement of manners is a gradual process. The improvement of the manners, moreover, flows from the maintenance of the extraordinary virtue; which implies also a gradual operation and progress.'

Paragraph 1. The danger is the result of circumstances; the small officer has not brought it on himself.

Paragraph 2. Only the geese appear in this paragraph; but the writer is thinking of the advancing officer. I cannot but think that in the language and sentiment also there is an echo of the Shih King, I, ix, ode 6.

The 'separation from his comrades' has respect to line 3 not finding its correlate in 6. 'The wife's failing in her proper course' has respect to the line being undivided and not in the centre.

K'hang-ze says, on paragraph 4, that humility and right-doing will find rest and peace in all places and circumstances.

Paragraph 5. 'The natural issue cannot be prevented:'—the wife will have a child; minister and ruler will meet happily.

Paragraph 6. See on the Text. But it is difficult to see the aptness of the symbolism.

the line) has not changed from the constancy (proper to a wife).

3. 'The younger sister who was to be married off is in a mean position : '—this is shown by the improprieties (indicated in the line).

4. (The purpose in) 'protracting the time' is that, after waiting, the thing may be done (all the better).

5. 'The sleeves of the younger sister of (king) T'i-yü, when she was married away, were not equal to those of her (half-) sister, who accompanied her : '—such was her noble character, indicated by the central position of the line.

6. '(What is said in) the sixth line, divided, about there being nothing in the basket' shows that the subject of it is carrying an empty basket.

LV. (The trigrams representing) thunder and lightning combine to form Fäng. The superior man, in accordance with this, decides cases of litigation, and apports punishments with exactness.

1. 'Though they are both of the same character, there will be no error : '—if the subject of this

LIV. Thunder rolling above is supposed to produce movement in the waters of the marsh below. The combination of this symbolism in Kwei Mei is recognised as an evil omen in the case which the name denotes. The application of it is not inappropriate.

Paragraph 1. 'It is the constant practice (for such a case)' seems to mean that an ancillary wife has no right to the disposition of herself, but must do what she is told. Thus it is that the mean position of the younger sister does not interfere with the service she can render.

The addition to the Text of 'the purpose' in paragraph 4 is to show that the putting marriage off is on the part of the lady and not on the other side.

line seek to overpass that similarity, there will be calamity.

2. 'Let him cherish his feeling of sincere devotion, that it shall appear being put forth:'—it is by sincerity that the mind is affected.

3. 'There is an (additional) screen of a large and thick banner:'—great things should not be attempted (in such circumstances).

'He breaks his right arm:'—in the end he will not be fit to be employed.

4. 'He is surrounded by a screen large and thick:'—the position of the line is inappropriate.

'At midday he sees the constellation of the Bushel:'—there is darkness and no light.

'He meets with the subject of the line, undivided like himself. There will be good fortune:'—action may be taken.

5. 'The good fortune indicated by the fifth line, divided,' is the congratulation (that is sure to arise).

6. 'He has made his house large:'—he soars (in his pride) to the heavens.

'He looks at his door, which is still, with no one about it:'—he (only) keeps himself withdrawn from all others.

LV. Lightning appears here as the natural phenomenon of which Lî is the symbol. The virtues attributed to the two trigrams are certainly required in the application of them which is subjoined; but that application has little or nothing to do with the explanation of the hexagram supplied by the Text.

I hardly understand the conclusion of paragraph 1. My translation of it is according to the view of Kû Hsî, if I rightly understand that.

Paragraph 2. It is by such sincerity that the mind is affected,—that is, the mind of the ruler occupying line 5.

LVI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for fire form Lü. The superior man, in accordance with this, exerts his wisdom and caution in the use of punishments and not allowing litigations to continue.

1. 'The stranger is mean and meanly occupied :—his aim is become of the lowest character, and calamity will ensue.

2. 'He is provided with good and trusty servants :—he will in the end have nothing of which to complain.

3. 'The stranger burns his lodging-house :—and he himself also suffers hurt thereby. When, as a stranger, he treats those below him (as the line indicates), the right relation between him and them is lost.

4. 'The stranger is in a resting-place :—but he has not got his proper position.

'He has the means of livelihood, and the axe :—but his mind is not at ease.

5. 'In the end he will obtain praise and a (high) charge :—he has reached a high place.

6. 'Considering that the stranger is here at the very height (of distinction), with the spirit that possesses him, it is right he (should be emblemed by a bird) burning (its nest).

Line 3 has a correlate in 6, which is weak, and as it were out of the game. The light in 3 moreover is hidden. Hence the symbolism ; and through the blindness of its subject his hurt, which unfits him to be employed.

The line undivided like 4 is 1 ; perhaps we might translate—'He meets with the subject of the parallel line.'

No one but himself has any confidence in the subject of line 6. He holds himself aloof from others, and they leave him to himself.

‘He loses his ox(-like docility) too readily and easily :’—to the end he would not listen to (the truth about the course to be pursued).

LVII. (Two trigrams representing) wind, following each other, form Sun. The superior man, in accordance with this, reiterates his orders, and secures the practice of his affairs.

1. ‘(Now) he advances, (now) he recedes :’—his mind is perplexed.

‘It would be advantageous for him to have the

LVI. Different attempts are made to bring the idea of a travelling stranger out of the trigrams Kǎn and Lî; but none of them is satisfactory. Let Khung Ying-tá’s view serve as a specimen of them :—‘A fire on a mountain lays hold of the grass, and runs with it over the whole space, not stopping anywhere long, and soon disappearing ;—such is the emblem of the traveller.’ The application may be derived well enough from the attributes of the trigrams ; but does not fit in with the lessons of the Thwan and Hsiang.

The meanness of the subject of line 1 does not arise from the nature of his occupation ; but from his mind and aim being emptied of all that is good and ennobling.

Strong and trusty servants are the most important condition for the comfort and progress of the traveller ; and therefore it alone is resumed and expanded.

The subject of line 3 treats those below him with violence and arrogance, which of course alienates them from him.

‘He has not got into his proper position’ seems to say no more than that 4 is a strong line in an even place.

It is difficult to say what ‘he has reached a high place’ means. The fifth line is not in this hexagram the ruler’s seat ; but by his qualities and gifts the subject of it attracts the attention and regard of his friends and of his ruler.

The spirit that possesses the subject of line 6 is one of haughty arrogance, with which the humility that ought to characterise him cannot co-exist. His careless self-sufficiency has shut his mind against all lessons of wisdom.

firmness of a brave soldier:—his mind would in that case be well governed.

2. 'The good fortune springing from what borders on confusion' is due to the position (of the line) in the centre.

3. 'The regret arising from the violent and repeated efforts to penetrate' shows the exhaustion of the will.

4. 'He takes game in his hunting, enough for the threefold use of it:—he achieves merit.

5. 'The good fortune of (the subject of) the fifth line, undivided,' is owing to its correct position and its being in the centre.

6. 'The representative of penetration is beneath a couch:—though occupying the topmost place, his powers are exhausted.

'He has lost the axe with which he executed his decisions:—though he try to be correct, there will be evil.

LVII. I have said on the Thwan that some commentators make the upper trigram symbolical of the ordinances of the ruler and the lower symbolical of the obedience of the people. E. g., *Khǎng-ze* says:—'Superiors, in harmony with the duty of inferiors, issue their commands; inferiors, in harmony with the wishes of their superiors, follow them. Above and below there are that harmony and deference; and this is the significance of the redoubled Sun. When governmental commands and business are in accordance with what is right, they agree with the tendencies of the minds of the people who follow them.'

Paragraph 2 seems to say that the sincerity of purpose indicated by the central position of the second line conducts its subject to the right course, despite the many considerations that might distract him.

'The will is exhausted' in paragraph 3 intimates that 'the repeated efforts' made by its subject have exhausted him. He can now only regret his failures.

LVIII. (Two symbols representing) the waters of a marsh, one over the other, form Tui. The superior man, in accordance with this, (encourages) the conversation of friends and (the stimulus of) their (common) practice.

1. 'The good fortune attached to the pleasure of (inward) harmony' arises from there being nothing in the conduct (of the subject of the line) to awaken doubt.

2. 'The good fortune attached to the pleasure arising from (inward sincerity)' is due to the confidence felt in the object (of the subject of the line).

3. 'The evil predicated of one's bringing around himself whatever can give pleasure' is shown by the inappropriateness of the place (of the line).

4. 'The joy in connexion with (the subject of) the fourth line, undivided,' is due to the happiness (which he will produce).

5. 'He trusts in one who would injure him:'—his place is that which is correct and appropriate.

6. 'The topmost line, divided, shows the pleasure (of its subject) in leading and attracting others:'—his (virtue) is not yet brilliant.

What is said in paragraph 6 proceeds on a different view of the Text from that which I have followed.

LVIII. The application of the Great Symbolism here will recall to many readers the Hebrew maxims in Proverbs xxvii. 17, 19. The sentiment of it, however, does not readily fit in to the teaching of the hexagram as set forth in the Text.

There is nothing in the conduct of the subject of line 1 to awaken suspicion. He has as yet taken no action; but it was not necessary to say anything like this about the subject of line 2, his central position being an assurance that he would never do anything of a doubtful character.

LIX. (The trigram representing) water and that for wind moving above the water form Hwân. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, presented offerings to God and established the ancestral temple.

1. 'The good fortune attached to the first line, divided,' is due to the natural course (pursued by its subject).

2. 'Amidst the prevailing dispersion, he hurries to his contrivance (for security):'—he gets what he desires.

3. 'He has no regard to his own person:'—his aim is directed to what is external to himself.

4. 'He scatters the (different) parties (in the state), and there is great good fortune:'—brilliant and great (are his virtue and service).

5. 'The accumulations of the royal (granaries) are dispersed, and there is no error:'—this is due to the correctness of the position.

6. 'His bloody wounds are gone:'—he is far removed from the danger of injury.

Line 3 should be strong, and the desire of pleasure which is the idea of the hexagram leads its weak subject to the course which is so emphatically condemned.

Paragraph 5 is incomplete. Does the correctness and appropriateness of the position of the subject of the line afford any explanation of his trusting the subject of the weak line above, who would only injure him? It ought to keep him on the contrary from doing so. The commentators have seen this, and say that the paragraph is intended by way of caution.

The action of the hexagram should culminate and end in line 5. But the subject of it has not made brilliant attainment in the firmness and correctness by which the love of pleasure should be controlled.

LIX. The 'in accordance with this' must be equivalent to—'to remedy the state of things thus symbolised.' What follows certainly

LX. (The trigram representing) a lake, and above it that for water, form *Kieh*. The superior man, in accordance with this, constructs his (methods of) numbering and measurement, and discusses (points of) virtue and conduct.

1. 'He does not quit the courtyard outside his door:—he knows when he has free course and when he is obstructed.

2. 'He does not quit the courtyard inside his gate. There will be evil:—he loses the time (for action) to an extreme degree.

3. In 'the lamentation for not observing the (proper) regulations,' who should there be to blame?

4. 'The progress and success of the quiet and natural (attention) to all regulations' is due to the deference which accepts the ways of (the ruler) above.

5. 'The good fortune arising from the regulations enacted sweetly and acceptably' is due to (the line)

amounts to this, that the ancient kings considered the services of religion, sincerely and earnestly attended to, as calculated to counteract the tendency to mutual alienation and selfishness in the minds of men. How they operated to have this beneficial effect we are not told. Nor is it easy to account for the extension of what is said in the Text about the establishment of the ancestral temple to the presentation also of offerings to God. Probably the writer had the same idea in his mind as in the Great Symbolism of hexagram 16, q. v.

'The natural course' pursued by the subject of line 1 is, probably, that required by the time.

'What the subject of line 2 desired' would be his success in counteracting the prevailing tendency to disunion.

The view given of paragraph 5 is that propounded by *K'ü Hsi*.

For paragraph 6 see the note on line 6 under the Text.

occupying the place (of authority) and being in the centre.

6. 'The regulations are severe and difficult. Even with firm correctness there will be evil:—the course (indicated by the hexagram) is come to an end.

LXI. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and that for wind above it form *K'ung Fû*. The superior man, in accordance with this, deliberates about cases of litigation and delays (the infliction of) death.

1. 'The first line, undivided, shows its subject resting (in himself). There will be good fortune:—no change has yet come over his purpose.

2. 'Her young ones respond to her:—from the (common) wish of the inmost heart.

3. 'Now he beats his drum, and now he leaves off:—the position (of the line) is the appropriate one for it.

LX. Various explanations of the Great Symbolism have been attempted. E. g., *K'ang-ze* says:—'The water which a lake or marsh will contain is limited to a certain quantity. If the water flowing in exceed that, it overflows. This gives us the idea of *K'ieh*.' What is found on the application of it is to my mind equally unsatisfactory.

The subject of line 1 knows when he might have free course and when he is obstructed, and acts accordingly. He is regulated by a consideration of the time.

The subject of line 1 ought not to act, and he is still. The subject of line 2 ought to act, and he also is still. The error and the effect of it are great.

The subject of line 3 shows by his lamentation how he blames himself.

The other three paragraphs are sufficiently explained in what is said on the Text.

4. 'A horse the fellow of which disappears:—he breaks from his (former) companions, and mounts upwards.

5. 'He is perfectly sincere, and links others to him in closest union:—the place (of the line) is the correct and appropriate one.

6. 'Chanticleer (tries to) mount to heaven:—but how can (such an effort) continue long?

LXII. (The trigram representing) a hill and that for thunder above it form Hsião Kwo. The superior man, in accordance with this, in his conduct exceeds in humility, in mourning exceeds in sorrow, and in his expenditure exceeds in economy.

1. 'There is a bird flying (and ascending) till the result is evil:—nothing can be done to avoid this issue.

2. 'He does not attempt to reach his ruler:—

LXI. Dissatisfied with previous attempts to explain the Great Symbolism, the Khang-hsi editors say:—'The wind penetrates things. The grass and trees of the level ground are shaken and tossed by it; the rocky valleys and caverns in their sides have it blowing round about them; and it acts also on the depths of the collected waters, the cold of which disappears and the ice is melted before it. This is what makes it the emblem of that perfect sincerity which penetrates everywhere. The litigations of the people are like the deep and dark places of the earth. The kings examine with discrimination into all secret matters connected with them, even those which are here mentioned, till there is nothing that is not penetrated by their perfect sincerity.' But all this is greatly strained. The symbolism of the eight trigrams gets pretty well played out in the course of the 64 hexagrams.

1. 'No change has come over the purpose:—the sincerity, that is, perfect in itself and of itself, continues.

2. One bond of loving regard unites the mother bird and her young; so answers the heart of man to man.

a minister should not overpass the distance (between his ruler and himself).

3. 'Some in consequence find opportunity to assail and injure him. There will be evil :—how great will it be !

4. 'He meets the exigency (of his situation), without exceeding (the proper course) :—(he does so), the position being inappropriate (for a strong line).

'If he go forward, there will be peril, and he must be cautious :—the result would be that his course would not be long pursued.

5. 'There are dense clouds, but no rain :—(the line) is in too high a place.

6. 'He does not meet the exigency (of his situation), and exceeds (his proper course) :—(the position indicates) the habit of domineering.

LXIII. (The trigram representing) fire and that for water above it form *K'1* 31. The superior

LXII. The Khang-hsü editors endeavour to show the appropriateness of the Great Symbolism in this way :—'When thunder issues from the earth, the sound of it comes with a rush and is loud ; but when it reaches the top of a hill it has begun to die away and is small.' There is nothing in the Chinese about the hills being high ; and readers will only smile at the attempted explanation. The application of the symbolism, or rather of the idea of the hexagram, is good, and in entire accordance with what I have stated that idea to be.

Nothing can be done to avoid the issue mentioned in paragraph 1, for the subject of the line brings it on himself.

Paragraph 2 deals only with the symbolism in the conclusion of what is stated under line 2. The writer takes the view which I have given on the Text.

For paragraphs 3 and 4 see the notes on the Text.

In line 5 the yin line is too high. If the line were yang, the auspice would be different.

man, in accordance with this, thinks of evil (that may come), and beforehand guards against it.

1. 'He drags back his wheel:'—as we may rightly judge, there will be no mistake.

2. 'In seven days she will find it:'—for the course pursued is that indicated by the central position (of the line).

3. 'He was three years in subduing it:'—enough to make him weary.

4. 'He is on his guard all the day:'—he is in doubt about something.

5. 'The slaughtering of an ox by the neighbour in the east is not equal to (the small sacrifice of) the neighbour in the west:'—because the time (in the latter case is more important and fit).

'His sincerity receives the blessing:'—good fortune comes on a great scale.

6. 'His head is immersed; the position is perilous:'—how could such a state continue long?

LXIV. (The trigram representing) water and that for fire above it form Wei 31. The superior man, in accordance with this, carefully discriminates among (the qualities of) things, and the (different) positions they (naturally) occupy.

1. 'His tail gets immersed:'—this is the very height of ignorance.

LXIII. Water and fire coming together as here, fire under the water, each element occupies its proper place, and their interaction will be beneficial. Such is the common explanation of the Great Symbolism; but the connexion between it and the application of it, which also is good in itself, is by no means clear.

The notes on the different lines present nothing that has not been dealt with in the notes on the Text.

2. 'The second line, undivided, shows good fortune arising from being firm and correct:'—it is in the central place, and the action of its subject thereby becomes correct.

3. '(The state of things is) not yet remedied. Advancing will lead to evil:'—the place (of the line) is not that appropriate for it.

4. 'By firm correctness there is good fortune, and cause for repentance disappears:'—the aim (of the subject of the line) is carried into effect.

5. '(We see) the brightness of a superior man:'—the diffusion of that brightness tends to good fortune.

6. 'He drinks and gets his head immersed:'—he does not know how to submit to the (proper) regulations.

LXIV. In this last hexagram we have water below and fire above, so that the two cannot act on each other, and the Symbolism may represent the unregulated condition of general affairs, the different classes of society not harmonising nor acting together. The application follows naturally.

K'ü Hsî and others suspect an error in the text of paragraph 1; yet a tolerable meaning comes from it as it stands.

The Khang-hsî editors observe on paragraph 2 that an undivided line in the second place, and a divided line in the fifth place, are both incorrect, and yet it is often said of them that with firm correctness in their subjects there will be good fortune;—such is the virtue of the central position. This principle is at last clearly enunciated in this paragraph.

K'hang-ze says:—'The subject of line 4 has the ability which the time requires, and possesses also a firm solidity. He can carry out therefore his purpose. There will be good fortune, and all cause for repentance will disappear. The smiting of the demon region was the highest example of firm correctness.'

Both the symbols in paragraph 6 indicate a want of caution, and an unwillingness to submit one's impulses to the regulation of reason and prudence.

APPENDIX III.

THE GREAT APPENDIX. SECTION I.

Chapter I. 1. Heaven is lofty and honourable; earth is low. (Their symbols), *K'ien* and *Khwăn*, (with their respective meanings), were determined (in accordance with this).

Things low and high appear displayed in a similar relation. The (upper and lower trigrams, and the relative position of individual lines, as) noble and mean, had their places assigned accordingly.

Movement and rest are the regular qualities (of their respective subjects). Hence comes the definite distinction (of the several lines) as the strong and the weak.

(Affairs) are arranged together according to their tendencies, and things are divided according to their classes. Hence were produced (the interpretations in the *Yi*, concerning) what is good [or lucky] and evil [or unlucky].

In the heavens there are the (different) figures there completed, and on the earth there are the (different) bodies there formed. (Corresponding to them) ^{hence} were the changes and transformations exhibited (in the *Yi*).

2. After this fashion a strong and a weak line were manipulated together (till there were the eight trigrams), and those eight trigrams were added, each to itself and to all the others, (till the sixty-four hexagrams were formed).

3. We have the exciting forces of thunder and lightning; the fertilising influences of wind and rain; and the revolutions of the sun and moon, which give rise to cold and warmth.

4. The attributes expressed by *Khien* constitute the male; those expressed by *Khwăn* constitute the female.

5. *Khien* (symbolises Heaven, which) directs the great beginnings of things; *Khwăn* (symbolises Earth, which) gives to them their completion.

6. It is by the ease with which it proceeds that *Khien* directs (as it does), and by its unhesitating response that *Khwăn* exhibits such ability.

7. (He who attains to this) ease (of Heaven) will be easily understood, and (he who attains to this) freedom from laborious effort (of the Earth) will be easily followed. He who is easily understood will have adherents, and he who is easily followed will achieve success. He who has adherents can continue long, and he who achieves success can become great. To be able to continue long shows the virtue of the wise and able man; to be able to become great is the heritage he will acquire.

8. With the attainment of such ease and such freedom from laborious effort, the mastery is got of all principles under the sky. With the attainment of that mastery, (the sage) makes good his position in the middle (between heaven and earth).

Chapter I is an attempt to show the correspondency between the phenomena of external nature ever changing, and the figures of the *Yi King* ever varying. The first four paragraphs, it is said, show, from the phenomena of production and transformation in external

Chapter II. 9. The sages set forth the diagrams, inspected the emblems contained in them, and appended their explanations;—in this way the good fortune and bad (indicated by them) were made clear.

10. The strong and the weak (lines) displace each other, and produce the changes and transformations (in the figures).

11. Therefore the good fortune and evil (mentioned in the explanations) are the indications of the right and wrong (in men's conduct of affairs), and the repentance and regret (similarly mentioned) are the indications of their sorrow and anxiety.

nature, the principles on which the figures of the Yî were made. The fifth and sixth paragraphs show, particularly, how the attributes represented by the figures *K'ien* and *Khwân* are to be found in (the operations of) heaven and earth. The last two paragraphs show both those attributes embodied or realised in man. The realisation takes place, indeed, fully only in the sage or the ideal man, who thus becomes the pattern for all men.

In paragraph 3 we have five of the six derivative trigrams;—the six 'children,' according to the nomenclature of the *Wân* arrangement. 'Thunder' stands for *k'ăn* (䷳), 'lightning' for *lî* (䷲), 'wind' for *sun* (䷺), and 'rain' for *khan* (䷴). 'The sun,' however, is also an emblem of *lî*, and 'the moon' one of *k'ăn* (䷳), generally said to represent 'mountains,' while *tui* (䷗), representing 'collections of water,' has no place in the enumeration. *K'û Hsî* says that in paragraph 3 we have the natural changes seen in the phenomena of the sky, while in 4 we have such changes as find body and figure on the earth.

Paragraphs 5 and 6 have both been misunderstood from neglect of the peculiar meaning of the character *zhî* (知), and from taking it in its common acceptance of 'knowing.' Both commentaries and dictionaries point out that it is here used in the sense of 'directing,' 'presiding over.' In paragraph 7, however, it resumes its ordinary significancy.

12. The changes and transformations (of the lines) are the emblems of the advance and retrogression (of the vital force in nature). Thus what we call the strong and the weak (lines) become the emblems of day and night. The movements which take place in the six places (of the hexagram) show the course of the three extremes (i. e. of the three Powers in their perfect operation).

13. Therefore what the superior man rests in, in whatever position he is placed, is the order shown in the Yî; and the study which gives him the greatest pleasure is that of the explanations of the several lines.

14. Therefore the superior man, when living quietly, contemplates the emblems and studies the explanations of them; when initiating any movement, he contemplates the changes (that are made in divining), and studies the prognostications from them. Thus 'is help extended to him from Heaven; there will be good fortune, and advantage in every movement.'

Chapter II, paragraphs 9-14, is divided into two parts. The former contains paragraphs 9-12, and tells us how the sages, king Wân and the duke of Kâu, proceeded in making the Yî, so that the good fortune and bad of men's courses should be indicated by it in harmony with right and wrong, and the processes of nature. Paragraphs 13, 14 form the second part, and speak of the study of the Yî by the superior man, desirous of doing what is right and increasing his knowledge, and the advantages flowing from it.

I can follow to some extent the first two statements of paragraph 12, so far as the ideas of the writer are concerned, though asserting any correspondence between the changes of the lines of the diagrams, and the operations of external nature, as in the succession of day and night, is merely an amusement of the fancy. I all but fail, however, to grasp the idea in the last statement. In the trigram, the first line represents earth; the second, man; and the

Chapter III. 15. The Thwan speak of the emblematic figures (of the complete diagrams). The Yáo speak of the changes (taking place in the several lines).

16. The expressions about good fortune or bad are used with reference to (the figures and lines, as) being right or wrong (according to the conditions of time and place); those about repentance or regret refer to small faults (in the satisfying those conditions); when it is said 'there will be no error,' or 'no blame,' there is reference to (the subject) repairing an error by what is good.

17. Therefore the distinction of (the upper and lower trigrams and of the individual lines) as noble or mean is decided by the (relative) position (of the lines); the regulations of small and great are found in the diagrams, and the discriminations of good and bad fortune appear in the (subjoined) explanations.

18. Anxiety against (having occasion for) repentance or regret should be felt at the boundary line (between good and evil). The stirring up the thought of (securing that there shall be) no blame arises from (the feeling of) repentance.

third, heaven; in the hexagram, the first and second lines are assigned to earth; the third and fourth, to man; and the fifth and sixth, to heaven. These are the three Powers, and each Power has 'a Grand Extreme,' where its nature and operation are seen in their highest ideal. This is to some extent conceivable; but when I try to follow our author, and find an analogy between the course of these extremes and the movements in the places of the diagrams, I have no clue by which to trace my way. For the concluding sentence of paragraph 14 see the duke of Káu on the last line of hexagram 14.

19. Thus of the diagrams some are small, and some are great; and of the explanations some are startling, and some are unexciting. Every one of those explanations has reference to the tendencies (indicated by the symbols).

Chapter IV. 20. The Yî was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth.

21. (The sage), in accordance with (the Yî), looking up, contemplates the brilliant phenomena of the heavens, and, looking down, examines the definite arrangements of the earth;—thus he knows the causes of darkness (or, what is obscure) and light (or, what is bright). He traces things to their beginning, and follows them to their end;—thus he knows what can be said about death and life. (He

Chapter III, paragraphs 15-19, gives additional information about the constituent parts of the Yî, that is, the Text of the classic as we have it from king Wăn and his son. The imperial editors say that it expands the meaning of the fourth paragraph, the third of chapter 2. It does do so, but this account hardly covers all its contents.

To understand the names 'small and great,' as used of the diagrams in paragraphs 17 and 19, it should be noted that hexagrams to which the divided or yin line gives their character are termed 'small,' and those where the undivided or yang line rules are called 'great.' Kâu (44, ) , Thun (33, ) , and Phei (12, ) are instances of the former class; Fû (24, ) , Lin (19, ) , and Thâi (11, ) of the other.

It is observed by Shâi K'ing (early in the Ming dynasty) that the terms 'diagrams' and 'explanations' must be understood not only of the whole figures but also as embracing the several lines.

perceives how the union of) essence and breath form things, and the (disappearance or) wandering away of the soul produces the change (of their constitution);—thus he knows the characteristics of the *anima* and *animus*.

22. There is a similarity between him and heaven and earth, and hence there is no contrariety in him to them. His knowledge embraces all things, and his course is (intended to be) helpful to all under the sky;—and hence he falls into no error. He acts according to the exigency of circumstances without being carried away by their current; he rejoices in Heaven and knows its ordinations;—and hence he has no anxieties. He rests in his own (present) position, and cherishes (the spirit of) generous benevolence;—and hence he can love (without reserve).

23. (Through the *Yî*), he comprehends as in a mould or enclosure the transformations of heaven and earth without any error; by an ever-varying adaptation he completes (the nature of) all things without exception; he penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other connected phenomena);—it is thus that his operation is spirit-like, unconditioned by place, while the changes which he produces are not restricted to any form.

Chapter IV, paragraphs 20–23, is intended still more to exalt the *Yî*, and seems to say that the sage by means of it can make an exhaustive study of all principles and of human nature, till he attains to the knowledge of the ordinances of Heaven. Such is the account of the chapter given by *K'û Hsî*; but the second character in paragraph 21 must be understood in the signification which it has in all the sixty-four sentences which explain the emblematic structure of the hexagrams, as=‘in accordance with’ and not ‘by means of.’ The

Chapter V. 24. The successive movement of the inactive and active operations constitutes what is called the course (of things).

imperial editors append to their statement of *K'ü*'s account, that it must be borne in mind that the sages had not to wait till the *Yî* was made to conduct their exhaustive study. They had done that before, and the *Yî* may be considered as a talk on the results, drawn out in its own peculiar style. It holds the mirror up to nature; but its authors knew nature before they made it.

In paragraph 21, 'the brilliant phenomena of the heavens' are the various shining bodies of the sky, with their rising and setting; 'the definite arrangements of the earth' are the different situations of its parts according to the points of the compass, and its surface as diversified by mountain and valley; and by the study of these the causes of day and night are known as being the expansion and contraction of the elementary ether. The same thing produces the facts of birth or life and death.

Ĵing, which I have translated 'essence,' denotes the more subtle and pure part of matter, and belongs to the grosser form of the elementary ether; *k'hi*, or 'spirit,' is the breath, still material, but purer than the *Ĵing*, and belongs to the finer, and more active form of the ether. Here *k'hi* is 'the breath of life.' In the *hwun* or 'soul (animus),' the *k'hi* predominates, and the *Ĵing* in the *pho* or animal soul. At death the *hwun* wanders away, ascending, and the *pho* descends and is changed into a ghostly shade. So did the ancient Chinese grope their way from material things to the concept and representation of what was immaterial.

For my 'characteristics of the anima and animus,' Dr. Medhurst rendered 'the circumstances and conditions of the *Kwei Shāns*' (Theology of the Chinese, pp. 10-12); but he observes that 'the *Kwei Shāns* in the passage are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life.' The *kwei shāns* are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending *shān*, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled *kwei*, which reverts to earth and nonentity. It is difficult to express one's self clearly on a subject treated so briefly and enigmatically in the text.

We must understand that the subject of the predicates in this and the next two paragraphs is 'the sage,' who has endeavoured to give a transcript of his views and doings in the *Yî*. The character,

25. That which ensues as the result (of their movement) is goodness; that which shows it in its completeness is the natures (of men and things).

26. The benevolent see it and call it benevolence. The wise see it and call it wisdom. The common people, acting daily according to it, yet have no knowledge of it. Thus it is that the course (of things), as seen by the superior man, is seen by few.

27. It is manifested in the benevolence (of its operations), and (then again) it conceals and stores up its resources. It gives their stimulus to all things, without having the same anxieties that possess the sage. Complete is its abundant virtue and the greatness of its stores!

28. Its rich possessions is what is intended by 'the greatness of its stores;' the daily renovation which it produces is what is meant by 'the abundance of its virtue.'

29. Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change.

30. The formation of the semblances (shadowy forms of things) is what we attribute to *K'ien*; the giving to them their specific forms is what we attribute to *Khwăn*.

31. The exhaustive use of the numbers (that turn

which I have translated by 'spirit-like' in paragraph 23, is different from *shên* in paragraph 21. It is *shên*, a character of the phonetic class, while its primary material signification has not been satisfactorily ascertained. 'The Chinese,' says P. Regis (vol. ii. p. 445), 'use it in naming the soul, true angels, and the genii of idolaters; and the Christian Chinese use it when they speak of God, of the Holy Spirit, of angels, and of the soul of man. For what else could they do?'

up in manipulating the stalks), and (thereby) knowing (the character of) coming events, is what we call prognosticating; the comprehension of the changes (indicated leads us to) what we call the business (to be done).

32. That which is unfathomable in (the movement of) the inactive and active operations is (the presence of a) spiritual (power).

Chapter V, paragraphs 24-32, still shows us the Yî fashioned so as to give a picture of the phenomena of the external universe; but the writer dwells more on the latter, and the different paragraphs give an interesting view of his ideas on the subject. He supposes a constant change from rest to movement and from movement to rest, through which all things are formed, now still, now in motion, now expanding, now contracting. It is customary to speak of two forms of an original ether as the two elementary principles, but they are really one and the same ether, in a twofold condition, with a twofold action. By their successive movement the phenomena of existence are produced,—what I have called ‘the course (of things)’ in paragraph 24. It is attempted, however, by many native scholars and by some sinologists, to give to *tão*, the last character in that paragraph, the meaning of ‘reason,’ that which intelligently guides and directs the movements of the two elements. But this view is not in harmony with the scope of the chapter, nor can the characters be fairly construed so as to justify such an interpretation.

The imperial editors say that the germ of the Mencian doctrine about the goodness of human nature is in paragraph 25; but it says more widely, that ‘every creature is good,’ according to its ideal as from the plastic yin and yang. But few, the next paragraph tells us, can understand the measure of this goodness.

‘The benevolent operations’ in the course of things in paragraph 27 are illustrated from the phenomena of growth and beauty in spring and summer; and the cessation of these in autumn and winter may be called ‘a concealing and storing them up.’

Paragraph 29 seems to state the origin of the name Yî as applied to the book, the Yî King.

In paragraph 30 the names *Khien* and *Khwän* take the place of yin and yang, as used in paragraphs 24 and 32. In *Khien*,

Chapter VI. 33. Yes, wide is the Yt and great! If we speak of it in its farthest reaching, no limit can be set to it; if we speak of it with reference to what is near at hand, (its lessons are) still and correct; if we speak of it in connexion with all between heaven and earth, it embraces all.

34. There is *Khien*. In its (individual) stillness it is self-absorbed; when exerting its motive power it goes straight forward; and thus it is that its productive action is on a grand scale. There is *Khwăn*. In its (individual) stillness, it is self-collected and capacious; when exerting its motive power, it develops its resources, and thus its productive action is on a wide scale.

35. In its breadth and greatness, (the Yt) corre-

the symbol of heaven, every one of its three lines is undivided; it is the concentration of the yang faculty; so *Khwăn*, the symbol of the earth, is the concentration of the yin. The critics themselves call attention to the equivalence of the symbolic names here given to yin and yang. The connexion of the two is necessary to the production of any one substantial thing. The yang originates a shadowy outline which the yin fills up with a definite substance. So actually in nature Heaven (*Khien*) and Earth (*Khwăn*) operate together in the production of all material things and beings.

The 'numbers,' mentioned in paragraph 31, are not all or any numbers generally, but 7, 8, 9, 6, those assigned to the four 'emblematic figures,' that grow out of the undivided and divided lines, and by means of which the hexagrams are made up in divination. The 'future or coming events' which are prognosticated are not particular events, which the diviner has not already forecast, but the character of events or courses of actions already contemplated, as good or evil, lucky or unlucky, in their issue.

The best commentary on paragraph 32 is supplied by paragraphs 8-10 of Appendix VI. The 'Spirit' is that of 'God;' and this settles the meaning of *tão* in paragraph 24, as being the course of nature, in which, according to the author, 'God worketh all in all.'

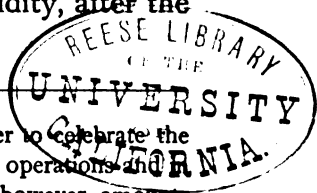
sponds to heaven and earth; in its ever-recurring changes, it corresponds to the four seasons; in its mention of the bright or active, and the dark or inactive operation, it corresponds to the sun and moon; and the excellence seen in the ease and ready response (of its various operations) corresponds to the perfect operations (presented to us in the phenomena of nature).

Chapter VII. 36. The Master said:—‘Is not the Yi a perfect book?’ It was by the Yi that the sages exalted their virtue, and enlarged their sphere of occupation. Their wisdom was high, and their rules of conduct were solid. That loftiness was after the pattern of heaven; that solidity, after the pattern of earth.

Chapter VI, paragraphs 33–35, goes on further to celebrate the Yi as holding up the mirror to nature in all its operations and its widest extent. The grandiloquent language, however, amounts only to this, that, when we have made ourselves acquainted with the phenomena of nature, we can, with a heated fancy, see some analogy to them in the changes of the diagrams and lines of the Yi book.

K'ien and *Khwan* must be taken as the same names are understood in paragraph 30 above.

‘The Yi,’ with which paragraph 33 begins, must be understood also at the commencement of paragraph 35. The character which I have translated by ‘corresponds’ throughout this last chapter, should not, it is observed, have stress laid upon it. *K'ü Hsi* says that it is simply equal to the ‘there is a similarity’ of paragraph 22. ‘The bright or active element’ and ‘the dark or inactive’ are in the original, ‘the yang and the yin.’ The correspondence predicated between them and the sun and moon, the brightness and warmth of the one, and the paleness and coldness of the other, shows us how those names arose, and that it is foreign to the original concept of them to call them ‘the male and female principles:’—with the last clause compare paragraphs 6–8.



37. Heaven and earth having their positions as assigned to them, the changes (of nature) take place between them. The nature (of man) having been completed, and being continually preserved, it is the gate of all good courses and righteousness.

Chapter VIII. 38. The sage was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character. Hence these (diagrams) are denominated *Semblances* (or emblematic figures, the *Hsiang*).

39. A (later) sage was able to survey the motive influences working all under the sky. He contemplated them in their common action and special nature, in order to bring out the standard and proper tendency of each. He then appended his

Chapter VII, paragraphs 36, 37, is understood to set forth how the sages embodied the teachings of the *Yi* in their character and conduct. But when it is said that 'it was by the *Yi* that they exalted their virtue and enlarged their sphere of occupation,' the meaning can only be that what they did in these directions was in harmony with the principles which they endeavoured to set forth in the symbols of the *Yi*.

'Their rules of conduct were solid,' in paragraph 36, is, literally, 'their rules were low.' To the height of heaven reached by the wisdom of the sages, the author opposes the low-lying earth, between which and their substantial practices and virtues he discovered some analogy.

It will be seen that the chapter commences with 'The Master said.' *K'ü Hsi* observes that 'as the Ten Appendixes were all made by the Master, these words are out of place, and that he conjectures that wherever they occur here and elsewhere, they were added after the sage's time.' Their occurrence very seriously affects the question of the authorship of the Appendixes, which I have discussed in the Introduction, pages 28-31.

explanation (to each line of the diagrams), to determine the good or evil indicated by it. Hence those (lines with their explanations) are denominated Imitations (the Yâo).

40. (The diagrams) speak of the most complex phenomena under the sky, and yet there is nothing in them that need awaken dislike ; the explanations of the lines speak of the subtlest movements under the sky, and yet there is nothing in them to produce confusion.

41. (A learner) will consider what is said (under the diagrams), and then speak ; he will deliberate on what is said (in the explanations of the lines), and then move. By such consideration and deliberations he will be able to make all the changes which he undertakes successful.

42. 'Here hid, retired, cries out the crane ;
Her young's responsive cry sounds there.
Of spirits good I drain this cup ;
With thee a cup I'll freely share.'

The Master said :—'The superior man occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they be good, they will be responded to at a distance of more than a thousand li ;—how much more will they be so in the nearer circle ! He occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they be evil, they will awaken opposition at a distance of more than a thousand li ;—how much more will they do so in the nearer circle ! Words issue from one's person, and proceed to affect the people. Actions proceed from what is near, and their effects are seen at a distance. Words and actions are the hinge and spring of the superior man. The movement of that

hinge and spring determines glory or disgrace. His words and actions move heaven and earth ;—may he be careless in regard to them?’

43. ‘(The representative of) the union of men first cries out and weeps, and afterwards laughs.’ The Master said, on this :—

‘The ways of good men (different seem).
This in a public office toils ;
That in his home the time beguiles.
One man his lips with silence seals ;
Another all his mind reveals.
But when two men are one in heart,
Not iron bolts keep them apart ;
The words they in their union use,
Fragrance like orchid plants diffuse.’

44. ‘The first line, undivided, shows its subject placing mats of the white grass beneath what he sets on the ground.’ The Master said :—‘To place the things on the ground might be considered sufficient ; but when he places beneath them mats of the white grass, what occasion for blame can there be ? Such a course shows the height of carefulness. The white grass is a trivial thing, but, through the use made of it, it may become important. He who goes forward using such careful art will not fall into any error.’

45. ‘A superior man toiling laboriously and yet humble ! He will bring things to an end, and with good fortune.’ The Master said on this :—‘He toils with success, but does not boast of it ; he achieves merit, but takes no virtue to himself from it ;—this is the height of generous goodness, and speaks of the man who with (great) merit yet places

himself below others. He wishes his virtue to be more and more complete, and in his intercourse with others to be more and more respectful;—he who is so humble, carrying his respectfulness to the utmost, will be able to preserve himself in his position.'

46. 'The dragon (is seen) beyond his proper haunts; there will be occasion for repentance.' The Master said on this:—'He is noble, but is not in his correct place; he is on high, but there are no people to acknowledge him; there is a man of virtue and ability below, but he will not assist him. Hence whatever movement he may make will give occasion for repentance.'

47. 'He does not quit the courtyard before his door;—there will be no occasion for blame.' The Master said on this:—'When disorder arises, it will be found that (ill-advised) speech was the stepping-stone to it. If a ruler do not keep secret (his deliberations with his minister), he will lose that minister. If a minister do not keep secret (his deliberations with his ruler), he will lose his life. If (important) matters in the germ be not kept secret, that will be injurious to their accomplishment. Therefore the superior man is careful to maintain secrecy, and does not allow himself to speak.'

48. The Master said:—'The makers of the Yî may be said to have known (the philosophy of) robbery. The Yî says, "He is a burden-bearer, and yet rides in a carriage, thereby exciting robbers to attack him." Burden-bearing is the business of a small man. A carriage is the vehicle of a gentleman. When a small man rides in the vehicle of a gentle-

man, robbers will think of taking it from him. (When one is) insolent to those above him, and oppressive to those below, robbers will wish to attack him. Careless laying up of things excites to robbery, (as a woman's) adorning of herself excites to lust. What the Yî says about the burden-bearer's riding in a carriage, and exciting robbers to attack him, (shows how) robbery is called out.'

Chapter VIII, paragraphs 38-48. In the first two paragraphs here we have an account of the formation of the diagrams, and of the explanation of the whole hexagrams and of the individual lines. 'The sage' in paragraph 38 is intended presumably of Fû-hsî; but we cannot say, from it, whether the writer thought of him as having formed only the eight trigrams, or all the sixty-four hexagrams. In the diagrams, however, we have semblances, or representations, of the phenomena of nature, even the most complex, and hard to be disentangled. Paragraph 39 goes on to speak of the explanation more especially of the individual lines, by the duke of K'âu, as symbolical of good luck or evil, as they turned up in the processes of divination.

Paragraph 40 declares the usability (so to speak) of the diagrams and the explanations of them; and 41 shows us how a learner or consulter of the Yî would actually proceed in using it.

In paragraphs 42-48 we have the words of Confucius on seven lines in so many hexagrams, or rather his amplification of the words of the duke of K'âu's explanations of their symbolism. The lines are 2 of hexagram 61; 5 of 13; 1 of 28; 3 of 15; 6 of 1; 1 of 60; and 3 of 40. What Confucius says is not without interest, but does not make the principles on which the Yî was made any clearer to us. It shows how his object was to turn the symbolism that he found to a moral or ethical account; and no doubt he could have varied the symbolism, if he had been inclined to do so.

I have spoken in the preceding chapter of the difficulty which the phrase 'The Master said' presents to our accepting the Appendix as from the hand of Confucius himself. But his words in paragraph 43 are in rhyme. He did not speak so. If he rhymed his explanation of the symbolism of the line that is the groundwork of that paragraph, why did he not rhyme his explanations of

Chapter IX. 49. To heaven belongs (the number) 1; to earth, 2; to heaven, 3; to earth, 4; to heaven, 5; to earth, 6; to heaven, 7; to earth, 8; to heaven, 9; to earth, 10.

50. The numbers belonging to heaven are five, and those belonging to earth are (also) five. The numbers of these two series correspond to each other (in their fixed positions), and each one has another that may be considered its mate. The heavenly numbers amount to 25, and the earthly to 30. The numbers of heaven and earth together amount to 55. It is by these that the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement.

51. The numbers of the Great Expansion, (multiplied together), make 50, of which (only) 49 are used (in divination). (The stalks representing these) are divided into two heaps to represent the two (emblematic lines, or heaven and earth). One is then taken (from the heap on the right), and placed (between the little finger of the left hand and the next), that there may thus be symbolised the three (powers of heaven, earth, and man). (The heaps on both sides) are manipulated by fours to represent the four seasons; and then the remainders are returned, and placed (between) the two middle fingers of the left hand, to represent the intercalary month. In five years there are two intercalations, and therefore there are two operations; and afterwards the whole process is repeated.

52. The numbers (required) for *K'ien* (or the

the other lines? To answer these questions categorically is beyond our power. The facts that suggest them increase the difficulty in ascribing this and the other additions to the Yî to the later sage.

undivided line) amount to 216; those for Khwăn (or the divided line), to 144. Together they are 360, corresponding to the days of the year.

53. The number produced by the lines in the two parts (of the Yî) amount to 11,520, corresponding to the number of all things.

54. Therefore by means of the four operations is the Yî completed. It takes 18 changes to form a hexagram.

55. (The formation of) the eight trigrams constitutes the small completion (of the Yî).

56. If we led on the diagrams and expanded them, if we prolonged each by the addition of the proper lines, then all events possible under the sky might have their representation.

57. (The diagrams) make manifest (by their appended explanations), the ways (of good and ill fortune), and show virtuous actions in their spiritual relations. In this way, by consulting them, we may receive an answer (to our doubts), and we may also by means of them assist the spiritual (power in its agency in nature and providence).

58. The Master said:—‘He who knows the method of change and transformation may be said to know what is done by that spiritual (power).’

Chapter IX, paragraphs 49–58, is of a different character from any of the preceding, and treats, unsatisfactorily, of the use of numbers in connexion with the figure of the Yî and the practice of divination.

In the Thang edition of the Yî, published in the seventh century, paragraph 49 is the first of the eleventh chapter according to the arrangement now followed. *Khâng-ze* restored it to its present place, which it occupied, as has been proved, during the Han

Chapter X. 59. In the Yî there are four things characteristic of the way of the sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations to guide

dynasty, and to which it properly belongs. It and the next paragraph should be taken together, and are distinct from what follows, though the Thang edition is further confused in placing 51 before 50.

In 49 and 50 'heaven' and 'earth' are used as we have seen *K'ien* and *Khwan* are in paragraphs 30 and 34. Odd numbers belong to the strong or undivided line, which is symbolical of the active operation in nature, and the even numbers to the weak or divided line, symbolical of its inaction. The phraseology of the paragraphs, however, can only be understood by a reference to 'the river map,' which has been given in the Introduction, pages 15, 16.

The map, as it appeared on the back of 'the dragon-horse,' consisted of so many circles, and so many dark circular markings, the former, it was assumed, being of the yang character, and the latter of the yin. Fû-hsî for the circle substituted the strong or undivided line (——), and for the dark markings the weak or divided (— —). It will be seen that the yang symbols are the 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 circles, and the yin are the 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 circular markings, which is the pictorial delineation of paragraph 49. The only thing to be said upon it is that the arrangement of the five circles and ten circular markings is peculiar, and evidently devised 'for a purpose.' So far, however, as we know, no figure of the map was attempted till after the beginning of our twelfth century.

The same figure is supposed to illustrate what is said in paragraph 50: 'The numbers of the two series correspond to each other in their fixed positions.' 1 and 2, and 3 and 4 certainly front each other, and perhaps 5 and 6; but 7 and 8, and 9 and 10 do not do so in the same way. It is said also that 'each has another that may be considered its mate.' So it is with 1 and 6, 2 and 7, 3 and 8, 4 and 9, but hardly with 5 and 10. Further, $1+3+5+7+9=25$; $2+4+6+8+10=30$; and $25+30=55$; all of which points are stated.

The last statement in the paragraph, however, derives no illustration, so far as I can see, from the figure. How can the numbers effect the things that are predicated of them? There is a

us in speaking; on its changes for (the initiation of) our movements; on its emblematic figures for (definite action as in) the construction of implements;

jargon indeed about the formation of the five elements, but in order to make it appear not reasonable, but capable of being related, writers call in 'the Lo writing' to the aid of 'the Ho map;' and 'the five elements' is a division of the constituents of material things, which is foreign to the Yî.

Paragraph 51 is intended to describe the process of divination in manipulating the stalks, but the description is confused by introducing into it the four seasons and the subject of intercalation, so as to be very difficult to understand.

In the middle of the Ho map are the five circles symbolical of heaven and the ten dark terrestrial markings (five above and five below the others). These multiplied together give fifty, which form 'the great expansion.' But 50 divining stalks or slips, when divided, give either two odd numbers or two even; and therefore one was put on one side. The remaining 49, however divided, were sure to give two parcels of stalks, one containing an even number of stalks, and the other an odd, and so might be said fancifully to represent the undivided or strong, and the divided or weak line. It is needless to go minutely into the other steps of the process. Then comes in the counting the stalks by four, because there are four seasons in the year, and those that remain represent the intercalary days. But how could such a process be of any value to determine the days necessary to be intercalated in any particular year? The paragraph shows, however, that, when it was written, the rule was to intercalate two months in five years. But it does not say how many days would remain to be carried on to the sixth year after the second intercalation.

Paragraph 52. The actual number of the undivided and divided lines in the hexagrams is the same, 192 of each. But the representative number of an undivided line is 9, and of a divided line 6. Now 9×4 (the number of the emblematic figures) $\times 6$ (the lines of each hexagram) = 216; and $6 \times 4 \times 6 = 144$. The sum of these products is 360, which was assumed, for the purpose of working the intercalation, as the standard length of the year. But this was derived from observation, and other considerations;—it did not come out of the Yî.

Paragraphs 53–56. The number in 53 arises thus:—192 (the

and on its prognostications for our practice of divination.

60. Therefore, when a superior man is about to take action of a more private or of a public character, he asks (the Yî), making his inquiry in words. It receives his order, and the answer comes as the echo's response. Be the subject remote or near, mysterious or deep, he forthwith knows of what kind will be the coming result. (If the Yî) were not the most exquisite thing under heaven, would it be concerned in such an operation as this?

61. (The stalks) are manipulated by threes and fives to determine (one) change; they are laid on opposite sides, and placed one up, one down, to make sure of their numbers; and the (three necessary)

number of each series of lines in the sixty-four hexagrams) $\times 36$ (obtained as above) = 6912, and $192 \times 24 = 4608$, the sum of which = 11,520. This is said to be 'the number of all things,' the meaning of which I do not know. The 'four operations' are those described in paragraph 31. They were thrice repeated in divination to determine each new line, and of course it took eighteen of them to form a hexagram. The diagrams might be extended ad infinitum, both in the number of lines and of figures, by the natural process of their formation as shown in the Introduction, page 14, without the aid of the divining stalks; and no sufficient reason can be given why the makers of the figures stopped at sixty-four.

It is difficult to believe the first statement in paragraph 57 and to understand the second. What is it 'to Shān or spiritualise virtuous actions?' The concluding statement approximates to impiety.

We may grant what is affirmed in paragraph 58, but does the Yî really give us any knowledge of the processes of change and transformation in nature? What wiser are we after all the affirmations about numbers? 'Change' = changings, understood actively:—the work of Heaven; 'transformations' = evolution:—the finish given by earth to the changing caused by Heaven.

changes are gone through with in this way, till they form the figures pertaining to heaven or to earth. Their numbers are exactly determined, and the emblems of (all things) under the sky are fixed. (If the Yî were not the thing most capable of change of all things under heaven, how could it effect such a result as this ?

62. In (all these operations forming) the Yî, there is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement ; but, when acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky. If it were not the most spirit-like thing under the sky, how could it be found doing this ?

63. The (operations forming the) Yî are the method by which the sages searched out exhaustively what was deep, and investigated the minutest springs (of things).

64. 'Those operations searched out what was deep : '—therefore they could penetrate to the views of all under the sky. 'They made apparent the minutest springs of (things) : '—therefore they could bring to a completion all undertakings under the sky. 'Their action was spirit-like : '—therefore they could make speed without hurry, and reached their destination without travelling.

65. This is the import of what the Master said, that 'In the Yî there are four things indicating the way of the sages.'

Chapter X, paragraphs 59–65, enlarges on the service rendered to men by the Yî, owing to the way in which it was made by the sages to express their views and carry into effect their wishes.

Paragraph 59 mentions the four things in which its usefulness appears. 'The emblematic figures' are the four hsiang, which are produced by the manipulation of the undivided and divided

Chapter XI. 66. The Master said :—‘What is it that the Yî does? The Yî opens up (the knowledge of the issues of) things, accomplishes the undertakings (of men), and embraces under it (the way of) all things under the sky. This and nothing more is what the Yî does. Thereby the sages, through (divination by) it, would give their proper course to the aims of all under the sky, would give stability to their undertakings, and determine their doubts.’

67. Therefore the virtue of the stalks is versatile

lines, and whose representative numbers are 9, 8, 7, 6. ‘Divination’ appears in the paragraph as pû-shih, which means ‘divination by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks.’ But the tortoise-shell had nothing to do with the use of the Yî. Before the composition of these Appendixes the two terms must have been combined to express the practice of divination, without reference to its mode.

Paragraph 60 speaks of the explanations and prognostications of the Yî. The ‘exquisiteness’ ascribed to it would be due to the sages who had devised it, and appended their explanations to it; but the whole thing has no existence save in cloud-land.

Paragraph 61 speaks of the operations with the stalks till the various changes in the results issued in the determination of the emblematic figures, and then in the fixing of the individual lines and entire hexagrams. Even Kû Hsi admits that the references to the different processes are now hardly intelligible.

Paragraph 62. How could the writer speak of the Yî without thought or action as being most ‘spirit-like?’ If it did what he asserts, those who contrived it might be so described? They would have been beings whose operation was indeed like that of spirits, inscrutable, ‘unfathomable’ (paragraph 32), even like that of the Spirit of God (VI, 10).

Paragraphs 63 and 64 ought not to be taken as saying that the sages did the things described for themselves by the Yî. They knew them of themselves, and made the Yî that others might come by it to do the same. So the writer imagined. No words could indicate more clearly than those of paragraph 65 that the paragraphs between it and 59 did not come from Confucius, but from the compiler of the Great Appendix, whoever he was.

and spirit-like; that of the diagrams is exact and wise; and the meaning given by the six lines is changeful to give (the proper information to men). The sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil. By their spirit-like ability they knew (the character of) coming events, and their wisdom had stored up (all experiences of) the past. Who could be able to accomplish all this? (Only our) ancient sages, quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, and with a majesty, going spirit-like to its objects;—it was only they who could do so.

68. Therefore (those sages), fully understanding the way of Heaven, and having clearly ascertained the experience of the people, instituted (the employment of) these spirit-like things, as a provision for the use of the people. The sages went about the employment of them (moreover) by purifying their hearts and with reverent caution, thereby giving (more) spirituality and intelligence to their virtue.

69. Thus, a door shut may be pronounced (analogous to) *Kh wăn* (or the inactive condition), and the opening of the door (analogous to) *K'ien* (or the active condition). The opening succeeding the being shut may be pronounced (analogous to what we call) a change; and the passing from one of these states to the other may be called the constant course (of things).

The (first) appearance of anything (as a bud) is

what we call a semblance ; when it has received its complete form, we call it a definite thing.

(The divining-plant having been produced, the sages) set it apart and laid down the method of its employment,—what we call the laws (of divination). The advantage arising from it in external and internal matters, so that the people all use it, stamps it with a character which we call spirit-like.

70. Therefore in (the system of) the Y† there is the Grand Terminus, which produced the two elementary Forms. Those two Forms produced the Four emblematic Symbols, which again produced the eight Trigrams.

71. The eight trigrams served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination was produced the (successful prosecution of the) great business (of life).

72. Therefore of all things that furnish models and visible figures there are none greater than heaven and earth ; of things that change and extend an influence (on others) there are none greater than the four seasons ; of things suspended (in the sky) with their figures displayed clear and bright, there are none greater than the sun and moon ; of the honoured and exalted there are none greater than he who is the rich and noble (one) ; in preparing things for practical use, and inventing and making instruments for the benefit of all under the sky, there are none greater than the sages ; to explore what is complex, search out what is hidden, to hook up what lies deep, and reach to what is distant, thereby determining (the issues) for good or ill of all events under the sky, and making all men under heaven full of strenuous endeavours, there

are no (agencies) greater than those of the stalks and the tortoise-shell.

73. Therefore Heaven produced the spirit-like things, and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by (so many) changes and transformations; and the sages imitated them (by means of the Yî). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the map, and the Lo the writing, of (both of) which the sages took advantage.

74. In the (scheme of the) Yî there are the four symbolic figures by which they inform men (in divining of the lines making up the diagrams); the explanations appended to them convey the significance (of the diagrams and lines); and the determination (of the divination) as fortunate or the reverse, to settle the doubts (of men).

Chapter XI, paragraphs 66–74, treats of divination, and the scheme of it supplied in the Yî. That scheme must be referred first to Heaven, which produced the spirit-like things,—the divining-plant and the tortoise; and next to the sages, who knew the mind of Heaven, and made the plant and shell subservient to the purpose for which they were intended.

Paragraph 66 answers the question of what the Yî does; and if there were truth or reason in it, the book and its use would be most important. I have closed the quotation of “the Master’s” words at the end of the paragraph; but really we do not know if they extend so far, or farther.

Paragraphs 67 and 68 glorify the sages and their work. The virtues of the divining-plant all belonged to them, and it was thus that they were able to organise the scheme of divination. The production of ‘the spirit-like things’ is, in paragraph 73, ascribed to ‘Heaven;’ the characters about them in these paragraphs mean no more than is expressed in the translation.

Chapter XII. 75. It is said in the Yî, 'Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune ; advantage in every respect.' The Master

Paragraph 69 shows how the antinomy of the yin and yang pervades all nature, and how the sages turned it, as existing pre-eminently in the divining-plant, to account.

Paragraph 70. Evidently the author had in view here the genesis of the diagrams of the Yî, the number of figures increasing in a geometrical progression with the ratio of 2, while the lines of the figures form an arithmetical progression with the common difference of 1. This is quite plain after 'the two elementary forms (—— and — —)' have been made. They give birth to 'the four emblematic symbols,' each of two lines (====, ====, ====, == ==, known, in this order, as the Grand or old Yang, the young Yin, the young Yang, and the Grand or old Yin). By the addition to each of these symbols first of the yang line, and then of the yin, there arise the eight trigrams, each of three lines ; and the process of formation might be continued indefinitely.

But how was the first step taken in the formation of the two elementary lines? Here, it is said, they were produced by the Thái Kî, or the Grand Terminus. This is represented in K'ü Hsî's 'Youth's Introduction to the Study of the Yî,' by a circle ; but he tells us that that representation of it was first made by K'âu-ze (A.D. 1017-1073, called also K'âu Tun-fî, K'âu Mâu-shû, and, most of all, K'âu Lien-khi), and that his readers must be careful not to suppose that Fû-hsî had such a figure in his mind's eye. I fail myself to understand how there can be generated from a circle the undivided and the broken line. Given those two lines, and the formation of the sixty-four hexagrams proceeds regularly according to the method above described. We must start from them, whether we can account or not for the rise of the idea of them in the mind of Fû-hsî.

Leaving the subject of the figure of the Thái Kî, the name gives us hardly any clue to its meaning. Kî is used for the extreme term of anything, as the ridge-pole of a house, or the pinnacle of a pagoda. The comment on the first sentence in the paragraph by Wang Pi (A.D. 226-249) is:—'Existence must begin in non-existence, and therefore the Grand Terminus produced the two elementary Forms. Thái Kî is the denomination of what has no denomination. As it cannot be named, the text takes the extreme

said:—‘Yü (祐) is the symbol of assisting. He whom Heaven assists is observant (of what is right); he whom men assist is sincere. The individual here indicated treads the path of sincerity and desires to be observant (of what is right), and studies to exalt the worthy. Hence “Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.”’

76. The Master said:—‘The written characters are

point of anything that exists as an analogous term for the *Thâi K'î*.' Expanding Wang's comment, Khung Ying-tâ says:—‘*Thâi K'î* means the original subtle matter, that formed the one chaotic mass before heaven and earth were divided;’ and then he refers to certain passages in Láo-ze's *T'ao Teh King*, and identifies the *Thâi K'î* with his *T'ao*. This would seem to give to *Thâi K'î* a material meaning. The later philosophers of the Sung school, however, insist on its being immaterial, now calling it *lî*, the principle of order in nature, now *t'ao*, the defined course of things, now *T'î*, the Supreme Power or God, now *shân*, the spiritual working of God. According to *K'ang-ze*, all these names are to be referred to that of ‘Heaven,’ of which they express so many different concepts.

Paragraph 71 speaks of divination in practice, and paragraph 72 celebrates the service done by that through the plant and shell, as equal to, and indeed the complement of, all the other services rendered by heaven and earth, the seasons, the sun and moon, the sages, and the greatest potentates. Surely, it is all very extravagant.

The last two paragraphs resume the theme of the making of the *Yi* by the sages, and their teaching the practice of divination. Of the *Ho* map and the *Lo* writing, I have spoken in the Introduction, pages 14–18. But if we accept the statement that the *Lo* writing had anything to do with the making of the *Yi*, we must except *Fû-hsî* from the sages to whom we are indebted for it. It was to the Great *Yü*, more than a thousand years later than *Fû-hsî*, that the *Lo* disclosed its writing; and *Yü* is never said to have had anything to do with the *Yi*. Nor is either of these things mentioned in Section ii, paragraph 11, where the work of *Fû-hsî* is described more in detail.

not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas;—is it impossible then to discover the ideas of the sages?’ The Master said:—‘The sages made their emblematic symbols to set forth fully their ideas; appointed (all) the diagrams to show fully the truth and falsehood (of things); appended their explanations to give the full expression of their words; and changed (the various lines) and made general the method of doing so, to exhibit fully what was advantageous. They (thus) stimulated (the people) as by drums and dances, thereby completely developing the spirit-like (character of the Yi).’

77. May we not say that *Khien* and *Khwan* [= the *yang* and *yin*, or the undivided and divided lines] are the secret and substance of the *Yi*? *Khien* and *Khwan* being established in their several places, the system of changes was thereby constituted. If *Khien* and *Khwan* were taken away, there would be no means of seeing that system; and if that system were not seen, *Khien* and *Khwan* would almost cease to act.

78. Hence that which is antecedent to the material form exists, we say, as an ideal method, and that which is subsequent to the material form exists, we say, as a definite thing.

Transformation and shaping is what we call change; carrying this out and operating with it is what we call generalising the method; taking the result and setting it forth for all the people under heaven is, we say, (securing the success of) the business of life.

79. Hence, to speak of the emblematic figures:—(The sage) was able to survey all the complex phe-

nomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character. Hence those (diagrams) are denominated Semblances. A (later) sage was able to survey the motive influences working all under the sky. He contemplated them in their common action and special nature, in order to bring out the standard and proper tendency of each. He then appended his explanation (to each line), to determine the good or evil indicated by it. Hence those (lines with their explanations) are denominated Imitations (the Yáo).

80. The most thorough mastery of all the complex phenomena under the sky is obtained from the diagrams. The greatest stimulus to movement in adaptation to all affairs under the sky is obtained from the explanations.

81. The transformations and shaping that take place are obtained from the changes (of the lines); the carrying this out and operating with it is obtained from the general method (that has been established). The seeing their spirit-like intimations and understanding them depended on their being the proper men; and the completing (the study of) them by silent meditation, and securing the faith of others without the use of words, depended on their virtuous conduct.

Chapter XII, paragraphs 75-81, endeavours to show how we have in the Yí a representation of the changing phenomena of nature, and such a representation as words or speech could not convey.

Paragraph 75 has a good meaning, taken by itself; but it has no apparent connexion with the rest of the chapter. K'ü Hsi thought

SECTION II.

Chapter I. 1. The eight trigrams having been completed in their proper order, there were in each the (three) emblematic lines. They were then

it was misplaced in its present position, and should be at the end of chapter 8. Compare paragraph 14.

The first two statements of paragraph 76 are general, but made here specially to exalt the Yî, as teaching more clearly and fully than written characters could have done. The Khang-hsi editors decide that 'the emblematic figures' here are the eight trigrams of Fû-hsî,—against the view of Kû Hsî, which restricts them to signify the undivided and divided lines. The repetition of the words, 'The Master said,' is probably the error of an early transcriber.

Paragraphs 77 and 78 refer to the phenomena of nature and the course of human affairs, as suggesting and controlling the formation of the system of the Yî. The formation of that becomes the subject in paragraph 79. *K'ien* and *Khwan* are used, as we have already seen them more than once, for the active and inactive conditions in nature, indicated by the divided and undivided lines. It is difficult to translate what is said in paragraph 78, about T'ao and *K'hi*;—what I have called, 'an ideal method' and 'a definite' thing. P. Regis translates the text by—'Quod non est inter figurata aut corporea sed supereminet est rationale, est ratio, T'ao; quod (est) inter figurata subjacetque certae figurae est sensibile, est instrumentum.' But *t'ao* cannot here signify ratio or reason; for *t'ao* and *k'hi* are names for the same thing under different conditions; first as a possibility, and next as an actuality. Such is the natural interpretation of the text, and so all the great scholars of the Sung dynasty construed it, as may be seen in the 'Collected Comments' of the imperial edition. So far they were correct, however many of them might stumble and fall in confounding this 'ideal method' with God.

What follows in the paragraph has no connexion with these two statements. P. Regis, who divides his translation into two paragraphs, says:—'Satis patet utramque textus hujus partem non cohaerere.

multiplied by a process of addition till the (six) component lines appeared.

2. The strong line and the weak push themselves each into the place of the other, and hence the changes (of the diagrams) take place. The appended explanations attach to every form of them its character (of good or ill), and hence the movements (suggested by divination) are determined accordingly.

3. Good fortune and ill, occasion for repentance or regret, all arise from these movements.

4. The strong and the weak (lines) have their fixed and proper places (in the diagrams); their changes, however varied, are according to the requirements of the time (when they take place).

5. Good fortune and ill are continually prevailing each against the other by an exact rule.

6. By the same rule, heaven and earth, in their course, continually give forth (their lessons); the sun and moon continually emit their light; all the movements under the sky are constantly subject to this one and the same rule.

Quod ergo illas divisimus, id fecimus majoris perspicuitatis causa, non ratione ordinis qui certe nullus est, ut in re potius assuta quam connexa.'

Paragraph 79 is a repetition of paragraphs 38, 39, 'to introduce,' says *K'ü Hsi*, 'the two paragraphs' that follow.

The editors of the imperial edition find in 80, 81, an amplification mainly of 76, showing how what is said there of the natural phenomena is exhibited in the *Yî*. The concluding sentence is a declaration (hardly necessary) about the sage makers, to the effect that they were as distinguished for virtuous conduct as for wisdom,—'the proper men' to stand between Heaven and the mass of men as they did.

7. *K'ien*, (the symbol of heaven, and) conveying the idea of strength, shows to men its easy (and natural) action. *K'wăn*, (the symbol of earth, and) conveying the idea of docility, shows to men its compendious (receptivity and operation).

8. The *Yáo* (or lines) are imitative representations of this. The *Hsiang*, or emblematic figures, are pictorial representations of the same.

9. The movements of the lines and figures take place (at the hand of the operator), and are unseen; the good fortune or ill is seen openly and is beyond. The work to be done appears by the changes; the sympathies of the sages are seen in their explanations.

10. The great attribute of heaven and earth is the giving and maintaining life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the (highest) place—(in which he can be the human representative of heaven and earth). What will guard this position for him? Men. How shall he collect a large population round him? By the power of his wealth. The right administration of that wealth, correct instructions to the people, and prohibitions against wrong-doing;—these constitute his righteousness.

Chapter I, paragraphs 1–10, is an amplification, according to *Khung Ying-tâ* and the editors of the imperial edition of the present dynasty, of the second chapter of Section i. The latter say that as all the chapters of Section i from the third onwards serve to elucidate chapter 2, so it is with this chapter and all that follow in this Section. The formation of the diagrams, and of their several lines, their indication of good fortune and bad, and the analogy between the processes of nature and the operations of divination, and other kindred subjects, are all touched on.

The order of the eight trigrams in paragraph 1, is *k'ien*, *tui*,

Chapter II. 11. Anciently, when Pão-hsi had come to the rule of all under heaven, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky, and looking down he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He contemplated the ornamental appearances of birds and beasts and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight trigrams, to show fully the

lí, kǎn, sun, khan, kǎn, khwǎn. The three lines of each are emblematic,—the first of heaven, the second of man, the third of earth. This is the most likely explanation of hsiang, ‘the emblems’ or ‘similitudes’ here. Why the maker—‘sages’—stopt at sixty-four figures, of six lines each, is a question that cannot be answered.

Paragraph 2. Of course it was a great delusion to suppose that the changes of lines consequent on divination could be so connected with the movements of life as to justify the characterising them as good or evil, or afford any guidance in the ordering of conduct.

Paragraph 4. Who can tell ‘the requirements of the time’ amid the complexity of the phenomena of nature or the ever-varying events of human experience and history? The wiser men are, the more correct will be their judgments in such matters; but is there any reason for trusting to divination about them?

Paragraphs 5, 6. It is difficult to say what is ‘the exact rule’ intended here; unless it be that the factors in every movement shall act according to their proper nature. The Khang-hsi editors say:—‘We see the good sometimes meeting with misfortune, and the bad with good fortune; but such is not the general rule.’ ‘The lessons that heaven and earth give forth’ are those concerning the method of their operation as stated in paragraph 7, and more fully in 6, 7, 8 of Section i.

What is said in paragraph 10 is striking and important, and in harmony with the general strain of Confucian teaching;—as in the Great Learning, chapter 10, and many other places; but I fail to see its appropriateness in its present place in the Yi.

attributes of the spirit-like and intelligent (operations working secretly), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.

12. He invented the making of nets of various kinds by knitting strings, both for hunting and fishing. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Li (the third trigram, and thirtieth hexagram).

13. On the death of Pão-hsi, there arose Shǎn-nǎng (in his place). He fashioned wood to form the share, and bent wood to make the plough-handle. The advantages of ploughing and weeding were then taught to all under heaven. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Yi (the forty-second hexagram).

14. He caused markets to be held at midday, thus bringing together all the people, and assembling in one place all their wares. They made their exchanges and retired, every one having got what he wanted. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Shih Ho (the twenty-first hexagram).

15. After the death of Shǎn-nǎng, there arose Hwang Tí, Yáo, and Shun. They carried through the (necessarily occurring) changes, so that the people did (what was required of them) without being wearied; yea, they exerted such a spirit-like transformation, that the people felt constrained to approve their (ordinances) as right. When a series of changes has run all its course, another change ensues. When it obtains free course, it will continue long. Hence it was that 'these (sovereigns) were helped by Heaven; they had good fortune, and their every movement was advantageous.' Hwang Tí, Yáo, and Shun (simply) wore their upper and

lower garments (as patterns to the people), and good order was secured all under heaven. The idea of all this was taken, probably, from *Khien* and *Khwăn* (the first and eighth trigrams, or the first and second hexagrams).

16. They hollowed out trees to form canoes; they cut others long and thin to make oars. Thus arose the benefit of canoes and oars for the help of those who had no means of intercourse with others. They could now reach the most distant parts, and all under heaven were benefited. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Hwân* (the fifty-ninth hexagram).

17. They used oxen (in carts) and yoked horses (to chariots), thus providing for the carriage of what was heavy, and for distant journeys,—thereby benefiting all under the sky. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Sui* (the seventeenth hexagram).

18. They made the (defence of the) double gates, and (the warning of) the clapper, as a preparation against the approach of marauding visitors. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Yü* (the sixteenth hexagram).

19. They cut wood and fashioned it into pestles; they dug in the ground and formed mortars. Thus the myriads of the people received the benefit arising from the use of the pestle and mortar. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Hsião Kwo* (the sixty-second hexagram).

20. They bent wood by means of string so as to form bows, and sharpened wood so as to make arrows. This gave the benefit of bows and arrows, and served to produce everywhere a feeling of awe.

The idea of this was taken, probably, from Khwei (the thirty-eighth hexagram).

21. In the highest antiquity they made their homes (in winter) in caves, and (in summer) dwelt in the open country. In subsequent ages, for these the sages substituted houses, with the ridge-beam above and the projecting roof below, as a provision against wind and rain. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Tâ K'wang (the thirty-fourth hexagram).

22. When the ancients buried their dead, they covered the body thickly with pieces of wood, having laid it in the open country. They raised no mound over it, nor planted trees around; nor had they any fixed period for mourning. In subsequent ages the sages substituted for these practices the inner and outer coffins. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Tâ K'wo (the twenty-eighth hexagram).

23. In the highest antiquity, government was carried on successfully by the use of knotted cords (to preserve the memory of things). In subsequent ages the sages substituted for these written characters and bonds. By means of these (the doings of) all the officers could be regulated, and (the affairs of) all the people accurately examined. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Kwâi (the forty-third hexagram).

Chapter II, paragraphs 11-23, treats of the progress of civilisation in China, and how the great men of antiquity who led the way in the various steps of that progress were guided by the Yî. Only five of these are mentioned;—the first, Fû-hsî, the beginning of whose reign, according to the least unlikely of the chronological accounts, must be placed in the 34th century B.C., while Shun's

Chapter III. 24. Therefore what we call the Yî is (a collection of) emblematic lines. They are styled emblematic as being resemblances.

reign ended in B.C. 2203. The time embraced in this chapter therefore is about twelve centuries and a half. But the writer gives his own opinion that the various discoveries and inventions mentioned were suggested to their authors by certain hexagrams of the Yî. The most commonly received view, however, is that Fû-hsî had only the eight trigrams, and that the multiplication of them to the 64 hexagrams was the work of king Wăn, fully a thousand years later than Shun. This is the view of the editors of the imperial Yî. If it be contended that Fû-hsî himself multiplied his trigrams, and gave their names to the resulting hexagrams, how could he have wrapped up in them the intimations of discoveries which were not made till many centuries after his death? The statements in the chapter cannot be received as historical. It came from another hand, and not from Confucius himself. The writer or compiler gives the legends current about the various inventions of his time. The making of the trigrams is placed first of all to do honour to the Yî. The account of it is different from that given in paragraph 73 of the former Section, and we hear nothing of the Ho map or Lo writing.

Paragraph 11. Pão-hsî here and in 13 is the same as Fû-hsî. As Pão is written here, there is no meaning in it; but another character Phão (庖) is more common, and Phão-hsî would mean the inventor of the kitchen and cookery. This was the first step towards civilisation, and was appropriately followed by the hunting and fishing—both by means of nets—in paragraph 12.

Paragraphs 13, 14 celebrate the work of Shăn-năng, 'the marvellous or spirit-like husbandman.' There was no metal about the primitive plough. The market for the exchange of commodities, without the use of coin, was an important advance.

The invention of the robes, or of dress, mentioned in paragraph 15, would seem to show that previously men had been in a very rude state. The passage indicates, however, the courtesies and proprieties of social life, in which dress plays an important part, and which now began to be organised.

The infant navigation in paragraph 16 was as little indebted to the use of metal as the agriculture of 13.

Paragraphs 17 and 18 show that in those primitive times there

25. What we call the Thwan (or king Wǎn's explanations) are based on the significance (of each hexagram as a whole).

26. We call the lines (of the figures) Yáo from their being according to the movements taking place all under the sky.

27. In this way (we see) the rise of good fortune and evil, and the manifestation of repentance and regret.

were already the practices of rapine and war. 'The double gates' were those of the city wall, and of the enclosed suburb. The clapper may still be heard all over China. Bows and arrows, however, came rather later, as in 20.

I suppose 'the sages' in paragraphs 21, 22, 23 refer generally to the great names mentioned in the previous chapters; nor can we define the distinction in the writer or compiler's mind between 'antiquity' and 'the highest antiquity.' Compare what is said on the rise of the coffin in 22 with Mencius' remarks on the same subject in Book III, ii, 5. 4. He would hardly have expressed himself as he did, if he had been familiar with this text. The invention of written characters is generally ascribed to Fû-hsî. Paragraph 23 does not say so, but the inventor is said to have been a sage of a subsequent age to the time of 'high antiquity.' That 'high antiquity' must stretch back very far.

Chapter III, paragraphs 24-27, treats of the Yî as made up of figurative diagrams, which again are composed of lines ever changing, in accordance with the phenomena of nature and human experience, while to the resulting figures their moral character and providential issues are appended by the sages. It may be regarded as an epitome of chapter 2 in Section i.

Paragraph 24. It is observed by the editors of the imperial edition that a chapter should not begin with a 'therefore;' and they are inclined to agree with many critics who would enter this as the last paragraph of the preceding chapter. In that case it would be a summing-up of the concluding sentences of the different paragraphs, the truth and genuineness of which are deservedly suspected. The characters for 'therefore,' however, are very loosely used in these Appendixes.—The lines, as they were intended by

Chapter IV. 28. In the Yang trigrams (or those of the undivided line) there are more of the Yin lines, and in the Yin trigrams (or those of the divided line) there are more of the Yang lines.

29. What is the cause of this? It is because the Yang lines are odd (or made by one stroke), and the Yin lines are even (or made by two strokes).

30. What (method of) virtuous conduct is thus intimated? In the Yang trigrams we have one ruler, and two subjects,—suggesting the way of the superior man. In the Yin trigrams we have two rulers, and one subject,—suggesting the way of the small man.

Fû-hsí, were emblematic; and they are still more so, as interpreted by the duke of K'áu. Meanings are drawn from the figures that resemble or illustrate principles in the subjects to which they are applied.

Paragraph 25. The character rendered 'the significance' means materials, and is illustrated by reference to all the different materials out of which a house is composed. So there are half-a-dozen things about the diagrams, their lineal structure, emblematic intention, their attributes, &c., out of which their interpretation is fashioned.

Paragraph 26. E. g. an undivided line may appear in an odd place, which is right, or in an even place, which is wrong; and the case is the opposite with the divided lines. But what has this to do with the right or wrong of the events divined about?

Chapter IV, paragraphs 28–30. Of the distinction of the trigrams into Yang and Yin.

The trigrams that contain only one undivided line—*hân* (☰☷), *khan* (☷☰), and *k'ân* (☰☰)—are called Yang. The undivided line is called 'the lord' in them. It is just the opposite with the Yin trigrams, in which there are two undivided lines, and one divided,—*sun* (☷☷), *li* (☷☶), and *tui* (☶☷). These together constitute the 'six children,' or 'three

Chapter V. 31. It is said in the Yt, 'Full of anxious thoughts you go and come; (only) friends will follow you and think with you.' The Master said:—'In all (the processes taking place) under heaven, what is there of thinking? what is there of anxious scheming? They all come to the same (successful) issue, though by different paths; there is one result, though there might be a hundred anxious schemes. What is there of thinking? what is there of anxious scheming?'

32. The sun goes and the moon comes; the moon goes and the sun comes;—the sun and moon thus take the place each of the other, and their shining is the result. The cold goes and the heat comes; the heat goes and the cold comes;—it is by this mutual succession of the cold and heat that the year is completed. That which goes becomes less and less, and that which comes waxes more and more;—it is by the influence on each other of this contraction and expansion that the advantages (of the different conditions) are produced.

33. When the looper coils itself up, it thereby straightens itself again; when worms and snakes

sons' and 'three daughters' in the later arrangement of the trigrams, ascribed to king Wăn.

Paragraph 29. Each part of the divided line counts as one; hence a yang trigram counts as $1 + 2 + 2 = 5$ strokes, four of which are yin, while a yin trigram counts as $2 + 1 + 1 = 4$, only two of which are yang. But this is mere trifling.

In explanation of paragraph 30 it is said that 'we have in the yang trigrams two (or more) subjects serving one ruler, and in the yin one subject serving two rulers, and two rulers striving together for the allegiance of one subject.' This is ingenious, but fanciful; as indeed this distinction of the trigrams into a yang class and a yin is a mere play of fancy.

go into the state of hybernation, they thereby keep themselves alive. (So), when we minutely investigate the nature and reasons (of things), till we have entered into the inscrutable and spirit-like in them, we attain to the largest practical application of them; when that application becomes the quickest and readiest, and all personal restfulness is secured, our virtue is thereby exalted.

34. Going on beyond this, we reach a point which it is hardly possible to know. We have thoroughly comprehended the inscrutable and spirit-like, and know the processes of transformation;—this is the fulness of virtue.

35. It is said in the Yt, ‘(The third line shows its subject) distressed before a rock, and trying to lay hold of thorns; entering into his palace and not seeing his wife:—there will be evil.’ The Master said:—‘If one be distressed by what need not distress him, his name is sure to be disgraced; if he lay hold on what he should not touch, his life is sure to be imperilled. In disgrace and danger, his death will (soon) come;—is it possible for him in such circumstances to see his wife?’

36. It is said in the Yt, ‘The duke with (his bow) shoots at the falcon on the top of the high wall; he hits it:—his every movement will be advantageous.’ The Master said:—‘The falcon is a bird (of prey); the bow and arrow is a weapon (of war); the shooter is a man. The superior man keeps his weapon concealed about his person, and waits for the proper time to move;—doing this, how should his movement be other than successful? There is nothing to fetter or embarrass his movement; and hence, when he comes forth, he succeeds in his object.

The language speaks of movement when the instrument necessary to it is ready and perfect.'

37. The Master said:—'The small man is not ashamed of what is not benevolent, nor does he fear to do what is not righteous. Without the prospect of gain he does not stimulate himself to what is good, nor does he correct himself without being moved. Self-correction, however, in what is small will make him careful in what would be of greater consequence;—and this is the happiness of the small man. It is said in the Yt, "His feet are in the stocks, and he is disabled in his toes:—there will be no (further) occasion for blame."'

38. If acts of goodness be not accumulated, they are not sufficient to give its finish to one's name; if acts of evil be not accumulated, they are not sufficient to destroy one's life. The small man thinks that small acts of goodness are of no benefit, and does not do them; and that small deeds of evil do no harm, and does not abstain from them. Hence his wickedness becomes great till it cannot be covered, and his guilt becomes great till it cannot be pardoned. This is what the Yt says, 'He wears the cangue and his ears are destroyed:—there will be evil.'

39. The Master said:—'He who keeps danger in mind is he who will rest safe in his seat; he who keeps ruin in mind is he who will preserve his interests secure; he who sets the danger of disorder before him is he who will maintain the state of order. Therefore the superior man, when resting in safety, does not forget that danger may come; when in a state of security, he does not forget the possibility of ruin; and when all is in a state of order, he does not

forget that disorder may come. Thus his person is kept safe, and his states and all their clans can be preserved. This is according to what the Yî says, "(Let him say), 'Shall I perish? shall I perish?' (so shall this state be firm, as if) bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees."'

40. The Master said:—'Virtue small and office high; wisdom small and plans great; strength small and burden heavy:—where such conditions exist, it is seldom that they do not end (in evil). As is said in the Yî, "The tripod's feet are overthrown, and the ruler's food is overturned. The body of him (who is thus indicated) is wet (with shame):—there will be evil."'

41. The Master said:—'Does not he who knows the springs of things possess spirit-like wisdom? The superior man, in his intercourse with the high, uses no flattery, and, in his intercourse with the low, no coarse freedom:—does not this show that he knows the springs of things? Those springs are the slight beginnings of movement, and the earliest indications of good fortune (or ill). The superior man sees them, and acts accordingly without waiting for (the delay of) a single day. As is said in the Yî, "He is firm as a rock, (and acts) without the delay of a single day. With firm goodness there will be good fortune." Firm as a rock, how should he have to wait a single day to ensure his knowing (those springs and his course)? The superior man knows the minute and the manifested; he knows what is weak, and what is strong:—he is a model to ten thousand.'

42. The Master said:—'I may venture to say that the son of the Yen family had nearly attained (the

standard of perfection). If anything that he did was not good, he was sure to become conscious of that; and when he knew it, he did not do the thing again. As is said in the Yt, "(The first line shows its subject) returning from an error that has not led him far away. There is no occasion for repentance. There will be great good."

43. There is an intermingling of the genial influences of heaven and earth, and transformation in its various forms abundantly proceeds. There is an intercommunication of seed between male and female, and transformation in its living types proceeds. What is said in the Yt, 'Three individuals are walking together and one is made to disappear; there is (but) one man walking, and he gets his mate,' tells us of the effort (in nature) at oneness (of operation).

44. The Master said:—"The superior man (in a high place) composes himself before he (tries to) move others; makes his mind restful and easy before he speaks; settles (the principles of) his intercourse with others before he seeks anything from them. The superior man cultivates these three things, and so is complete. If he try to move others while he is himself in unrest, the people will not (act) with him; if he speak while he is himself in a state of apprehension, the people will not respond to him; if without (certain principles of) intercommunication, he issue his requests, the people will not grant them. When there are none to accord with him, those who (work to) injure him will make their appearance. As is said in the Yt, "(We see one) to whose advantage none will contribute, while some will seek to assail him. He observes no

regular rule in the ordering of his heart:—there will be evil.”’

Chapter V, paragraphs 31–44, gives the words of the duke of Kâu on eleven different lines in the Text of the Yî, along with remarks of Confucius in farther illustration of them. But they seem also to be intended to bring forth more fully the meaning of certain previous utterances about the structure and scope of the Yî.

Paragraphs 31–34 start from the fourth line of the 31st hexagram, which would seem merely to require a steady and unvarying purpose in any one, in order to the full development of his influence. The editors of the imperial edition, however, make the whole a sequel of paragraph 5. But granted that there is no ‘anxious scheming’ in the processes of the natural world or in the phenomena of insect life, there is really no analogy to their proceedings in the course of the man who makes himself master of ‘the nature and reasons of things,’ as described in 33 and 34. Nor are ‘the nature and reasons of things’ to be found in the Yî, as the writer believed they were. Such as it is, it requires immense thought to understand it, and when we have laid hold of it, there is nothing substantial in our grasp. The ‘virtue’ predicated of such attainment is not so much moral excellence, as apprehension and the power and ability to invent, and to affect others.

Paragraph 35. See on the third line of Khwân, the 47th hexagram. If we were to translate the explanations of the line after Confucius, we should put the first two statements hypothetically; but the four that compose it seem to run on in the same way. They are all, I apprehend, hypothetical.

Paragraph 36. See on the last line of Kieh, the 40th hexagram.

Paragraph 37. See on the first line of Shih Ho, the 21st hexagram. The ‘self-correction in what is small’ implies of course that the small man has been ‘awed.’ What is said about him here is true; but we hardly expect it in this place.

Paragraph 38 should probably begin, like those before and after it, with ‘The Master said.’ The characters quoted from the Yî are again from the text of Shih Ho, on the last line.

Paragraph 39. See on the fifth line of Phî, the 12th hexagram.

Paragraph 40 gives Confucius’ views on the fourth line of Ting, the 50th hexagram.

In paragraph 41 we are conducted to the 16th hexagram,—the

Chapter VI. 45. The Master said :—‘(The tri-grams) *K’hien* and *Khwăn* may be regarded as the gate of the *Yi*.’ *K’hien* represents what is of the yang nature (bright and active); *Khwăn* what is of the yin nature (shaded and inactive). These two unite according to their qualities, and there comes the embodiment of the result by the strong and weak (lines). In this way we have the phenomena of heaven and earth visibly exhibited, and can comprehend the operation of the spiritual intelligence.

46. The appellations and names (of the diagrams and lines) are various, but do not go beyond (what is to be ascribed to the operation of these two conditions). When we examine the nature and style

second line of it. The being ‘firm as a rock’ is understood to symbolise the state of ‘rest,’ the quiet self-possession out of which successful movement and action is understood to spring.

In paragraph 42, ‘the son of the Yen family’ is Yen Hui, the favourite disciple of Confucius. The passage quoted from the *Yi* is that on the first line of *Fû*, the 24th hexagram.

To paragraph 43, as to paragraph 38, I would prefix the characters for ‘The Master said.’ ‘Male and female’ is to be taken generally, and not confined to the individuals of the human pair. One Chinese writer says that in the transformations ascribed to heaven and earth, birds, fishes, animals, and plants are included, but from the ‘transformation in its living types’ plants are excluded, because in their generation there is nothing analogous to the emission and reception of seed. Other Chinese writers, however, are well enough acquainted with the sexual system of plants. It would seem to me that Confucius, if the paragraph were really his, intended only plants or the vegetable world in his reference to the operation of heaven and earth, and had all living tribes in view in his mention of male and female. The passage of the *Yi* referred to is on the third line of *Sun*, the 41st hexagram. The application of it is far-fetched.

Paragraph 44. See on the fifth line of *Yî*, the 42nd hexagram.

(of the appended explanations), they seem to express the ideas of a decaying age.

47. The Yî exhibits the past, and (teaches us to) discriminate (the issues of) the future; it makes manifest what is minute, and brings to light what is obscure. (Then king Wăn) opened (its symbols), and distinguished things in accordance with its names, so that all his words were correct and his explanations decisive;—(the book) was now complete.

48. The appellations and names (of the diagrams and lines) are but small matters, but the classes of things comprehended under them are large. Their scope reaches far, and the explanations attached to them are elegant. The words are indirect, but to the point; the matters seem plainly set forth, but there is a secret principle in them. Their object is, in cases that are doubtful, to help the people in their conduct, and to make plain the recompenses of good and evil.

The principal object, it is said, of chapter VI, paragraphs 45-48, is to set forth the views of king Wăn and his son in the explanations which they appended to the diagrams and lines; and in doing this the writer begins in 45, with Fû-hsî's starting, in the formation of his eight trigrams, from the devising of the whole and divided lines, to represent the two primitive forms in nature. The two 'pure' trigrams formed of these lines, unmixed, give rise to all the others, or rather the lines of which they are formed do so; and are thus compared to a gate by which the various diagrams enter to complete the system that is intended to represent the changing phenomena of nature and experience. The next sentence in the above version of paragraph 45 appears in Canon McClatchie's translation of the Yî, as follows:—'*K'zien* is the membrum virile, and *Khwăn* is the pudendum muliebre (the sakti of *K'zien*).' It is hardly possible, on reading such a version, to suppress the exclamation *proh pudor!* Can a single passage be adduced in support of it from among all the Chinese critics in the

Chapter VII. 49. Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the Yî began to flourish? Was not he who made it familiar with anxiety and calamity?

50. Therefore (the 10th diagram), Lî, shows us the foundation of virtue; (the 15th), Hsien, its handle; (the 24th), Fû, its root; (the 32nd), Hăng, its solidity; (the 41st), Sun, its cultivation; (the 42nd), Yî, its abundance; (the 47th), Khwăn, its exercise of discrimination; (the 48th), 3ing, its field; and (the 57th), Sun, its regulation.

51. In Lî we have the perfection of harmony; in Hsien, we have the giving honour to others,

line of centuries? I believe not. The ideas which it expresses are gratuitously and wantonly thrust into this text of the Yî. 'K'ien' and 'Khwăn' are not spoken of thus. If the latter half of the paragraph be unintelligible, this interpretation of the former would make the whole disgusting.

In paragraph 46 the writer passes from the work of Fû-hsî to that of king Wăn and his son, and the composition of the written Yî is referred to 'a decaying age,'—the age, namely, of the tyrant Kâu. Then king Wăn and the duke of Kâu, it is said, deploring the degeneracy of their times and the enormities of the government, indicated, by their treatment of the ancient symbols, their sense of right and wrong, and the methods by which the prevailing evils might be rectified.

Paragraphs 47 and 48 follow and expand the meaning of 45. The editors of the imperial edition say that the former sentence of 47 is the sequel of 45, and the latter of 46, bringing us finally to the explanations and decisions of king Wăn, as the most important portion of the Yî. K'ü Hsî, moreover, observes that throughout the chapter, as well as in the chapters that follow, there must be many characters wanting in the text, while there are many also that are doubtful. This is specially the case with 48. Where the order of the characters has been disarranged merely, correction is easy; but where characters are evidently missing, attempts to fill the lacunae are merely guess-work.

and the distinction thence arising; in Fû we have what is small (at first), but there is in it a (nice) discrimination of (the qualities of) things; in Hăng we have a mixed experience, but without any weariness; in Sun we have difficulty in the beginning and ease in the end; in Yî we have abundance of growth without any contrivance; in Khwăn we have the pressure of extreme difficulty, ending in a free course; in 3ing we have abiding in one's place and at the same time removal (to meet the movement of others); and in Sun we have the weighing of things (and action accordingly), but secretly and unobserved.

52. (The use of) Lî appears in the harmony of the conduct; of Hsien, in the regulation of ceremonies; of Fû, in self-knowledge; of Hăng, in uniformity of virtue; of Sun, in keeping what is harmful at a distance; of Yî, in the promotion of what is advantageous; of Khwăn, in the diminution of resentments; of 3ing, in the discrimination of what is righteous; and of Sun, in the doing of what is appropriate to time and to circumstances.

Chapter VII, paragraphs 49-52, is occupied with nine hexagrams, as specially indicating how the superior man, or the ruler, should deal with a time of trouble and solicitude, specially by the cultivation of his own virtue. Not, we are told, that the same thing might not be learned from other diagrams, but these nine specially occurred to the writer, or, as many think, to Confucius.

Paragraph 49 is important as agreeing in its testimony with 46. The Yî was made in middle-antiquity; that is, in the end of the Shang dynasty, and the rise of the Kâu; and the maker or makers had personal and public reasons for anxiety about the signs of the times.

Paragraph 50 shows the particular phase of virtue in each of the nine hexagrams that are mentioned; 51, the marvellous character-

Chapter VIII. 53. The Yî is a book which should not be let slip from the mind. Its method (of teaching) is marked by the frequent changing (of its lines). They change and move without staying (in one place), flowing about into any one of the six places of the hexagram. They ascend and descend, ever inconstant. The strong and the weak lines change places, so that an invariable and compendious rule cannot be derived from them ;—it must vary as their changes indicate.

54. The goings forth and comings in (of the lines) are according to rule and measure. (People) learn from them in external and internal affairs to stand in awe.

55. (The book), moreover, makes plain the nature of anxieties and calamities, and the causes of them. Though (its students) have neither master nor guardian, it is as if their parents drew near to them.

56. Beginning with taking note of its explanations, we reason out the principles to which they point. We thus find out that it does supply a constant and standard rule. But if there be not the proper men (to carry this out), the course cannot be pursued without them.

istics of each phase ; and 52, its use. The 'therefore' with which paragraph 50 commences shows the process of thought by which the writer passed from the anxiety that possessed the mind of the author of the Yî to the use to be derived, in such circumstances, from the study of Lî and the other hexagrams.

Chapter VIII, paragraphs 53–56, describes the method of studying the Yî as consisting very much in watching the changes that take place in the lines, and reflecting on the appended explanations ; while, after all, much must depend on there being 'the proper men,' to carry its lessons into practice.

Chapter IX. 57. The Yt is a book in which the form (of each diagram) is determined by the lines from the first to the last, which must be carefully observed. The six lines are mixed together, according to the time (when they enter the figure) and their substance (as whole and divided).

58. There is difficulty in knowing (the significance of) the first line, while to know that of the topmost line is easy;—they form the beginning and the end (of the diagram). The explanation of the first line tasks the calculating (of the makers), but in the end they had (but) to complete this.

59. As to the variously-disposed intermediate lines with their diverse formations, for determining their qualities, and discriminating the right and wrong in them, we should be unprovided but for the explanations of them.

60. Yea, moreover, if we wish to know what is likely to be preserved and what to perish, what will be lucky and what will be unlucky, this may easily be known (from the explanations of the different lines). But if the wise will look at the explanations of the entire diagrams, their thoughts will embrace more than half of this knowledge.

61. The second and fourth lines are of the same

There seems to be a contradiction between the statements in paragraphs 53 and 56 about the book supplying, and not supplying, a standard rule; but the meaning, probably, is that while it does not give a rule generally applicable, it gives rules for particular cases.

K'ü Hsî says he does not understand 54, and thinks some characters must have been lost. 'The six places of the hexagram' in 53 are, literally, 'the six empties.' The places are so called, because it is only a temporary possession of them, which is held by the fugitive lines, whether whole or divided.

quality (as being in even places), but their positions (with respect to the fifth line) are different, and their value is not the same; but the second is the object of much commendation, and the fourth the subject of many apprehensions,—from its nearness (to that line). But for a line in a place of weakness it is not good to be far (from the occupant of the place of strength), and what its subject should desire in such a case is (merely) to be without blame. The advantage (here) is in (the second line) being in the central place.

62. The third and fifth lines are of the same quality, (as being in odd places), but their positions are different; and the (occupant of) the third meets with many misfortunes, while the occupant of the fifth achieves much merit:—this arises from one being in the noble position and the other in the mean. Are they occupied by the symbol of weakness? There will be peril. By that of strength? There will be victory.

Chapter IX, paragraphs 56–62, speaks of the hexagrams as made up of the different lines, and various things to be attended to in those lines to determine their meaning.

Paragraph 57. The time or order in which the lines enter determines of course the place and number of each in the figure. Their 'substance' is their form, as whole or divided, being yang or yin.

Paragraph 58 belongs to the first and sixth lines. We are hardly prepared for the statement that 'the maker or makers' had so much difficulty in determining the meaning of the first line. Of course when they had fixed that and completed the figure, explaining all the lines, it was easy for the student to follow their exposition, as paragraph 59 says.

Paragraph 60 seems to say that the work of the duke of Kâu on each line was but an indicating in detail of the processes of his father's mind in explaining the whole figure.

Chapter X. 63. The Yt is a book of wide comprehension and great scope, embracing everything. There are in it the way of heaven, the way of man, and the way of earth. It then takes (the lines representing) those three Powers, and doubles them till they amount to six. What these six lines show is simply this,—the way of the three Powers.

64. This way is marked by changes and movements, and hence we have the imitative lines. Those lines are of different grades (in the trigrams), and hence we designate them from their component elements. These are mixed together, and elegant forms arise. When such forms are not in their appropriate places, the ideas of good fortune and bad are thus produced.

The last two paragraphs mention several points important to be attended to in studying, more especially, the duke of Kâu on the several lines. Three different views of the concluding statement,—‘are they occupied,’ &c.,—are given in the imperial edition. ‘It belongs,’ says Wû Kǎng, ‘to the fifth line;’ ‘to the third line,’ says Hû Ping-wǎn (also of the Yüan dynasty); while Hân Hsing-kwo (of the Thang dynasty) held that it belonged to both. The Khang-hsi editors say that ‘by discriminating and combining these views, we get to the meaning of the text.’ I am unable to do so.

Chapter X, paragraphs 63, 64, speaks of the great comprehensiveness of the Yî, its figures and explanations being applicable to the three Powers—heaven, earth, and man.

With paragraph 63, compare paragraph 4, Appendix VI. In the trigram the upper line represents heaven, the middle line man, and the lowest earth. This paragraph and that other are the nearest approach I know to an attempt to account for the doubling of the number of lines, and stopping with the hexagram; but the doing so was entirely arbitrary. Kû Hsi says:—‘The upper two characters belong to heaven, the middle two to man, and the lower two to earth.’ No words could be more express; and yet Canon McClatchie says (p. 354):—‘The two upper strokes represent Heaven, or Thâi-yî, the husband; the two middle strokes, Earth, his wife; and the

Chapter XI. 65. Was it not in the last age of Yin, when the virtue of *K'âu* had reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king *Wăn* and (the tyrant) *K'âu*, that the (study of the *Yi*) began to flourish? On this account the explanations (in the book) express (a feeling of) anxious apprehension, (and teach) how peril may be turned into security, and easy carelessness is sure to meet with overthrow. The method in which these things come about is very comprehensive, and must be acknowledged in every sphere of things. If at the beginning there be a cautious apprehension as to the end, there will probably be no error or cause for blame. This is what is called the way of the *Yi*.

two lower strokes, Man, their son; all being animated by the same Divine Reason (*t'ao*) or Supreme God (*Chih Shăn*).’ This note shows how one error, or misunderstanding of the Chinese original, draws other errors with it. The character *t'ao* in the paragraph has not at all the sense of reason, human or divine, but its primary and ordinary signification of the path or course. As *Lü Si* (Han dynasty) says:—‘In the way of heaven there are the changes of day and night, sun and moon; in that of earth, those of hardness and softness, dryness and moisture; in that of man, those of action and rest, of movement and stillness, of good fortune and bad, of good and evil.’

‘The imitative lines’ in the translation of 64, is simply ‘the *Y'ao*’ in the Chinese text, which I have rendered according to the account of them in paragraph 8, et al. Their different grades are their position as high or low in the figures (paragraph 1, Section i), and their ‘component elements,’ literally ‘their substance, or thing-nature,’ is their structure as being yang or yin, according to the use of wuh in paragraphs 57, 59, et al. A yang line in an even place, or a yin line in an odd, is not in its appropriate place, and gives an indication of what is bad.

Chapter XI, paragraph 65. P. Regis observes on this chapter:—
‘I do not hesitate to say that there is found nowhere in the whole

Chapter XII. 66. (The hexagram) *K'kien* represents the strongest of all under the sky. Through this quality its operations are always manifested with ease, for it knows where there would be peril and embarrassment. (The hexagram) *Khwăn* represents the most docile of all under the sky. Through this quality its operations are always manifested with the promptest decision, for it knows where there would be obstruction.

67. (The sages, who are thus represented, and who made the *Yî*.) were able to rejoice in heart (in the absolute truth of things), and were able (also) to weigh carefully all matters that could occasion anxiety; (thus) they fixed the good and bad fortune (of all things) under the sky, and could accomplish the things requiring strenuous efforts.

68. Therefore amid the changes and transformations (taking place in heaven and earth), and the words and deeds of men, events that are to be fortunate have their happy omens. (The sages) knew the definite principles underlying the prognostications of the former class, and the future of

Yî a passage which affords more light for the explanation of the book.' Paragraph 49 told us that 'the study of the *Yî* flourished in the middle period of antiquity, and that the author of it was familiar with anxiety and troubles.' That information becomes here more particular. The *Yî*, existing when this Appendix was written, was made in the closing period of the Yin dynasty, and the making of it was somehow connected with the attempts of the tyrant *K'âu* against king *Wăn*. We are not told expressly that the book was written, in part at least, by king *Wăn*; but the tradition to that effect derives a certain amount of support from what is said here. The general object of the author is also stated clearly enough,—to inculcate a cautious and reverent administration of affairs, never forgetful of the uncertainties of life and fortune.

those of the latter, (now to be) ascertained by divination.

69. The places of heaven and earth (in the diagrams) having been determined, the sages were able (by means of the Yt) to carry out and complete their ability. (In this way even) the common people were able to share with them in (deciding about) the counsels of men and the counsels of spiritual beings.

70. The eight trigrams communicate their information by their emblematic figures. The explanations appended to the lines and the completed figures tell how the contemplation of them affected (the makers). The strong and the weak lines appear mixed in them, and (thus) the good and the evil (which they indicate) can be seen.

71. The changes and movements (which take place in the manipulation of the stalks and the formation of the diagrams) speak as from the standpoint of what is advantageous. The (intimations of) good and evil vary according to the place and nature (of the lines). Thus they may indicate a mutual influence (in any two of them) of love or hatred, and good or evil is the result; or that mutual influence may be affected by the nearness of the lines to, or their distance from, each other, and then repentance or regret is the result; or the influence may be that of truth or of hypocrisy, and then the result is what is advantageous, or what is injurious. In all these relations of the (lines in the) Yt, if two are near and do not blend harmoniously, there may be (all these results),—evil, or what is injurious, or occasion for repentance and regret.

72. The language of him who is meditating a

revolt (from the right) betrays his inward shame; that of him whose inward heart doubts about it diverges to other topics. The words of a good man are few; those of a coarse man are many. The words of one who slanders what is good are un-

Chapter XII, paragraphs 66-72, is generally divided into three sections;—the first, embracing 66-68, and treating of the sages, the makers of the Yî, as themselves independent of it, knowing all that it enables us to know, and able to accomplish all that it enables us to accomplish; the second, embracing 69-71, and telling how the sages formed the Yî, and made all men, by means of it, partakers of their now unlimited knowledge and power; the third, comprised in paragraph 72, and saying, if it be genuine and in its proper place, that the ordinary speech of men is as mysterious and indicative of what is in them, as the explanations of the Yî are, when we consider who were its authors.

'The sages,' who are the subject of 65-68, are not mentioned in the text; but 67 makes it plain that the subject must be some personal being or beings. Neither *Khien* nor *Khwan* can 'rejoice in heart, and weigh carefully matters occasioning anxiety.' The commentators generally interpolate 'the sages;' even Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty, who does not introduce the sages in his exposition, yet makes the subject to be 'the disposer and nourisher of all things.' He gets to his view by an unnatural interpretation of two characters in 67, which are now thrown out of the text by all critics as not genuine. That 'the sages' is really the subject in the mind of the writer appears from the express mention of them in 69, when also 'heaven and earth' take the place of *Khien* and *Khwan*. It is absurd, not to say blasphemous, to assume that the sages who made the Yî had the knowledge and ability here ascribed to them; but the theory of the Yî as containing a scheme for the discovery of the future necessitated the ascribing such attributes to them. Compare with the whole Section, and especially with paragraph 68, what is said in 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' chapter 24.

The first Section shows how the sages were themselves independent of the Yî, and had no need of it; the second goes on to tell how they devised and constructed it, to make all men equal to themselves in a knowledge of phenomena and human events, and of their indications of, and issues in, the future. Summing up its

substantial; those of him who is losing what he ought to keep are crooked.

lessons, the editors of the imperial edition say, 'There is no passage in the Appendix more full and clear than this on the five points in regard to the lines which the student of the Yî has to attend to. Those points are :—their time, position, quality, mutual nearness, and responsive relation. It is by a consideration of the two latter points, moreover, that he must form his judgment on their appropriateness or inappropriateness in the three others.'

Paragraph 72 has really no connexion with the rest of the chapter. I have stated above how the critics attempt to make out such a connexion; but I agree myself with P. Regis, who appends to his version of the paragraph this note :—'*Quae sententiae quidem sapiunt doctrinam Confucianam, at non ordinem, utpote cum praecedentibus minime cohaerentes, sed omnino ab iis abscissae avulsaeque.*'

APPENDIX IV.

Supplementary to the Thwan and Yáo on the first and second Hexagrams, and showing how they may be interpreted of man's nature and doings.

SECTION I. *K'HIEN*.

Chapter I. 1. What is called (under *K'hién*) 'the great and originating' is (in man) the first and chief quality of goodness; what is called 'the penetrating' is the assemblage of excellences; what is called 'the advantageous' is the harmony of all that is right; and what is called 'the correct and firm' is the faculty of action.

2. The superior man, embodying benevolence, is fit to preside over men; presenting the assemblage of excellences, he is fit to show in himself the union of all propriety; benefiting (all) creatures, he is fit to exhibit the harmony of all that is right; correct and firm, he is fit to manage (all) affairs.

3. The fact that the superior man practises these four virtues justifies the application to him of the words—'*K'hién* represents what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm.'

The title of this Appendix is in Chinese the Wǎn Yen Kwan, 'The Record of Wǎn Yen;' and according to the analogy of the titles of the three Appendixes that follow, Wǎn should perform the part of a verb and Yen that of a substantive. So the characters are usually taken, and to Wǎn is given the meaning of 'Explaining (Shih);' and to Yen that of 'Words or Sentences,' meaning the Thwan of king Wǎn, and the Yáo of the duke of Káu on the first two hexagrams. The document treats of these,

Chapter II. 4. What is the meaning of the words under the first line undivided, 'The dragon lies hid (in the deep);—it is not the time for active doing?' The Master said:—'There he is, with the powers of the dragon, and yet lying hid. The influence of the world would make no change in him; he would do nothing (merely) to secure his fame. He can live, withdrawn from the world, without regret; he can experience disapproval without trouble of mind. Rejoicing (in opportunity), he carries his principles

and of no others. 'It shows the amount and depth of meaning in them,' says *K'ü Hsî*, 'and the other hexagrams may be treated after the analogy supplied here.' Confucius, it is said by others, died before he was able to carry out the plan which he had formed. But, as I have shown in the Introduction (pp. 28–30), it is more than doubtful whether we have in this Appendix anything at all directly from the sage.

Chapter I, paragraphs 1–3, shows how the attributes of *K'ien*, as explained by king *Wăn*, are to be understood of the constituent principles of human nature. What is remarkable is, that we find paragraphs 1, 2, with very little variation, in one of the narratives of the *30 Kwan*, as having been spoken by a marchioness-dowager of *Lü* in B.C. 564, several years before Confucius was born. One so familiar as *K'ü Hsî* was with all the classical literature of his country could not be ignorant of this. His solution of the questions arising from it is, that anciently there was this explanation of the characters of king *Wăn*; that it was employed by *Shü Kiang* (of *Lü*), and that Confucius also availed himself of it; while the chronicler used, as he does below, the phraseology of 'The Master said,' to distinguish the real words of Confucius from such ancient sayings. But who was this chronicler? No one can tell. The legitimate conclusion from *K'ü*'s criticism is this, that so much of this Appendix as is preceded by 'The Master said' is from Confucius;—so much and no more.

The ascription in paragraph 3 of 'the four virtues' to the superior or normal man, man in his best estate, and yet inferior to 'the sagely man,' is Confucian,—after the style of the teaching of the Master in the *Analects*.

into action ; sorrowing (for want of opportunity), he keeps with them in retirement. Yes, he is not to be torn from his root (in himself).’ This is ‘the dragon lying hid.’

5. What is the meaning of the words under the second line, ‘The dragon shows himself and is in the field ;—it will be advantageous to see the great man ?’ The Master said :—‘ There he is, with the dragon’s powers, and occupying exactly the central place. He is sincere (even) in his ordinary words, and earnest in his ordinary conduct. Guarding against depravity, he preserves his sincerity. His goodness is recognised in the world, but he does not boast of it. His virtue is extensively displayed, and transformation ensues. The language of the Yî, “ The dragon shows himself and is in the field ;—it will be advantageous to see the great man,” refers to a ruler’s virtue.’

6. What is the meaning of the words under the third line, ‘The superior man is active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening (still) careful and apprehensive ;—the position is dangerous, but there will be no mistake ?’ The Master said :—‘ The superior man advances in virtue, and cultivates all the sphere of his duty. His leal-heartedness and good faith are the way by which he advances in virtue. His attention to his words and establishing his sincerity are the way by which he occupies in his sphere. He knows the utmost point to be reached, and reaches it, thus showing himself in accord with the first springs (of things) ; he knows the end to be rested in, and rests in it, thus preserving his righteousness in accordance with that end. Therefore he occupies a high position without pride, and a low

position without anxiety. Thus it is that, being active and vigilant, and careful (also) and apprehensive as the time requires, though his position be perilous, he will make no mistake.'

7. What is the meaning of the words under the fourth line, 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep;—there will be no mistake?' The Master said:—'He finds no permanent place either above or below, but he does not commit the error (of advancing). He may advance or recede;—there is no permanent place for him: but he does not leave his fellows. The superior man, advancing in virtue and cultivating the sphere of his duty, yet wishes (to advance only) at the (proper) time, and therefore there is no mistake.'

8. What is the meaning of the words under the fifth line, 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky;—it will be advantageous to see the great man?' The Master said:—'Notes of the same key respond to one another; creatures of the same nature seek one another; water flows towards the place that is (low and) damp; fire rises up towards what is dry; clouds follow the dragon, and winds follow the tiger:—(so) the sage makes his appearance, and all men look to him. Things that draw their origin from heaven move towards what is above; things that draw their origin from the earth cleave to what is below:—so does everything follow its kind.'

9. What is the meaning of the words under the topmost line, 'The dragon exceeds the proper limits;—there will be occasion for repentance?' The Master said:—'The position is noble, but it is not that of office; (its occupant) dwells on high, but he has no people (to rule); and the men of talent

and virtue in the positions below will give him no aid ;—should he move in such a case, there will be occasion for repentance.'

In chapter II, paragraphs 4–9, Confucius is introduced, explaining, with considerable amplification, what is said by the duke of Kâu under the several lines of the hexagram. 'The dragon' becomes the symbol of 'the superior man,' and of 'the great man,' or the sage upon the throne. The language approaches at times to the magniloquence of Mencius, while in paragraph 8 the voice hardly seems to be that of the sage at all.

With paragraph 5, compare chapters 8 and 14 of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' agreeing much in language and sentiment with what we have here. The line, a strong or undivided line, and therefore yang, is said to be 'exactly in the central place;' but the line is in the second, an even place, that proper to a yin line ; and in other passages this might be explained in an unfavourable way. The Chinese character *k'ang* has the meaning given to it, now of 'exact,' and now of 'correct,' the latter being always favourably interpreted.

Paragraph 8. The fifth is almost always the place of honour and authority in the hexagram, and therefore 'the great man' here continues to be the great man, 'the sage.' The argument is that as things of the same kind respond to and seek one another, so is it with the sage and ordinary man. They are of the same kind, though far apart ; and when a sage appears, all other men look to him with admiration and hope. The continuity of the illustrations, however, is broken by the introduction of the dragon and clouds, and the tiger and wind. Are these of the same kind? *K'ü Hsi* says he does not think that the real dragon and real tiger are intended ; but he does not tell us how he understood the terms. *Šai K'ing* (early in the Ming dynasty) says :—'The dragon feels the influence of the clouds surcharged with rain, and rises from the deep, and when the tiger feels the approach of the cold winds he roars. Thus when the dragon rises, the clouds are sure to collect ; and when the tiger screams, the winds follow ;' but all this does not help us to appreciate any better the words of the text. And the concluding illustration is nearly as foreign to our way of conceiving things. By 'things that draw their origin from heaven' all animals—moving creatures—are intended ; and by those that draw their origin from the earth are intended all plants,—things that stand and

Chapter III. 10. 'The dragon lies hid;—it is not the time for active doing:—the position is (too) low.

11. 'The dragon shows himself and is in the field:—the time (requires him still) to be unemployed.

12. 'All the day active and vigilant:—(he now) does his (proper) business.

13. 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep:—he is making trial of himself.

14. 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky:—(the subject of the line) is on high and ruling.

15. 'The dragon exceeds the proper limit, and there will be occasion for repentance:—when things have been carried to extremity, calamity ensues.

16. Undivided lines appear in all these representations of the great and originating power denoted by *K'ien*:—(what follows in the *Yáo* tells us how) all under the sky there will be good order.

do not move. The former turn their heads to the sky, and the latter their roots to the earth. So we read in *K'ü Hsi*; but I continue to wonder that Confucius selected such illustrations and spoke in such a style.

Paragraph 9. As I have said above, the place of honour and authority in the hexagram belongs to the fifth line, and no other plays so unimportant a part as the sixth; and hence it is represented here as having 'no place' at all. Before he whom it represents is called to act, the battle has been won or lost. Movement from him will only accelerate and intensify the result.

Chapter III, paragraphs 10–16, goes over again the *Yáo* of the duke of *K'au* with very brief explanations, grounded chiefly on the consideration of the place or position occupied by the several lines, and the time of their introduction into the action of the hexagram.

Paragraph 16. See the note on the Text of *K'ien*, corresponding to this line, page 58, and also that on paragraph 7 of the symbolism of the figures and lines, Section i, page 165. There is the same

Chapter IV. 17. 'The dragon lies hid in the deep;—it is not the time for active doing:—the energy denoted by the undivided line is laid up and hid away as in the deep.

18. 'The dragon appears in the field:—all under heaven (begins to be) adorned and brightened.

19. 'All the day active and vigilant:—continually, as the time passes and requires, does he act.

20. 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep:—a change is taking place in the method indicated by (this) *K'ien* diagram.

21. 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky:—this shows that his place is based on his heavenly virtue.

22. 'The dragon exceeds the (proper) limit;—there will be occasion for repentance:—the time is come to an end, and so also is his opportunity.

23. Undivided lines appear in all these representations of the great and originating power denoted by *K'ien*:—and (from what follows in the *Yâo*) we see the model (of action) afforded by heaven.

difficulty in understanding the first part of the short paragraph; the conclusion of it must be a consequence of the language of the *Yâo*, though it is not repeated here.

Chapter IV, paragraphs 17–23, goes over the same ground for a third time, treating the various paragraphs chiefly from the standpoint of time.

Paragraph 17 tells us that time and circumstances are essential, as well as inward power, to successful development and demonstration. In paragraph 18, the words of the *Yâo* about meeting with the great man are not quoted, but they prompted the latter half of it.

Paragraph 19. Compare the language on paragraph 6, towards the end.

Paragraph 20. The subject passes here from the lower trigram and enters into the upper. We are told not to lay stress on 'the method of *K'ien*.' In paragraph 21 we have the sage upon the

Chapter V. 24. The 'greatness' and 'originating' represented by *Khien* refer to it as (the symbol of) what gives their beginning (to all things), and (also) secures their growth and development.

25. 'The advantageousness and the correctness and firmness' refer to its nature and feelings (as seen in all the resulting things).

26. *Khien*, (thus) originating, is able with its admirable benefits to benefit all under the sky. We are not told how its benefits are conferred; but how great is (its operation)!

27. How great is (what is emblemized by) *Khien*!—strong, vigorous, undeflected, correct, and (in all these qualities) pure, unmixed, exquisite!

28. The six lines, as explained (by the duke of *Kâu*), bring forth and display (its meaning), and everything about it is (thus) indirectly exhibited.

29. (The great man) at the proper time drives with these six dragons through the sky. The clouds move, and the rain is distributed; all under heaven enjoys repose.

throne. Time and opportunity are both in progress in 19; here in 22, they are both passed, have reached their extremity or end.

Paragraph 23:—see on paragraph 16. 'The model of heaven,' says *Wû Khăng*, 'is the due blending of the strong and active with the weak and passive, the regulation of movement in accordance with the highest reason, so that there shall be neither excess nor deficiency.'

Chapter V, paragraphs 24–29. The author here, leaving the treatise on the symbolism of the *Yáo*, turns to that on the *Thwan*, or expositions of king *Wán*, and amplifies it, not quoting from it, however, so fully and exactly, as he has done in the previous chapters from the *Yáo*.

Paragraphs 24 and 25 are based on the statement of the significance of the *Thwan* under *Khien*, and not on the treatise on the symbolism. The originating power cannot be separated from that of penetration and development. The latter issues from the former

Chapter VI. 30. In the superior man his conduct is (the fruit of) his perfected virtue, which might be seen therefore in his daily course; but the force of that phrase, 'lying hid,' requires him to keep retired, and not yet show himself, nor proceed to the full development of his course. While this is the case, the superior man (knows that) it is not the time for active doing.

31. The superior man learns and accumulates the results of his learning; puts questions, and discriminates among those results; dwells magnanimously and unambitiously in what he has attained to; and carries it into practice with benevolence. What the Yî says, 'The dragon appears in the field:—it will be advantageous to meet with the great man,' has reference to the virtuous qualities of a ruler (as thus described).

32. In the third line there is a twofold (symbol of) strength, but (the position) is not central. (Its

as the summer follows on the spring, according to an illustration of *K'ü Hsî*. 'The advantageousness' and 'firm correctness,' he compares also to the autumn and winter, saying that the *K'hien* power in its essence, as it is in itself, is best described by these two latter characteristics, while the two former describe it in its operation. It is thus that he tries to give his readers an idea of what he understood by 'nature and feelings' in 25. But this chapter treats of the *K'hien* power in nature rather than in humanity. Confining our view to the power so operating, we cannot say that the description of it in 26 and 27 is magniloquent or hyperbolic.

Paragraph 28 returns to the explanations of the lines of the hexagram by the duke of *K'âu*, which exhibit the power in different positions and relations, bringing out all its significance; and then 29 confines us to the fifth line, in which we have its ideal. The spheres of nature and of men seem to be in the view of the author, and therefore I introduce 'the great man,' as the subject, after the example of the best critics. Like the clouds and the rain to the thirsty earth, so is the rule of the sage to expectant humanity.

occupant) is not in heaven above, nor is he in the field beneath. Therefore there must be active vigilance and cautious apprehension as the time requires ; and though (the position be) perilous, there will be no mistake.

33. In the fourth line there is (the symbol of) strength, but (the position) is not central. (Its occupant) is not in heaven above, nor is he in the field beneath, nor is he in the place of man intermediate. Hence he is in perplexity ; and being so, he has doubts about what should be his movements, and so will give no occasion for blame.

34. The great man is he who is in harmony, in his attributes, with heaven and earth ; in his brightness, with the sun and moon ; in his orderly procedure, with the four seasons ; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous, in harmony with the spirit-like operations (of Providence). He may precede Heaven, and Heaven will not act in opposition to him ; he may follow Heaven, but will act (only) as Heaven at the time would do. If Heaven will not act in opposition to him, how much less will men ! how much less will the spirit-like operation (of Providence) !

35. The force of that phrase—'exceeding the proper limits'—indicates the knowing to advance but not to retire ; to maintain but not to let perish ; to get but not to lose.

36. He only is the sage who knows to advance and to retire, to maintain and to let perish ; and that without ever acting incorrectly. Yes, he only is the sage !

Chapter VI, paragraphs 30-36. The author leaving the Thwan, turns again to the treatise on the symbolism of the Yáo, his main

SECTION II. KHWĀN.

Chapter I. 1. (What is indicated by) Khwăn is most gentle and weak, but, when put in motion, is

object being to show how reasonable are the decisions and lessons of the duke of Kâu.

The subject of paragraph 30 has the virtue; but his position in the lowest place shows that his time is not yet come.

In paragraph 31 we have the superior man developing, by means of the processes described, into 'the great man,' with the attributes of a ruler, the appearance of whom is a blessing to men.

The twofold symbol of strength in paragraph 32 is the yang or undivided line in the third place (odd) proper to it. There will be no mistake, because the subject of the line, in the exercise of his caution, will abstain from any forward movement.

According to paragraph 63 of last Appendix, Section ii, both the third and fourth lines in the hexagram belong to man, and are intermediate between those of heaven and those of earth. Khung Ying-tâ, to get over the difficulty in what is said on the fourth line, says that, as a matter of fact and locally, man is nearer earth than heaven, and is aptly represented therefore by the third line and not by the fourth;—I prefer to point out the inconsistency, and leave it. The subject of this fourth line will move very cautiously, and so escape blame.

The eulogium of 'the great man' in paragraph 34 cannot fail to recall to the classical scholar the thirty-first and other chapters of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' where the sage is described as 'The Equal of Heaven.' In one sentence here he is spoken of as sometimes taking precedence of Heaven, which then does not act in opposition to him! I do not know of any statement about the sage, coming without doubt from Confucius, that is so extravagant as this. It is difficult—in fact impossible—to say from the Yî itself, what we are to understand by the kwei shăn, which I have translated here by 'the spirit-like operations (of Providence).' The compound denomination does not often occur in the book. In Appendix III, Section i, 21, kwei is the anima and shăn the animus; and in paragraph 50, I have translated the terms by 'the contracting and expanding operations.' In Appendix I, page 226 and page 259, the name is used as in the present text. That second instance and this

hard and strong; it is most still, but is able to give every definite form.

2. 'By following, it obtains its (proper) lord,' and pursues its regular (course).

3. It contains all things in itself, and its transforming (power) is glorious.

4. Yes, what docility marks the way of Khwăn! It receives the influences of heaven, and acts at the proper time.

Chapter II. 5. The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery. The murder of a ruler by

paragraph were evidently constructed, the one on the model of the other. I think it likely that the breath or air, *khi*, became the name with the earliest Chinese for their first concept of spirit; then the breath inspired or inhaled was called *kwei*, and became the name for the grosser part of the spirit, returning to the earth; and *shăn*, the breath exhaled or expired, the name for the subtler and intellectual spirit, ascending to a state of activity and enjoyment. The explanations of the terms in the *R Yâ* and other dictionaries seem to justify this view. The combination *kwei shăn* is sometimes best translated by 'spiritual beings.' The school of the Sung philosophy understand by it—the contracting and expanding of the primary matter, or that matter conceived of in two forms or with two opposite qualities. *Khăng-ze* says here that 'Heaven and earth are another name for *tâo*, and *kwei shăn* another name for "the vestiges of making and transformation;" and that the sage being in harmony with the *tâo* or practical reason of the universe, how can men or the *kwei shăn* be contrary to him?' Whatever be thought of the Sung speculations and theories, I think that a translator ought to give an indication of the primary meaning of the name *kwei shăn*.

Paragraphs 35 and 36 suggest the description of Confucius by Mencius, V, ii, 1, 5, as the one among the sages who was most governed by the consideration of time, doing continually what the circumstances of the time required.

his minister, or of his father by a son, is not the result of the events of one morning or one evening. The causes of it have gradually accumulated,—through the absence of early discrimination. The words of the Yt, ‘He treads on the hoar-frost; the strong ice will come (by and by),’ show the natural (issue and growth of things).

6. ‘Straight’ indicates the correctness (of the internal principle), and ‘square,’ the righteousness (of the external act). The superior man, (thus represented), by his self-reverence maintains the inward (correctness), and in righteousness adjusts his external acts. His reverence and righteousness being (thus) established, his virtues are not solitary instances or of a single class. ‘Straight, square, and great, working his operations, without repeated efforts, in every respect advantageous :’—this shows how (such a one) has no doubts as to what he does.

7. Although (the subject of) this divided line has excellent qualities, he (does not display them, but) keeps them under restraint. ‘If he engage with them in the service of the king, and be successful, he will not claim that success for himself :’—this is the way of the earth, of a wife, of a minister. The way of the earth is—‘not to claim the merit of achievement,’ but on behalf (of heaven) to bring things to their proper issue.

8. Through the changes and transformations produced by heaven and earth, plants and trees grow luxuriantly. If (the reciprocal influence of) heaven and earth were shut up and restrained, we should have (a state that might suggest to us) the case of men of virtue and ability lying in obscurity. The words of the Yt, ‘A sack tied up :—there will be

no ground for blame or for praise,' are in reality a lesson of caution.

9. The superior man (emblemized here) by the 'yellow' and correct (colour), is possessed of comprehension and discrimination. He occupies the correct position (of supremacy), but (that emblem) is on (the lower part of) his person. His excellence is in the centre (of his being), but it diffuses a complacency over his four limbs, and is manifested in his (conduct of) affairs:—this is the perfection of excellence.

10. (The subject of) the yin (or divided line) thinking himself equal to the (subject of the) yang, or undivided line, there is sure to be 'a contest.' As if indignant at there being no acknowledgment of the (superiority of the subject of the) yang line, (the text) uses the term 'dragons.' But still the (subject of neither line) can leave his class, and hence we have 'the blood' mentioned. The mention of that as being (both) 'azure and yellow' indicates the mixture of heaven and earth. Heaven's (colour) is azure and earth's is yellow.

The hexagram Khwăn is dealt with in Section ii, and much more briefly than *K'ien* in Section i. Much less distinct, moreover, is the attempt in it to show how the attributes of the hexagram are to be understood of the principles of human nature. The most important portion of the Section, perhaps, is paragraph 5, the first of chapter II, and I have spoken of it in the Introduction, pages 47 and 48.

APPENDIX V.

Treatise of Remarks on the Trigrams.

Chapter I. 1. Anciently, when the sages made the Yî, in order to give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced (the rules for the use of) the divining plant.

2. The number 3 was assigned to heaven, 2 to earth, and from these came the (other) numbers.

3. They contemplated the changes in the divided and undivided lines (by the process of manipulating the stalks), and formed the trigrams; from the movements that took place in the strong and weak lines, they produced (their teaching about) the separate lines. There ensued a harmonious conformity to the course (of duty) and to virtue, with a discrimination of what was right (in each particular case). They (thus) made an exhaustive discrimination of what was right, and effected the complete development of (every) nature, till they arrived (in the Yî) at what was appointed for it (by Heaven).

Chapter I, paragraphs 1-3, treats of the rise of the scheme of the Yî from the wonderful qualities of the divining plant, the use of certain numbers, and the formation of the lineal figures.

P. Regis translates paragraph 1 by—'The ancient (sages), the most excellent men, were the authors of the Yî-king, in making which they were assisted by an intelligent spirit, who for their help produced the plant called Shih.'

But the text will not admit of this version, nor have I found the view given in it in any Chinese writer. It is difficult to make up one's mind whether to translate—'the sage,' or 'the sages.' Khung Ying-tâ contends that the writer had Fû-hsi and him alone in his

Chapter II. 4. Anciently, when the sages made the Yî, it was with the design that (its figures) should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things), and the ordinances (for them) appointed (by Heaven). With this view they exhibited (in them) the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling (them) the weak (or soft) and the strong (or hard); and the way of men, under the names of benevolence

mind. To me it seems otherwise. Fû-hsî, if we accept the testimony of universal Chinese consent, made the eight trigrams; but he did not make the Yî, which, by the same consent, was the production of king Wăn and his son.

The text would seem to say that the sages 'produced' the plant, but this is so extravagant that the view indicated in my supplementary clause appears in all the best commentators. So understood, the Yî may be said to 'give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences,' or, if we take that name as singular (according to the analogy of chapter 6), to the Divine Being in affording a revelation of His will, as in paragraph 3. We may well say that it is a pity the revelation should be so enigmatical; but the author, it must be remembered, is writing from his own standpoint. Wăn and his son, as I have endeavoured to show in the Introduction, merely wished to convey, under the style and veil of divination, their moral and political lessons.

On paragraph 2 it is said that heaven is round; and as the circumference of a circle is three times its diameter, hence 3 is the number of heaven. Again, earth is square, and as the circumference of a square is four times its length or breadth, or it consists of two pairs of equal sides, hence 2 is the number of earth.

The concluding statement about 'the other numbers' is understood of the manipulation of the divining stalks, as in Appendix III, i, 51. That manipulation, thrice repeated, might leave three stalks each time, and $3 \times 3 = 9$; or 2, being in the same way in all = 6; or twice 3 and once 2 = 8; or twice 2 and once 3 = 7. These are the numbers of the 4 binary symbols, employed in forming the new figures; $\equiv \equiv \equiv$, the old yang, = 9; $\equiv \equiv$, the young yin, = 8; $\equiv \equiv$, the young yang, = 7; and $\equiv \equiv$, the old yin, = 6.

and righteousness. Each (trigram) embraced (those) three Powers; and, being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines. A distinction was made of (the places assigned) to the yin and yang lines, which were variously occupied, now by the strong and now by the weak forms, and thus the figure (of each hexagram) was completed.

Chapter III. 5. (The symbols of) heaven and earth received their determinate positions; (those for) mountains and collections of water interchanged their influences; (those for) thunder and wind excited each other the more; and (those for) water and fire did each other no harm. (Then) among these eight symbols there was a mutual communication.

6. The numbering of the past is a natural process; the knowledge of the coming is anticipation. Therefore in the Yî we have (both) anticipation (and the natural process).

Chapter II. The top line in each trigram thus belongs to the category of heaven; the bottom line to that of earth; and the middle line to that of man. The odd places should be occupied, 'correctly,' by the undivided lines; and the even by the divided. The trigram being increased to the hexagram, lines 5 and 6 were assigned to heaven; 1 and 2 to earth; and 3 and 4 to man. 5 is the yang characteristic of heaven, and 6 the yin; so 1 and 2 in regard to earth; while 3 represents the benevolence of man, and 4 his righteousness. But all this is merely the play of fancy, and confuses the mind of the student.

Chapter III, paragraphs 5 and 6, is understood, though not very clearly, by referring to the circular arrangement of the trigrams according to Fû-hsî, as shown in Figure 2, of Plate III. Paragraph 5 refers to the correlation of *K'ien* and *Khwân*, *K'ân* and *Tui*, *K'ân* and *Sun*, *Khân* and *Lî*. Paragraph 6 is less easy of apprehension. Starting in the same figure from *K'ien* and numbering on the left we come to *K'ân* by a natural process. Then

Chapter IV. 7. Thunder serves to put things in motion; wind to scatter (the genial seeds of) them; rain to moisten them; the sun to warm them; (what is symbolised by) *Kăn*, to arrest (and keep them in their places); (by) *Tui*, to give them joyful course; (by) *Khien*, to rule them; and by *Khwăn*, to store them up.

Chapter V. 8. God comes forth in *Kăn* (to His producing work); He brings (His processes) into full and equal action in *Sun*; they are manifested to one another in *Lt*; the greatest service is done for Him in *Khwăn*; He rejoices in *Tui*; He struggles in *Khien*; He is comforted and enters into rest in *Khân*; and He completes (the work of the year) in *Kăn*.

9. All things are made to issue forth in *Kăn*, which is placed at the east. (The processes of production) are brought into full and equal action in *Sun*, which is placed at the south-east. The being brought into full and equal action refers to the purity and equal arrangement of all things. *Lt* gives the idea of brightness. All things are now made mani-

we turn back, and numbering on the right, from *Sun*, we come by a backward process to *Khwăn*. The same process is illustrated on a large scale by the circular arrangement of the 64 hexagrams in Plate I. But what the scope of the paragraph is I cannot tell, and am tempted to say of it, as P. Regis does, 'Haec observatio prorsus inanis est.'

In chapter IV we have the same circular arrangement of the trigrams, though they are named in a different order; the last first and the first last. The first four are mentioned by their elemental names; the last four by the names of their lineal figures. No special significance is attached to this. If it ever had any, it has been lost.

fest to one another. It is the trigram of the south. The sages turn their faces to the south when they give audience to all under the sky, administering government towards the region of brightness :—the idea in this procedure was taken from this. Khwăn denotes the earth, (and is placed at the south-west). All things receive from it their fullest nourishment, and hence it is said, ‘The greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn.’ Tui corresponds (to the west) and to the autumn,—the season in which all things rejoice. Hence it is said, ‘He rejoices in Tui.’ He struggles in K’hien, which is the trigram of the north-west. The idea is that there the inactive and active conditions beat against each other. Khan denotes water. It is the trigram of the exact north,—the trigram of comfort and rest, what all things are tending to. Hence it is said, ‘He is comforted and enters into rest in Khan. Kăn is the trigram of the north-east. In it all things bring to a full end the issues of the past (year), and prepare the commencement of the next. Hence it is said, ‘He completes (the work of the year) in Kăn.’

Chapter V, paragraphs 8 and 9, sets forth the operations of nature in the various seasons, as being really the operations of God, who is named Tî, ‘the Lord and Ruler of Heaven.’ Those operations are represented in the progress by the seasons of the year, as denoted by the trigrams, according to the arrangement of them by king Wăn, as shown also in Plate III, Figure 2.

‘The greatest service is done for Tî in Khwăn;’ Yang Wan-lî (of our twelfth century, but earlier than K’ü Hsi) says :—‘Khwăn is a minister or servant. Tî is his ruler. All that a ruler has to do with his minister is to require his service.’ ‘On the struggles in K’hien’ he says :—‘K’hien is the trigram of the north-west, when the yin influence is growing strong and the yang diminishing.’

The ‘purity’ predicated in paragraph 9 of things in Sun, was

Chapter VI. 10. When we speak of Spirit we mean the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things. For putting all things in motion there is nothing more vehement than thunder; for scattering them there is nothing more effective than wind; for drying them up there is nothing more parching than fire; for giving them pleasure and satisfaction there is nothing more grateful than a lake or marsh; for moistening them there is nothing more enriching than water; for bringing them to an end and making them begin again there is nothing more fully adapted than Kăn. Thus water and fire contribute together to the one object; thunder and wind do not act contrary to each other; mountains and collections of water interchange their influences. It is in this way, that they are able to change and transform, and to give completion to all things.

explained by *Khăng Khang-khăng* (our second century) as equivalent to 'newness,' referring to the brightness of all things in the light of spring and summer. On 'all things receive from the earth their fullest nourishment' the same Yang, quoted above, says:— 'The earth performs the part of a mother. All things are its children. What a mother has to do for her children is simply to nourish them.'

Chapter VI is the sequel of the preceding. There ought to have been some mention of *Shân* or 'Spirit' in chapter 5. It is the first character in this chapter, and the two characters that follow show that it is here resumed for the purpose of being explained. As it does not occur in chapter 5, we must suppose that the author of it here brings forward and explains the idea of it that was in his mind. Many of the commentators recognise this,—e. g. Liang Yin, as quoted in the Introduction, p. 33.

Two other peculiarities in the style of the chapter are pointed out and explained (after a fashion) by *Shui King* (earlier, probably, than the Sung dynasty):— 'The action of six of the trigrams is described, but no mention is made of *Khien* or *Khwan*. But

Chapter VII. 11. *Khien* is (the symbol of) strength; *Khwăn*, of docility; *Kăn*, of stimulus to movement; *Sun*, of penetration; *Khan*, of what is precipitous and perilous; *Lî*, of what is bright and what is catching; *Kăn*, of stoppage or arrest; and *Tui*, of pleasure and satisfaction.

heaven and earth do nothing, and yet do everything; hence they are able to perfect the spirit-like subtilty of the action of thunder, wind, and the other things. (Moreover), we have the trigram *Kân* mentioned, the only one mentioned by its name, instead of our reading "mountains." The reason is, that the putting in motion, the scattering, the parching, and the moistening, are all the palpable effects of thunder, wind, fire, and water. But what is ascribed to *Kăn*, the ending and the recommencing all things, is not so evident of mountains. On this account the name of the trigram is given, while the things in nature represented by the trigrams are given in those other cases. The style suitable in each case is employed.'

Chapter VII mentions the attributes, called also the 'virtues,' of the different trigrams. It is not easy to account for the qualities—'their nature and feelings'—ascribed to them. *Khung Ying-tâ* says:—'*Khien* is represented by heaven, which revolves without ceasing, and so it is the symbol of strength; *Khwăn* by the earth, which receives docilely the action of heaven, and so it is the symbol of docility; *Kân* by thunder, which excites and moves all things, and so it is the symbol of what produces movement; *Sun* by wind, which enters everywhere, and so it is the symbol of penetration; *Khân* by water, found in a place perilous and precipitous, and the name is explained accordingly; *Lî* by fire, and fire is sure to lay hold of things, and so it is the symbol of being attached to; *Kân* by a mountain, the mass of which is still and arrests progress, and so it is the symbol of stoppage or arrest; and *Tui* by a lake or marsh, which moistens all things, and so it is the symbol of satisfaction.'

The *Khang-hsî* editors consider this explanation of the qualities of the trigrams to be unsatisfactory, and certainly it has all the appearance of an *ex post facto* account. They prefer the views of the philosopher *Shâo* (of our eleventh century), which is based on the arrangement of the undivided and divided lines in the figures. This to me is more unsatisfactory than the other. The editors say,

Chapter VIII. 12. *Khien* (suggests the idea of) a horse; *Khwăn*, that of an ox; *Kăn*, that of the dragon; *Sun*, that of a fowl; *Khan*, that of a pig; *Lî*, that of a pheasant; *Kăn*, that of a dog; and *Tui*, that of a sheep.

Chapter IX. 13. *Khien* suggests the idea of the head; *Khwăn*, that of the belly; *Kăn*, that of the feet; *Sun*, that of the thighs; *Khan*, that of the ears; *Lî*, that of the eyes; *Kăn*, that of the hands; and *Tui*, that of the mouth.

Chapter X. 14. *Khien* is (the symbol of) heaven, and hence has the appellation of father. *Khwăn* is (the symbol of) earth, and hence has the appellation of mother. *Kăn* shows a first application (of *Khwăn* to *Khien*), resulting in getting (the first of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the oldest son.' *Sun* shows a first application (of *Khien* to *Khwăn*), resulting in getting (the first of) its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the oldest daughter.' *Khan* shows a second application

moreover, that Sháo's account of the three yang trigrams, *Kăn*, *Khan*, and *Kăn* is correct, and that of the three yin, *Sun*, *Lî*, and *Tui* incorrect; but this would be based on king Wăn's arrangement, which does not appear to have place here.

Chapter VIII. In the Great Appendix, p. 383, it is said that Fû-hsî, in making his trigrams, was guided by 'the consideration of things apart from his own person.' Of such things we have a specimen here. The creatures are assigned, in their classes, to the different trigrams, symbolising the ideas in the last chapter. We must not make any difference of sex in translating their names.

Chapter IX. Fû-hsî found also 'things near at hand, in his own person,' while making the trigrams. We have here a specimen of such things.

(of Khwăn to *Khien*), resulting in getting (the second of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the second son.' *Lî* shows a second application (of *Khien* to Khwăn), resulting in getting the second of its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the second daughter.' *Kăn* shows a third application (of Khwăn to *Khien*), resulting in getting (the third of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the youngest son.' *Tui* shows a third application (of *Khien* to Khwăn), resulting in getting (the third of) its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the youngest daughter.'

Chapter XI. 15. *Khien* suggests the idea of heaven; of a circle; of a ruler; of a father; of jade; of metal; of cold; of ice; of deep red; of a good horse; of an old horse; of a thin horse; of a piebald horse; and of the fruit of trees.

16. Khwăn suggests the idea of the earth; of a mother; of cloth; of a caldron; of parsimony; of a turning lathe; of a young heifer; of a large wagon; of what is variegated; of a multitude; and of a handle and support. Among soils it denotes what is black.

17. *Kăn* suggests the idea of thunder; of the dragon; of (the union of) the azure and the yellow; of development; of a great highway; of the eldest son; of decision and vehemence; of bright young bamboos; of sedges and rushes; among horses, of

Chapter X has been discussed in the Introduction, pp. 49 and 50. Let it simply be added here, that the account which it does give of the formation of the six subsidiary trigrams is inconsistent with their gradual rise from the mutual imposition of the undivided and divided lines.

the good neigher; of one whose white hind-leg appears, of the prancer, and of one with a white star in his forehead. Among the productions of husbandry it suggests the idea of what returns to life from its disappearance (beneath the surface), of what in the end becomes the strongest, and of what is the most luxuriant.

18. Sun suggests the idea of wood; of wind; of the oldest daughter; of a plumb-line; of a carpenter's square; of being white; of being long; of being lofty; of advancing and receding; of want of decision; and of strong scents. It suggests in the human body, the idea of deficiency of hair; of a wide forehead; of a large development of the white of the eye. (Among tendencies), it suggests the close pursuit of gain, even to making three hundred per cent in the market. In the end it may become the trigram of decision.

19. K han suggests the idea of water; of channels and ditches (for draining and irrigation); of being hidden and lying concealed; of being now straight, and now crooked; of a bow, and of a wheel. As referred to man, it suggests the idea of an increase of anxiety; of distress of mind; of pain in the ears;—it is the trigram of the blood; it suggests the idea of what is red. As referred to horses, it suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; of one with a thin hoof; and of one with a shambling step. As referred to carriages, it suggests one that encounters many risks. It suggests what goes right through; the moon; a thief. Referred to trees, it suggests that which is strong, and firm-hearted.

20. Lî suggests the emblem of fire; of the sun; of lightning; of the second daughter; of buff-coat and helmet; of spear and sword. Referred to men, it suggests the large belly. It is the trigram of dryness. It suggests the emblem of a turtle; of a crab; of a spiral univalve; of the mussel; and of the tortoise. Referred to trees, it suggests one which is hollow and rotten above.

21. Kǎn suggests the emblem of a mountain; of a by-path; of a small rock; of a gateway; of the fruits of trees and creeping plants; of a porter or a eunuch; of the (ring) finger; of the dog; of the rat; of birds with powerful bills; among trees, of those which are strong, with many joints.

22. Tui suggests the emblem of a low-lying collection of water; of the youngest daughter; of a sorceress; of the mouth and tongue; of the decay and putting down (of things in harvest); of the removal (of fruits) hanging (from the stems or branches); among soils, of what is strong and salt; of a concubine; and of a sheep.

Chapter XI may be made to comprehend all the paragraphs from the 15th to the end, and shows how universally the ideas underlying the Yî are diffused through the world of nature. The quality of the several trigrams will be found with more or less of truth, and with less or more of fancy, in the objects mentioned in connexion with them. More needs not to be said on the chapter than has been done in the Introduction, pp. 53 and 54.

APPENDIX VI.

The Orderly Sequence of the Hexagrams.

SECTION I.

1-3. When there were heaven and earth, then afterwards all things were produced. What fills up (the space) between heaven and earth are (those) all things. Hence (*Khien* and *Khwan*) are followed by *Kun*¹. *Kun* denotes filling up.

3-6. *Kun* is descriptive of things on their first production. When so produced, they are sure to be in an undeveloped condition. Hence *Kun* is followed by *Mang*. *Mang* is descriptive of what is undeveloped,—the young of creatures and things. These in that state require to be nourished. Hence *Mang* is followed by *Hsü*. *Hsü* is descriptive of the way in which meat and drink (come to be supplied)². Over meat and drink there are sure to be contentions². Hence *Hsü* is followed by *Sung*.

6-8. *Sung* is sure to cause the rising up of the multitudes³; and hence it is followed by *Sze*. *Sze* has the signification of multitudes³, and between multitudes there must be some bond of union. Hence it is followed by *Pi*, which denotes being attached to.

8-11. (Multitudes in) union must be subjected to some restraint. Hence *Pi* is followed by *Hsião*

Khû. When things are subjected to restraint, there come to be rites of ceremony, and hence *Hsião Khû* is followed by *Lî*⁴. The treading (on what is proper) leads to *Thâi*, which issues in a state of freedom and repose, and hence *Lî* is followed by *Thâi*.

11-16. *Thâi* denotes things having free course. They cannot have that for ever, and hence it is followed by *Phî* (denoting being shut up and restricted). Things cannot for ever be shut up, and hence *Phî* is followed by *Thung ǞǞn*. To him who cultivates union with men, things must come to belong, and hence *Thung ǞǞn* is followed by *Tâ Yû*. Those who have what is great should not allow in themselves the feeling of being full, and hence *Tâ Yû* is followed by *Khien*. When great possessions are associated with humility, there is sure to be pleasure and satisfaction; and hence *Khien* is followed by *Yü*.

16-19. Where such complacency is awakened, (he who causes it) is sure to have followers⁵. They who follow another are sure to have services (to perform), and hence *Sui* is followed by *Kû*⁶. *Kû* means (the performance of) services. He who performs such services may afterwards become great, and hence *Kû* is followed by *Lin*. *Lin* means great⁶.

19-23. What is great draws forth contemplation, and hence *Lin* is followed by *Kwân*. He who attracts contemplation will then bring about the union of others with himself, and hence *Kwân* is followed by *Shih Ho*. *Shih Ho* means union. But things should not be united in a reckless or irregular way, and hence *Shih Ho* is followed by

Pt. Pt denotes adorning. When ornamentation has been carried to the utmost, its progress comes to an end; and hence Pt is followed by Po. Po denotes decay and overthrow.

23-26. Things cannot be done away for ever. When decadence and overthrow have completed their work at one end, redintegration commences at the other; and hence Po is followed by Fû. When the return (thus indicated) has taken place, we have not any rash disorder, and Fû is followed by Wû Wang. Given the freedom from disorder and insincerity (which this name denotes), there may be the accumulation (of virtue), and Wû Wang is followed by Tâ K'û.

26-30. Such accumulation having taken place, there will follow the nourishment of it; and hence Tâ K'û is followed by Î. Î denotes nourishing. Without nourishment there could be no movement, and hence Î is followed by Tâ Kwo. Things cannot for ever be in a state of extraordinary (progress); and hence Tâ Kwo is followed by Khân. Khân denotes falling into peril. When one falls into peril, he is sure to attach himself to some person or thing; and hence Khân is followed by Lt. Lt denotes being attached, or adhering, to.

SECTION II.

31, 32. Heaven and earth existing, all (material) things then got their existence. All (material) things having existence, afterwards there came male and female. From the existence of male and female there came afterwards husband and wife. From

- husband and wife there came father and son. From father and son there came ruler and minister. From ruler and minister there came high and low. When (the distinction of) high and low had existence, afterwards came the arrangements of propriety and righteousness.

The rule for the relation of husband and wife is that it should be long-enduring. Hence Hsien is followed by Hăng. Hăng denotes long enduring¹.

32-37. Things cannot long abide in the same place; and hence Hăng is followed by Thun. Thun denotes withdrawing. Things cannot be for ever withdrawn; and hence Thun is succeeded by Tâ Kwang. Things cannot remain for ever (simply) in the state of vigour; and hence Tâ Kwang is succeeded by 3in. 3in denotes advancing. (But) advancing is sure to lead to being wounded; and hence 3in is succeeded by Ming Î. Î denotes being wounded. He who is wounded abroad will return to his home; and hence Ming Î is followed by Kiâ Zăn.

37-40. When the right administration of the family is at an end, misunderstanding and division will ensue; and hence Kiâ Zăn is followed by Khwei. Khwei denotes misunderstanding and division; and such a state is sure to give rise to difficulties and complications. Khwei therefore is followed by Kien. Kien denotes difficulties; but things cannot remain for ever in such a state. Kien therefore is followed by Kieh, which denotes relaxation and ease.

40-44. In a state of relaxation and ease there are sure to be losses; and hence Kieh is followed

by Sun. But when Sun (or diminution) is going on without end, increase is sure to come. Sun therefore is followed by Yî. When increase goes on without end, there is sure to come a dispersing of it, and hence Yî is followed by Kwâi. Kwâi denotes dispersion. But dispersion must be succeeded by a meeting (again). Hence Kwâi is followed by Kâu, which denotes such meeting.

44-48. When things meet together, a collection is then formed. Hence Kâu is followed by 3hui, which name denotes being collected. When (good men) are collected and mount to the highest places, there results what we call an upward advance; and hence 3hui is followed by Shăng. When such advance continues without stopping, there is sure to come distress; and hence Shăng is followed by Khwăn. When distress is felt in the height (that has been gained), there is sure to be a return to the ground beneath; and hence Khwăn is followed by 3ing.

48, 49. What happens under 3ing requires to be changed, and hence it is followed by Ko (denoting change).

49-55. For changing the substance of things there is nothing equal to the caldron; and hence Kǒ is followed by Ting. For presiding over (that and all other) vessels, no one is equal to the eldest son, and hence Ting is followed by Kăn. Kăn conveys the idea of putting in motion. But things cannot be kept in motion for ever. The motion is stopped; and hence Kăn is followed by Kăn, which gives the idea of arresting or stopping. Things cannot be kept for ever in a state of repression, and hence Kăn is followed by Kien, which gives the idea of

(gradually) advancing. With advance there must be a certain point that is arrived at, and hence *Kien* is succeeded by *Kwei Mei*. When things thus find the proper point to which to come, they are sure to become great. Hence *Kwei Mei* is succeeded by *Fǎng*, which conveys the idea of being great.

55-57. He whose greatness reaches the utmost possibility, is sure to lose his dwelling; and hence *Fǎng* is succeeded by *Lü* (denoting travellers or strangers). We have in it the idea of strangers who have no place to receive them, and hence *Lü* is followed by *Sûn*, which gives the idea of (penetrating and) entering.

57-59. One enters (on the pursuit of his object), and afterwards has pleasure in it; hence *Sûn* is followed by *Tui*. *Tui* denotes pleasure and satisfaction. This pleasure and satisfaction (begins) afterwards to be dissipated, and hence *Tui* is followed by *Hwan*, which denotes separation and division.

59-62. A state of division cannot continue for ever, and therefore *Hwan* is followed by *3ieh*. *3ieh* (or the system of regulations) having been established, men believe in it, and hence it is followed by *Kung Fû*. When men have the belief which *Kung Fû* implies, they are sure to carry it into practice; and hence it is succeeded by *Hsião Kwo*.

62-64. He that surpasses others is sure to remedy (evils that exist), and therefore *Hsião Kwo* is succeeded by *K'í 3í*. But the succession of events cannot come to an end, and therefore *K'í 3í* is

succeeded by Wei 31, with which (the hexagrams) come to a close.

The few sentences on this Appendix in the Introduction, pp. 54, 55, are sufficient. It shows the importance of the meaning of the name in the attempt to explain the lineal figures, and prepares us to expect on each one a brief enigmatical essay, which, it has been seen, is the nature of the Text. But the writer, whoever he was, is by no means careful always to follow that Text in the significance of the characters, as will appear in the few instances to which attention is called in the following notices. The treatise is too slight to require, or to justify, an exhibition of all its inaccuracies.

¹ But *Kun* does not denote filling up. It is the symbol of being in a state of distress and difficulty. The writer is thinking of the result of the interaction of heaven and earth as being to fill all between them with the various forms of living beings; and to represent that he gives the result of *Kun*, and not its meaning. He makes a blunder which might have been easily avoided, for he adds immediately that the character is descriptive of things on their first production.

² It is difficult to follow the writer here. *Hsü* in the Text is the symbol of the idea of waiting. Does he mean that a provision of food and drink can only be made gradually? There is nothing in the character *Hsü* to awaken in the mind the idea of nourishment. Then the genesis of contention which is given is strange. The writer probably had in his mind the lines of the *Shih*, II, i, ode 5. 3:—

‘The loss of kindly feeling oft
From slightest things shall grow.
Where all the fare is dry and spare,
Resentments fierce may glow.’

But what is allowable, good even, in poetry, is out of place in this treatise.

³ Contention on a great scale will put all the population of a state in excitement and motion, and military measures of repression will be necessary. But the idea of the multitudes in *Sze* would seem to be simply that of number, and not that of a numerous host. In a feudal kingdom, however, all the able-bodied people might be required to join the army.

⁴ Lî, the name of the 10th hexagram, is the symbol for a shoe, and the act of treading or walking. It seems here to be derived from the homophonous lî, the symbol of acts of ceremony. The identity of sound or name must be considered as accidental. A measured step would be one of the first ways in which the inward sense of propriety would manifest itself.

⁵ By the subject of Tâ Yû and K'ien we must understand the possessor of the kingdom,—the great man who in his greatness is yet distinguished by humility. He attracts followers.

⁶ For the true meaning of K'û and Lin, the names of hexagrams 18, 19, see what is said in the notes on the Text of them.

⁷ The same reference should be made to the notes on the Text of Hsien and many of the other hexagrams that follow.

APPENDIX VII.

Treatise on the Hexagrams taken promiscuously, according to the opposition or diversity of their meaning.

This last of the Appendixes is touched on very briefly in the concluding paragraph of the Introduction, p. 55. It is stated there to be in rhyme, and I have endeavoured to give a similar form to the following version of it. The rhymes and length of the lines in the original, however, are very irregular, and I found it impossible to reproduce that irregularity in English.

- 1, 2. Strength in *K'ien*, weakness in *Khwăn*
we find.
- 8, 7. *Pi* shows us joy, and *Sze* the anxious
mind.
- 19, 20. *Lín* gives, *Kwân* seeks;—such are the
several themes
Their different figures were to teach de-
signed.
3. *K'un* manifests itself, yet keeps its place;
4. 'Mid darkness still, to light *Mǎng* sets
its face.
- 51, 52. *Kǎn* starts; *Kǎn* stops. In *Sun* and *Yi*
are seen
- 41, 42. How fulness and decay their course begin.
26. *Tâ K'û* keeps still, and waits the proper
time.
25. *Wû Wang* sets forth how evil springs
from crime.

- 45, 46. Good men in 3hui collect; in Shǎng
they rise:
- 15, 16. *K'ien* itself, Yü others doth despise.
- 21, 22. Shih Ho takes eating for its theme; and
P1
Takes what is plain, from ornament quite
free.
- 58, 57. Tui shows its scope, but Sun's we do
not see.
- 17, 18. Sui quits the old; Kû makes a new
decree.
23. We see in Po its subject worn away;
24. And Fû shows its recovering from decay.
35. Above in 3in the sun shines clear and
bright;
36. But in Ming Î 'tis hidden from the
sight.
- 48, 47. Progress in 3ing in Khwăn encounters
blight.
31. Effect quick answering cause in Hsien
appears;
32. While Hǎng denotes continuance for
years.
- 59, 60. Hwân scatters; but 3ieh its code of
rules uprears.
40. Relief and ease with *Kieh* are sure to
come;
41. Hard toil and danger have in *Kien* their
home.
38. Khwei looks on others as beyond its care;
37. *Kiâ Zăn* all includes within its sphere.

- 12, 11. While Phî and Thâi their different scopes
prefer,
- 34, 33. Tâ K'wang stops here as right; withdraws
Thun there.
14. Tâ Yû adhering multitudes can show;
13. Thung Zăn reflects their warm affection's
glow.
- 50, 51. Ting takes what's new; the old is left
by Ko.
- 61, 62. Sincere is Kung Fû; but exceeds, Hsião
Kwo.
- 55, 56. Făng tells of trouble; Lü can boast few
friends.
- 30, 29. Fire mounts in Lî; water in Khân
descends.
9. Hsião K'û with few 'gainst many foes
contends.
10. Movement in Lî, unresting, never ends.
5. Hsü shows its subject making no advance:
6. In Sung we seek in vain a friendly glance;
28. And Tâ Kwo's overthrown with sad mis-
chance.
44. Kâu shows a meeting, where the many
strong
Are met by one that's weak, yet struggles
long.
53. In K'ien we see a bride who will delay
To move until the bridegroom takes his
way.
27. Body and mind are nourished right in Î;
63. All things are well established in K'î 31.

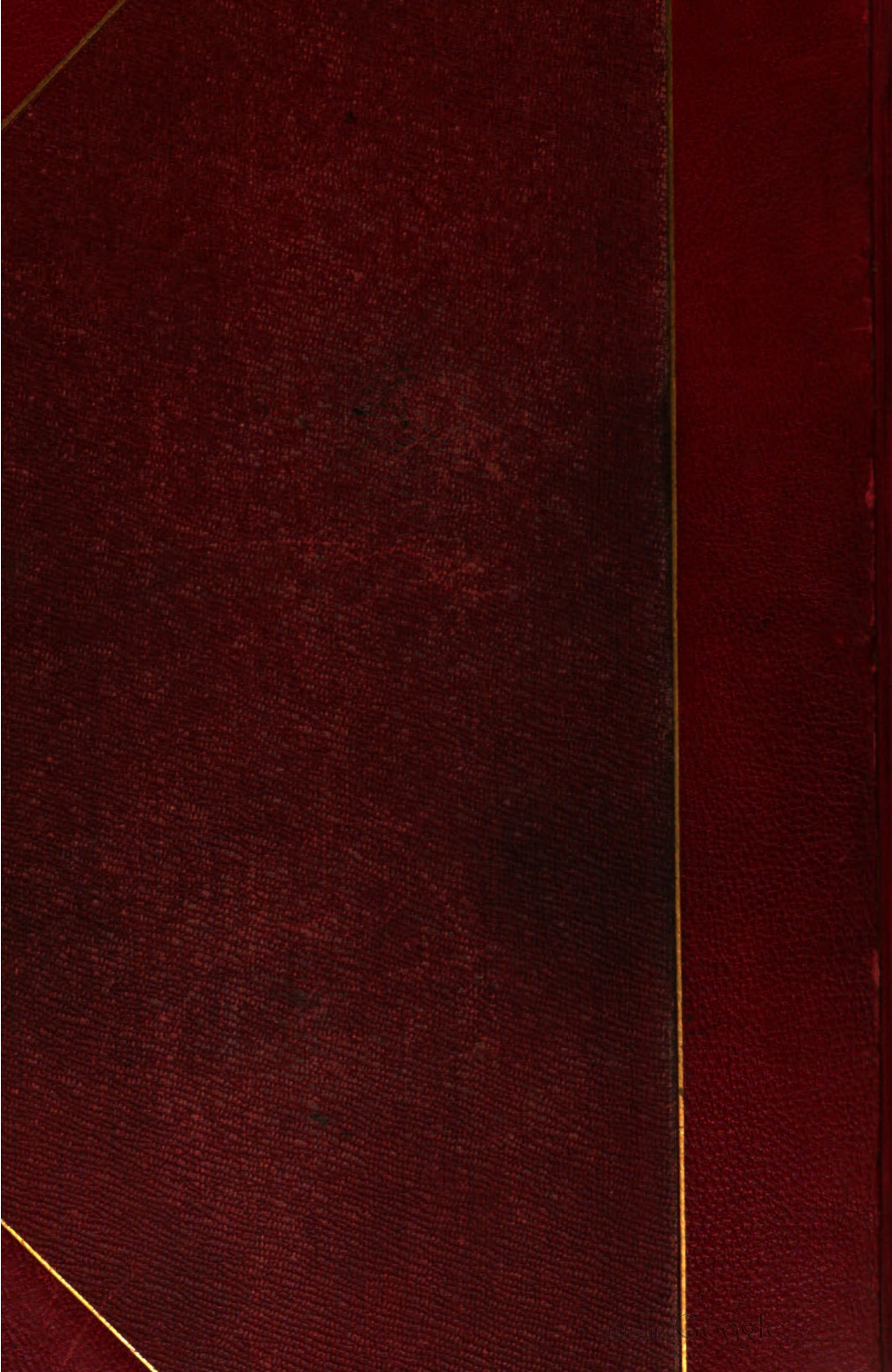
54. Kwei Mei reveals how ends the virgin life ;
64. Wei 3t how fails the youth (to get a wife).
43. The strong disperse the weak ; K wâi teaches so.
Prosper the good man's way ; to grief all small
men go.
-

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬆	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬔	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬖	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	𐬨	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) } { 𐬢 (N) }	.	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬠	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	च	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	k
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	छ	𐬒	𐬒	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	kh
15 Media	.	g	.	ज	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	झ	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.
17 " Nasalis	.	h	.	ञ	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬨 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	𐬨	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		श	𐬱	𐬱	𐬱	س	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	z		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .		त	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	تھ	תה	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	د	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		ध	𐬢𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀	دھ	דה	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		ल	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .		स	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀	𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	s	s	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutral	0			०	•	•	•	•	•	•
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
3 " labialis	ō			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	•	•	•	•
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	•	•	•	•
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	•	•	•	•
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	•	•	•	•
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	𐬄	𐬄	•	•	•	•
9 " longa	ū			ऊ	𐬅	𐬅	•	•	•	•
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			ऋ	𐬆	𐬆	•	•	•	•
11 " longa	ṛ			ॠ	𐬇	𐬇	•	•	•	•
12 Labialis brevis	u			व	𐬈	𐬈	•	•	•	•
13 " longa	ū	(u)		वृ	𐬉	𐬉	•	•	•	•
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ॡ	𐬊	𐬊	•	•	•	•
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ॢ	𐬋	𐬋	•	•	•	•
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		ॣ	𐬌	𐬌	•	•	•	•
17 " "	ei (ēi)			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
18 " "	oi (ōu)			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
20 " longa	ō	(o)		•	•	•	•	•	•	•
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		𐬍	𐬎	𐬎	•	•	•	•
22 " "	eu (ēu)			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
23 " "	ou (ōu)			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			𐬏	𐬐	𐬐	•	•	•	•
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
26 Labialis fracta	ü			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			•	•	•	•	•	•	•





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S.B.E.
27

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

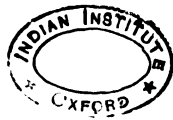
VOL. XXVII

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1885

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

THE TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART III

THE LÍ KÍ, I—X

Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1885

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P R E F A C E.

I MAY be permitted to express my satisfaction that, with the two volumes of the *Lî Kî* now published, I have done, so far as translation is concerned, all and more than all which I undertook to do on the Chinese Classics more than twenty-five years ago. When the first volume was published in 1861, my friend, the late Stanislas Julien, wrote to me, asking if I had duly considered the voluminousness of the *Lî Kî*, and expressing his doubts whether I should be able to complete my undertaking. Having begun the task, however, I have pursued it to the end, working on with some unavoidable interruptions, and amidst not a few other engagements.

The present is the first translation that has been published in any European language of the whole of the *Lî Kî*. In 1853 the late J. M. Callery published at the Imprimerie Royale, Turin, what he called '*Lî Kî, ou Mémorial des Rites, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de Notes, de Commentaires, et du Texte Original.*' But in fact the text which P. Callery adopted was only an expurgated edition, published by Fan 3ze-tǎng, a scholar of the Yüan dynasty, as commented on and annotated by K'au Kih, whose well-known work appeared in 1711, the 50th year of the Khang-hsi reign or period¹. Callery has himself called attention to this in his introduction, and it is to be regretted that he did not indicate it in the title-page of his book. Fan's text omits entirely the 5th, 12th, 13th, 19th, 28th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 37th, and 39th Books in my translation, while of most of the others,

¹ The 禮記體註大全合參, for which Callery gives—
'Combinaison des Commentaires Ta Tsüên (le Grand Complet) et Chu (l'explication), d'après le sens original du Mémorial des rites.' K'au K'ih (周熾) has the alias of K'au Tan-lin (旦林).

'a good third' has been expurgated. I do not think that Callery's version contains above one half of the *Lî Kî*, as it is found in the great editions of the Thang and present dynasties. The latter of these was commanded in an imperial rescript in 1748, the 13th year of the *K'ien-lung* period. The committee charged with its execution consisted of 85 dignitaries and scholars, who used the previous labours of 244 authors, besides adding, on many of the most difficult passages, their own remarks and decisions, which are generally very valuable.

My own version is based on a study of these two imperial collections, and on an extensive compilation, made specially for my use by my Chinese friend and former helper, the graduate Wang Tháo, gathered mostly from more recent writers of the last 250 years. The *K'ien-lung* editors make frequent reference to the work of *Khăn Hào*, which appeared in 1322 under the modest title of, 'A Collection of Remarks on the *Lî Kî*.' This acquired so great a celebrity under the Ming dynasty, that, as Callery tells us, an edict was issued in 1403 appointing it the standard for the interpretation of the Classic at the public examinations; and this pre-eminence was accorded to it on to the *K'ien-lung* period. The whole of the *Lî Kî* is given and expounded by *Khăn*, excepting the 28th and 39th Books, which had long been current as portions of 'The Four Books.' I may say that I have read over and over, and with much benefit, every sentence in his comments. Forming my own judgment on every passage, now agreeing with him and now differing, and frequently finding reason to attach a higher value to the views of the *K'ien-lung* editors, I must say that 'he deserves well' of the *Lî Kî*. His volumes are characterised by a painstaking study of the original text, and an honest attempt to exhibit the logical connexion of thought in its several parts.

禮記集說. The author has the aliases for Hào of Kho Tâ (可大), Yün Kwang (雲莊), and Tung Hui (東匯); the last, I suppose, from his having lived near the lake so called.

P. Callery's translation of his expurgated text is for the most part well executed, and his notes, of which I have often made use, are admirable. I have also enjoyed the benefit of the more recent work, '*Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*,' by P. Angelo Zottoli, in whom the scholarship of the earlier Jesuit missionaries has revived. In his third volume, published at Shang-hâi in 1880, there are good translations of the 1st, 5th, 10th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd Books; while the 28th and 39th are in his second volume. In the Latin which he employs, according to the traditions of his church and what is still a practice of some scholars, he is able to be more brief in his renderings than Callery and myself, but perhaps not so satisfactory to readers generally. I also referred occasionally to Signor Carlo Puini's '*Li-Ki: Istituzioni, Usi e Costumanze della Cina antica; Traduzione, Commento e Note (Fascicolo Primo; Firenze, 1883).*'

The present translation is, as I said above, the first published in any European language of the whole of the *Li Ki*; but another had existed in manuscript for several years,—the work of Mr. Alexander Wylie, now unhappily, by loss of eye-sight and otherwise failing health, laid aside from his important Chinese labours. I was fortunate enough to obtain possession of this when I had got to the 35th Book in my own version, and, in carrying the sheets through the press, I have constantly made reference to it. It was written at an early period of Mr. Wylie's Chinese studies, and is not such as a Sinologist of his attainments and research would have produced later on. Still I have been glad to have it by me, though I may venture to say that, in construing the paragraphs and translating the characters, I have not been indebted in a single instance to him or P. Callery. The first six Books, and portions of several others, had been written out, more than once, before I finally left China in 1873; but I began again at the beginning, early in 1883, in preparing the present version. I can hardly hope that, in translating so extensive and peculiar a work, descriptive of customs and

things at so remote a period of time, and without the assistance of any Chinese graduate with whom I could have talked over complicated and perplexing paragraphs, I may not have fallen into some mistakes; but I trust they will be found to be very few. My simple and only aim has been, first, to understand the text for myself, and then to render it in English, fairly and as well as I could in the time attain to, for my readers.

J. L.

OXFORD,
July 10, 1885.

THE LÎ KÎ

OR

COLLECTION OF TREATISES ON THE RULES
OF PROPRIETY OR CEREMONIAL USAGES.

THE LÎ KÎ

OR

COLLECTION OF TREATISES ON THE RULES
OF PROPRIETY OR CEREMONIAL USAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THREE DIFFERENT LÎ KING, OR RITUAL BOOKS, ACKNOWLEDGED IN CHINA. THE RECOVERY OF THE FIRST TWO, AND FORMATION OF THE THIRD, UNDER THE HAN DYNASTY.

1. Confucius said, 'It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused ; by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established ; from Music that the finish is How Confucius spoke of the Lî. received¹.' On another occasion he said, 'Without the Rules of Propriety, respectfulness becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, timidity; boldness, insubordination; and straightforwardness, rudeness¹.'

These are two specimens of the manner in which Confucius expressed himself about the Lî, the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages, recognised in his time. It is a natural inference from his language that there were Collections of such Rules which could be read and studied ; but he does not expressly say so.

The language of Mencius was more definite. In at least two passages of his works we find the usual form of quotation Lî Yüeh, 'The Lî says²,' which, How Mencius spoke of them. according to the analogy of Shih Yüeh, 'The Shih King, or Book of Poetry, says,' might be rendered,

¹ Confucian Analects, Book VIII, 8 and 2.

² Works of Mencius, II, Part ii, 2. 5 ; III, Part ii, 3. 3.

'The LĪ King says.' In another passage, he says to a Mr. King *K'hun*, 'Have you not read the LĪ?' It does not appear that Mencius was always referring to one and the same collection of LĪ; but it is clear that in his time there were one or more such collections current and well known among his countrymen.

There are now three Chinese classics into which the name LĪ enters:—the Ī LĪ, the *K'au* LĪ, and the LĪ King. Now there are three LĪ King, KĪ, frequently styled, both by the Chinese or three Rituals. themselves and by sinologists, 'The Three Rituals'. The first two are books of the *K'au* dynasty (B. C. 1122–225). The third, of which a complete translation is given in the present work, may contain passages of an earlier date than either of the others; but as a collection in its present form, it does not go higher than the Han dynasty, and was not completed till our second century. It has, however, taken a higher position than those others, and is ranked with the *Sh'û*, the *Shih*, the *Yĭ*, and the *K'hun K'hi'û*, forming one of 'The Five King,' which are acknowledged as the books of greatest authority in China. Other considerations besides antiquity have given, we shall see, its eminence to the LĪ KĪ.

2. The monuments of the ancient literature, with the exception, perhaps, of the *Yĭ* King, were in a condition of disorder and incompleteness at the rise of the Han dynasty (B. C. 206). This was the case especially with the Ī LĪ and *K'au* LĪ. They had suffered, with the other books, from the fires and proscription of the short-lived dynasty of *K'hin*, the founder of which was bent especially on their destruction³; and during the closing centuries of *K'au*, in all the period of 'The Warring Kingdoms,' they had been variously mutilated by the contending princes⁴.

¹ Works of Mencius, III, ii, 2. 2.

² See Wylie's Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 4, and Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 300.

³ Sze-mâ K'ien's Biographies, Book 61 (儒林傳), p. 5^b. Other testimonies to the fact could be adduced.

⁴ Mencius V, ii, 2. 2. See also the note of Liû Hsin, appended to his catalogue of LĪ works, in the Imperial library of Han.

The sovereigns of Han undertook the task of gathering up and arranging the fragments of the ancient Work of the emperors of Han in recovering the ancient books. Shih Hwang Ti of *K'hin* had promulgated his edict forbidding any one to hide and keep in his possession the old writings. This was repealed in B. C. 191 by the emperor Hui, so that it had been in existence only twenty-two years, during most of which, we may presume, it had been inoperative. Arrangements were also made to receive and preserve old tablets which might be presented¹, and to take down in writing what scholars might be able to repeat. In B. C. 164, the emperor Wăn ordered 'the Great Scholars' of his court to compile 'the Royal Ordinances,' the fifth of the Books in our *Lî Kî*².

i. Internal evidence shows that when this treatise was made, the *Î Lî*, or portions of it at least, had been recovered; and with this agrees the testimony of Sze-mâ *K'hien*, who was born perhaps in that very year³, and lived to between B. C. 90 and 80. In the 61st Book of his Biographies, referred to in a note above, *K'hien* says, 'Many of the scholars repeated (parts of) the *Lî*; but no other of them so much as Kâo Thang of *Lû*; and now we have only the Shih *Lî*, which he was able to recite.' In harmony with this statement of the great historian, is the first entry in Liû Hsin's Catalogue of *Lî* books in the Imperial library of Han:—'56 *k'üan* or sections of *Lî* in the old text, and 17 *phien* in the (current) text (of the time);' forming, as is universally believed, the present *Î Lî*, for which the Shih *Lî* of *K'hien* is merely another name.

That Kâo Thang should have been able to dictate so much of the work will not be thought wonderful by those who

¹ Such was the 'Stone-Conduit Gallery,' which Mayers (Manual, p. 185) describes as a building erected by Hsião Ho at *K'hang-an* for the reception of the records of the extinct *K'hin* dynasty, about B. C. 200, adding that 'in B. C. 51, the emperor Hsüan appointed a commission of scholars to assemble in this building, and complete the revision of the classical writings.' But it had also been intended from the first as a repository for those writings as they were recovered.

² See the General Mirror of History under that year.

³ Mayers puts his birth 'about B. C. 163,' and his death 'about 85.'

are familiar with the power of memory displayed by many Chinese scholars even at the present day. The sections in the old text were found in the reign of the emperor Wû (B. C. 140–87), and came into the possession of his brother, known as king Hsien of Ho-kien. We do not know how much this mass of tablets added to the Ī Lĭ, as we now have it, but they confirmed the genuineness of the portion obtained from Kâo.

ii. The recovery of the *Kâu Lĭ* came not long after, and through the agency of the same king Hsien. No one did King Hsien of Ho-kien, and his recovery of the *Kâu Lĭ*, so much as he in the restoration of the ancient literature. By name Teh, and one of the fourteen sons of the emperor King (B. C. 156–141), he was appointed by his father, in B. C. 155, king of Ho-kien, which is still the name of one of the departments of *Kih-li*, and there he continued till his death, in 129, the patron of all literary men, and unceasingly pursuing his quest for old books dating from before the *K'in* dynasty. Multitudes came to him from all quarters, bringing to him the precious tablets which had been preserved in their families or found by them elsewhere. The originals he kept in his own library, and had a copy taken, which he gave to the donor with a valuable gift. We are indebted to him in this way for the preservation of the *Tâo Teh King*, the works of Mencius, and other precious treasures; but I have only to notice here his services in connexion with the *Lĭ* books¹.

Some one² brought to him the tablets of the *Kâu Lĭ*, then called *Kâu Kwan*, 'The Official Book of *Kâu*,' and purporting to contain a complete account of the organised government of the dynasty of *Kâu* in six sections. The sixth section, however, which should have supplied a list of the officers in the department of the minister of Works,

¹ See the account of king Hsien in the twenty-third chapter of the Biographies in the History of the first Han dynasty. Hsien was the king's posthumous title (獻), denoting 'The Profound and Intelligent.'

² The Catalogue of the Sui Dynasty's (A. D. 589–618) Imperial library says this was a scholar of the surname Lĭ (李). I have been unable to trace the authority for the statement farther back.

with their functions, was wanting, and the king offered to pay 1000 pieces of gold to any one who should supply the missing tablets, but in vain¹. He presented the tablets which he had obtained at the court of his half-brother, the emperor Wû; but the treasure remained uncared for in one of the imperial repositories till the next century; when it came into the charge of Liû Hsin. Hsin replaced the missing portion from another old work, called *Kháo Kung Kî*, which Wylie renders by 'The Artificers' Record.' This has ever since continued to appear as the sixth section of the whole work, for the charge of which Hsin obtained the appointment of a special board of scholars, such as had from the first been entrusted with the care of the *Í Lî*. The *Kâu Lî* is a constitutional and not a ritual work. The last entry in Hsin's Catalogue of *Lî Books* is:—'The *Kâu Kwan* in six sections; and a treatise on the *Kâu Kwan* in four sections.' That is the proper name for it. It was not called the *Kâu Lî* till the Thang dynasty².

iii. We come to the formation of the text of the *Lî Kî*, in which we are more particularly interested. We cannot

Formation of the *Lî Kî*. speak of its recovery, for though parts of it had been in existence during the *Kâu* dynasty, many of its Books cannot claim a higher antiquity than the period of the Han. All that is known about the authorship of them all will be found in the notices which form the last chapter of this Introduction.

After the entry in Liû Hsin's Catalogue about the re-

¹ This is related in the Catalogue of the Sui dynasty. It could not be in *K'ien*'s sixty-first chapter of Biographies, because the *Kâu Kwan* was not known, or, at least, not made public, in *K'ien*'s time. The Sui writers, no doubt, took it from some biography of the Han, which has escaped me.

² A complete translation of the *Kâu Lî* appeared at Paris in 1851, the work of Edward Biot, who had died himself before its publication, before his fiftieth year. According to a note in Callery's '*Mémorial des Rites*' (p. 191), the labour of its preparation hastened Biot's death. There are some errors in the version, but they are few. I have had occasion to refer to hundreds of passages in it, and always with an increasing admiration of the author's general resources and knowledge of Chinese. His early death was the greatest loss which the cause of sinology has sustained. His labours, chiefly on Chinese subjects, had been incessant from 1835. The perusal of them has often brought to my memory the words of Newton. 'If Mr. Cotes had lived, we should have known something.' Is there no sinologist who will now undertake a complete translation of the *Í Lî*?

covered text of the Î Lî, there follows—'131 phien of Kî,' that is, so many different records or treatises on the subject of Lî. These had also been collected by king Hsien, and Kû Hsi's note about them is that they were 'Treatises composed by the disciples of the seventy disciples,' meaning by 'the seventy disciples' those of Confucius' followers who had been most in his society and profited most from his instructions. These 131 phien contained, no doubt, the germ of our Lî Kî; but there they remained for about a century in the imperial repositories, undigested and uncared for, and constantly having other treatises of a similar nature added to them.

At last, in B. C. 51, the emperor Hsüan (B. C. 73-47) convoked a large assembly of Great Scholars to meet in the Stone-Conduit Gallery, and discuss the Council of B. C. 51. text of the recovered classics¹. A prominent member of this assembly, the president of it I suppose, was Liû Hsiang, himself a celebrated writer and a scion of the imperial house, who appears to have had the principal charge of all the repositories. Among the other members, and in special connexion with the Lî works, we find the name of Tâi Shăng, who will again come before us².

We do not know what the deliberations of the Great Scholars resulted in, but twenty-five years later the emperor K'ang caused another search to be made throughout the empire for books that might hitherto have escaped notice; and, when it was completed, he ordered Hsiang to examine all the contents of the repositories, and collate the various copies of the classics. From this came the preparation of a catalogue; and Hsiang dying at the age of seventy-two, in B. C. 9, before it was completed, the work was delegated to his third and youngest son Hsin. His catalogue we happily possess. It mentions, in addition to the Î Lî and

¹ See the Details in the General Mirror of History, under B. C. 51.

² See the 58th Book of Biographies (儒林) in the History of the first Han, and the Catalogue of the Sui Library.

Kâu Lî, 199 *phien* of *Lî* treatises. The résumé appended to the *Lî* books in the Catalogue of the Sui Dynasty, omitting works mentioned by Hsin, and inserting two others, says that Hsiang had in his hands altogether 214 *phien*. What was to be done with this mass of tablets, or the written copies made from them?

The most distinguished of the *Lî* scholars in the time of the emperors Hsüan and *Khǎng* was a *Hâu* *Shang*, the *Hâu* *Shang* and author of the compilation called in Hsin's the two *Tâis*. Catalogue *Khü Tâi Kî*; and two of his disciples, *Tâi* *Teh* and *Tâi* *Shǎng*, cousins¹, the name of the latter of whom has already been mentioned as a member of the council of B.C. 51, were also celebrated for their ability. *Teh*, the older of the two, and commonly called *Tâ Tâi*, or 'the Greater *Tâi*,' while Hsiang was yet alive, digested the mass of *phien*, and in doing so reduced their number to 85. The younger, called *Hsiào Tâi*, or 'the Lesser *Tâi*,' doing the same for his cousin's work, reduced it to 46 treatises. This second condensation of the *Lî* documents met with general acceptance, and was styled the *Lî Kî*. *Shǎng* himself wrote a work in twelve chapters, called 'A Discussion of the Doubts of Scholars about the *Lî Kî*,' which, though now lost, was existing in the time of Sui. Through *Khiào Zǎn* and others, scholars of renown in their day, the redaction passed on to the well-known *Mâ Yung* and *Mâ Yung* (A.D. 79-166), who added to *Kang Hsüan*. *Shǎng*'s books the *Yüeh Ling*, the Ming

¹ Sinologists, without exception I believe, have called *Shǎng* a 'nephew' of *Teh*, overlooking the way in which the relationship between them is expressed in Chinese. *Shǎng* is always *Teh*'s 從兄之子, and not simply 兄之子. Foreign students have overlooked the force of the phrase 從兄 and, more fully, 從父兄. *Teh* and *Shǎng*'s father had the same grandfather, and were themselves the sons of brothers. They were therefore what we call first cousins, and *Teh* and *Shǎng* were second cousins. The point is unimportant, but it is well to be correct even in small matters. Not unimportant, however, is the error of Callery (Introduction, p. 6), who says, 'Le neveu, homme dépravé, beaucoup plus adonné aux plaisirs, qu'à l'étude, retrancha encore davantage et fixa le nombre des chapitres à 46.' No such stigma rests on the character of *Tâi Shǎng*, and I am sure translators have reason to be grateful to him for condensing, as he did, the result of his cousin's labours.

Thang Wei, and the Yo Kî, making their number in all forty-nine, though, according to the arrangement adopted in the present translation, they still amount only to forty-six. From Mâ, again, it passed to his pupil Kǎng Hsüan (A.D. 127-200), in whom he was obliged to acknowledge a greater scholar than himself.

Thus the Lî Kî was formed. It is not necessary to pursue its history farther. Kǎng was the scholar of his age, and may be compared, in scholarship, with the later Kû Hsi. And he has been fortunate in the preservation of his works. He applied himself to all the three Rituals, and his labours on them all, the Kâu Lî, the Î Lî, and the Lî Kî, remain. His commentaries on them are to be found in the great work of 'The Thirteen King' of the Thang dynasty. There they appear, followed by the glosses, illustrations, and paraphrases of Khung Ying-tâ.

In A.D. 175, while Kǎng was yet alive, Zhâi Yung, a scholar and officer of many gifts, superintended the work of engraving on stone the text of all the ^{Zhâi Yung and his manuscript.} Confucian classics. Only fragments of that great manuscript remain to the present day, but others of the same nature were subsequently made. We may feel assured that we have the text of the Lî Kî and other old Chinese books, as it was 1800 years ago, more correctly than any existing manuscripts give us that of any works of the West, Semitic, or Greek, or Latin, of anything like equal antiquity.

3. A few sentences on the Lî of the Greater Tâi will fitly close this chapter. He handed down his voluminous compilation to a Hsü Liang of Lang Yeh in the present Shan-tung¹, and in his family it was transmitted; but if any commentaries on it were published, there is no trace of them in history. As the shorter work of his cousin obtained a wide circulation, his fell into neglect, and, as Kû Î-jun says, was simply put upon the shelf. Still there appears in the Sui Catalogue these two entries:— 'The Lî Kî of Tâ Tâi, in 13 Sections,' and 'The Hsiâ

¹ 徐良, 字旂卿, 受禮於戴德.

Hsiáo Kǎng, in 1 Section,' with a note by the editor that it was compiled by Tâ Tâi. This little tractate may, or may not, have been also included in one of the 13 Sections. There are entries also about Tâ Tâi's work in the catalogues of the Thang and Sung dynasties, which have given rise to many discussions. Some of the Sung scholars even regarded it as a 14th King. In the large collection of 'Books of Han and Wei,' a portion of the Lî of Tâ Tâi is still current, 39 Books in 10 Sections, including the fragment of the Hsiâ dynasty, of which a version, along with the text, was published in 1882 by Professor Douglas of King's College, under the title of 'The Calendar of the Hsiâ Dynasty.' I have gone over all the portion in the Han and Wei Collection, and must pronounce it very inferior to the compilation of the Hsiáo or Lesser Tâi. This inferiority, and not the bulk, merely, was the reason why from the first it has been comparatively little attended to.

CHAPTER II.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHINESE CHARACTER CALLED LÎ. MEANING OF THE TITLE LÎ KÎ. VALUE OF THE WORK.

1. The Chinese character Lî admits of a great variety of terms in translating a work where it abounds into any of our western languages. In order fully to apprehend its significance, we must try to get hold of the fundamental ideas which it was intended to convey. And these are two. First, when we consult the Shwo Wǎn, the oldest Chinese dictionary, we find Lî defined as 'a step or act; that whereby we serve spiritual beings and obtain happiness.' The character was to the author, Hsü Shǎn, an ideagram of religious import; and we can see that he rightly interpreted the intention of its maker or makers. It consists of two elements, separately called *k'ih* and *lî*¹. That on the left is the symbol,

Lî is a symbol
of religious
import.

¹ 示 + 豊 = 禮.

determining the category of meaning to which the compound belongs. It was the earliest figure employed to indicate spiritual beings, and enters into characters denoting spirits, sacrifices, and prayer¹. That on the right, called lĭ, is phonetic, but even it is the symbol for 'a vessel used in performing rites;' and if, as the Khang-hsi dictionary seems to say, it was anciently used alone for the present compound, still the spiritual significance would attach to it, and the addition of the kĭh to complete the character, whensoever it was made, shows that the makers considered the rites in which the vessel was used to possess in the first place a religious import.

Next, the character is used, in moral and philosophical disquisitions, to designate one of the primary constituents of human nature. Those, as set forth by Mencius, are four; 'not fused into us from without,' not produced, that is, by any force of circumstances, but 'belonging naturally to us, as our four limbs do.' They are benevolence (shān), righteousness (i), propriety (lĭ), and understanding (kĭh). Our possession of the first is proved by the feeling of distress at the sight of suffering; of the second, by our feelings of shame and dislike; of the third, by our feelings of modesty and courtesy; of the fourth, by our consciousness of approving and disapproving².

Thus the character lĭ, in the concrete application of it, denotes the manifestations, and in its imperative use, the rules, of propriety. This twofold symbolism of it—the religious and the moral—must be kept in mind in the study of our classic. A life ordered in harmony with it would realise the highest Chinese ideal, and surely a very high ideal, of human character.

But never and nowhere has it been possible for men to maintain this high standard of living. In China and elsewhere the lĭ have become, in the usages of society in its various relationships, matters of course, forms without the

¹ E. g. 神 (shān), 祭 (kĭ), 祈 (kĭh).

² Mencius, II, i, 6; VI, i, 6. 7.

spirit, and hence we cannot always translate the character by the same term. It would be easy to add to the number of words, more or less synonymous, in French or English or any other Aryan language, which Callery has heaped together in the following passage:—‘Autant que possible, j’ai traduit *Lî* par le mot *Rite*, dont le sens est susceptible à une grande étendue ; mais il faut convenir que, suivant les circonstances où il est employé, il peut signifier—Cérémonial, Cérémonies, Pratiques cérémoniales, L’étiquette, Politesse, Urbanité, Courtoisie, Honnêteté, Bonnes manières, Égards, Bonne éducation, Bienséance, Les formes, Les convenances, Savoir-vivre, Décorum, Décence, Dignité personnelle, Moralité de conduite, Ordre Social, Devoirs de Société, Lois Sociales, Devoirs, Droit, Morale, Lois hiérarchiques, Offrande, Usages, Coutumes¹.’ I have made little use in my translation of the word *Rite* or *Rites*, which Callery says he had endeavoured to adhere to as much as possible, but I do not think I have allowed myself so much liberty in other terms in my English as he has done in his French. For the symbol in the title I have said ‘Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages.’

2. The meaning of the title—*Lî Kî*—need not take us so long. There is no occasion to say more on the significance of *Lî*; the other character, *Kî*, should have a plural force given to it. What unity belongs to the Books composing it arises from their being all, more or less, occupied with the subject of *Lî*. Each one, or at least each group, is complete in itself. Each is a *Kî*; taken together, they are so many *Kî*s. Only into the separate titles of seven of them, the 13th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 27th, and 29th, does the name of *Kî* enter. That character is the symbol for ‘the recording of things one by one,’ and is often exchanged for another *Kî*², in which the classifying element is *sze*, the symbol for ‘a packet of cocoons,’ the compound denoting the unwinding

¹ Introduction, p. 16.

² The classifier of *Kî* in the title is 言 (*yen*), the symbol of words; that of this *Kî* (紀) is 糸 (*sze*).

l'occident, le besoin impérieux de sonder les mystères du monde invisible.'

The number of the K'î that are devoted to the subject of the mourning rites shows how great was the regard of the people for the departed members of their families. The solidarity of the family, and even the solidarity of the race, is a sentiment which has always been very strong among them. The doctrine of filial piety has also the prominence in several Books which we might expect.

As to the philosophical and moral ideas which abound in the work, they are, as Callery says, 'in general, sound and profound.' The way in which they are presented is not unfrequently eccentric, and hedged about with absurd speculations on the course of material nature, but a prolonged study of the most difficult passages will generally bring to light what Chinese scholars call a *t'ao-lî*, a ground of reason or analogy, which interests and satisfies the mind.

4. The position that came gradually to be accorded to the Lî K'î as one of 'The Five King,' par excellence,

The Lî K'î as one of the Five King. was a tribute to its intrinsic merit. It did not, like the K'âu Lî, treat of matters peculiar to one dynasty, but of matters important in all time; nor like the Î Lî, of usages belonging to one or more of the official classes, but of those that concerned all men. The category of 'Five King' was formed early, but the 'Three Rituals' were comprehended in it as of equal value, and formed one subdivision of it. So it was early in the Thang dynasty when the collection of 'The Thirteen King' was issued; but ere the close of that dynasty our classic had made good its eminence over the other two Rituals. In the 29th chapter of the Monographs of Thang, page 17, it is said, 'To the charge of each of the Five King two Great Scholars were appointed. The Yî of K'âu, the Shang Shû, the Shih of Mão, the K'hun K'hiû, and the Lî K'î are the Five King.'

CHAPTER III.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE DIFFERENT BOOKS WHICH
MAKE UP THE COLLECTION.BOOK I. *KHÜ LÎ*.

This first Book in the collection is also the longest, and has been divided because of its length into two Books. In this translation, however, it appears only as one Book in two Sections, which again are subdivided, after the *Khien-lung* editors, into five Parts and three Parts respectively.

The name *Khü Lî* is taken from the first two characters in the first paragraph, and the first sentence, 'The *Khü Lî* says,' extends over all that follows to the end of the Book. P. Callery, indeed, puts only the first paragraph within inverted commas, as if it alone were from the *Khü Lî*, and the rest of the Book were by a different hand. He translates the title by 'Rites Divers,' and to his first sentence, 'Le Recueil des rites divers dit,' appends the following note :—'This work, that for a very long time has been lost, was, so far as appears, one of those collections of proverbs and maxims with which philosophy has commenced among nearly all peoples. Although the author does not say so, it is probable that this chapter and the next contain an analysis of that ancient collection, for the great unconnectedness which we find in it agrees well with the variety indicated by the title *Khü Lî*.' My own inference from the text, however, is what I have stated above, that the Book is a transcript of the *Khü Lî*, and not merely a condensation of its contents, or a redaction of them by a different author.

It is not easy to translate the title satisfactorily. According to *Kǎng Hsüan* (or *Kǎng Khang-khǎng*), the earliest of all the great commentators on the *Lî Kî*, 'The Book is named *Khü Lî*, because it contains matters relating to all the five ceremonial categories. What is said in it about sacrifices belongs to the "auspicious ceremonies;"

about the rites of mourning, and the loss or abandonment of one's state, to the "inauspicious;" about the payment of tributary dues and appearances at the royal court, to "the rites of hospitality;" about weapons, chariots, and banners, "to those of war;" and about serving elders, reverencing the aged, giving offerings or presents, and the marriage of daughters, to the "festive ceremonies." On this view the title would mean 'Rules belonging to the different classes of ceremonies,' or, more concisely, the 'Rites Divers' of Callery; and Mr. Wylie has called the Book 'The Universal Ritual.'

But this rendering of the title does not suit the proper force of the character *Khü*, which is the symbol of 'being bent or crooked,' and is used, with substantival meaning, for what is small and appears irregularly. Mention is made in Book XXVIII, ii, 23, of 'him who cultivates the shoots of goodness in his nature,' those 'shoots' being expressed by this character *Khü*; and in a note on the passage there I have quoted the words of the commentator Pái Lü:—'Put a stone on a bamboo shoot, or where the shoot would show itself, and it will travel round the stone, and come out crookedly at its side.' Thus *Khü* is employed for what is exhibited partially or in a small degree. Even Kǎng Hsüan on that passage explains it by 'very small matters;' and the two ablest in my opinion of all the Chinese critics and commentators, Kú Hsí and Wú Kǎng (of the Yüan dynasty, A.D. 1249–1333), take our title to mean 'The minuter forms and smaller points of ceremony.' P. Zottoli is not to be blamed for following them, and styling the Book—'Minutiores Ritus.' Still even this does not satisfy my own mind. Great rites are mentioned in the treatise as well as small ones. Principles of ceremony are enunciated as well as details. The contents are marked indeed by the 'unconnectedness' which Callery mentions; but a translator cannot help that. The Book may not be as to method all that we could wish, but we must make the best we can of it as it stands; and I have ventured to call it 'A Summary of the Rules of Ceremony.' It occupies very properly the place at the beginning of the

collection, and is a good introduction to the treatises that follow.

Among the *Lî* books in Liú Hsin's Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, is a Treatise in nine chapters (*phien*), compiled by Hâu 3hang, and called *Khü Thâi Kî*, or 'Record made in the *Khü* Tower.' The *Khü* Tower was the name of an educational building, where scholars met in the time of the emperor Hsüan to discuss questions about ceremonies and other matters connected with the ancient literature, and Hâu 3hang (mentioned in the preceding chapter) kept a record of their proceedings. I should like to think that our *Khü Lî* is a portion of that *Khü Thâi Kî*, and am sorry not to be able to adduce Chinese authorities who take the same view. It would relieve us of the difficulty of accounting for the use of *Khü* in the title.

BOOK II. THAN KUNG.

The name Than Kung given to this Book is taken from the first paragraph in it, where the gentleman so denominated appears attending the mourning rites for an officer of the state of Lû. Nowhere else in the Treatise, however, is there any mention of him, or reference to him. There can be no reason but this, for calling it after him, that his surname and name occur at the commencement of it. He was a native, it is understood, of Lû; but nothing more is known of him.

The Than Kung, like the *Khü Lî*, is divided into two Books, which appear in this translation as two Sections of one Book. Each Section is subdivided into three Parts. The whole is chiefly occupied with the observances of the mourning rites. It is valuable because of the information which it gives about them, and the views prevailing at the time on the subject of death. It contains also many historical incidents about Confucius and others, which we are glad to possess. Some of the commentators, and especially the *Khien-lung* editors, reject many of them

as legendary and fabulous. The whole Book is reduced to very small compass in the expurgated editions of the LĪ KĪ. We are glad, however, to have the incidents such as they are. Who would not be sorry to want the account of Confucius' death, which is given in I, ii, 20? We seem, moreover, to understand him better from accounts which the Book contains of his intercourse with his disciples, and of their mourning for him.

3ze-yŭ¹, an eminent member of his school, appears in the first paragraph much to his credit, and similarly afterwards on several occasions; and this has made the *K'ien-lung* editors throw out the suggestion that the Book was compiled by his disciples. It may have been so.

BOOK III. WANG KĪH.

According to Lŭ KĪh (died A. D. 192)², the Wang KĪh, or 'Royal Regulations,' was made by the Great Scholars of the time of the emperor Wăn (B. C. 179-157), on the requisition of that sovereign³. It professes to give the regulations of the early kings on the classes of the feudal nobles and officers and their emoluments, on their sacrifices, and their care for the aged. The emperor ordered it to be compiled after the death of KĪā Ĩ, a Great scholar and highly esteemed by the sovereign, which event must have taken place about B. C. 170, when KĪā was only thirty-three. The Book is said to have contained, when it first appeared, an account of the royal progresses and of the altars and ceremonies of investiture, of which we do not now find any trace. Parts of it are taken from Mencius, from the Shŭ, and from the Commentaries of Kung-yang and 3o on the *K'hun K'hiŭ*; other parts again are not easily reconciled with those authorities.

¹ 子遊.

² See the 54th Book of the Biographies in the History of the Second Han Dynasty.

³ In B. C. 164. See the Mirror of History on that year.

The *K'ien-lung* editors deliver their judgment on it to the following effect: When it was made, the *Î Lî* must have appeared, but not the *K'âu Lî*. Hence the Banquet and Missions appear among the 'Six Subjects of Teaching,' and no mention is made of the minister of Religion, as one of the six great ministers, nor is anything said of the minister of War's management of the army. On a general view of it, many subjects are evidently based on Mencius, and whole paragraphs are borrowed from him. Nothing is said of the peculiar position of the son of Heaven, because in the Han dynasty, succeeding immediately to that of *K'in*, the emperor was to be distinguished from, and not named along with, the feudal princes. In what is said about the reports of the Income and fixing the Expenditure, only the Grand ministers of Instruction, War, and Works are mentioned, because these were the three ducal ministers of the Han dynasty, and the ancient arrangements were represented so as to suit what had come into existence. That nothing is said about altars and investitures arose from *Wăn*'s having disregarded in that matter the advice of *Hsin-yüan Phing*¹. It only shows how much the information of the compilers exceeded that of *Shû-sun Thung*² and *Sze-mâ Hsiang-sû*³. The Book was received into the collection of the *Lî K'î*, because it was made at no great distance from antiquity. It is foolish in later scholars to weigh and measure every paragraph of it by its agreement or disagreement with Mencius and the *K'âu Lî*.

This account of the *Wang Kih* must commend itself to unprejudiced readers. To myself, the most interesting thing in the Book is the information to be gathered from it about the existence of schools in the earliest times. We see at the very commencement of history in China a

¹ 新垣平. A Tâoistic charlatan, honoured and followed for a few years by the emperor *Wăn*; put to death in B. C. 163.

² 叔孫通. A scholar of *K'in*; was a counsellor afterwards of the first and second emperors of Han.

³ 司馬相如. An officer and author. Died B. C. 126.

rudimentary education, out of which has come by gradual development the system of examinations of the present day.

BOOK IV. YÜEH LING.

The Yüeh Ling, or 'Proceedings of Government in the different Months,' appears in the *K'ien-lung* edition of the *LĪ KĪ* in six Sections; but it has seemed to me more in harmony with the nature of the Book and more useful for the student to arrange it in four Sections, and each Section in three Parts, a Section thus comprehending a season of the year, and every month having a part to itself. There is also a short supplementary Section in the middle of the year, at the end of the sixth month, rendered necessary by the T'aoist lines on which the different portions are put together.

Zhái Yung (A.D. 133-192)¹ and Wang Sū², somewhat later (in our third century), held that the Book was the work of the duke of Káu, and must be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century B.C. But this view of its antiquity may be said to be universally given up. Even K'ang Hsüan saw in the second century that it was a compilation from the *K'hun K'hiû* of Lü P'ü-wei³, still foolishly said by many Chinese writers to have been the real father of the founder of the *K'hin* dynasty, and who died in B.C. 237. Lû Teh-ming⁴, writing in our seventh century, said, 'The Yüeh Ling was originally part of Lü's *K'hun K'hiû*, from which some one subsequently compiled this Memoir.' The *K'ien-lung* editors unhesitatingly affirm this origin of the Yüeh Ling; as indeed no one, who has compared it with the work ascribed to Lü, can have any doubts on the matter. Of that work, Mayers says that 'it is a collection of quasi-historical notices, and, although nominally Lü's production, really compiled under his direction by an assemblage of scholars.'

'蔡雍. '王肅. '呂不韋; 呂氏春秋.
'陸德命.

Mayers adds, that on the completion of the work, Lü Pû-wei suspended 1000 pieces of gold at the gate of his palace, which he offered as a reward to any one who could suggest an improvement of it by adding or expunging a single character¹.

Such was the origin of the Yüeh Ling. We do not know who compiled it from the *K'ün K'hiu* of Lü, but it was first received into the *Li K'i* by Má Yung. It can be explained only by noting the *K'hin* peculiarities in the names of titles and other things. It is in itself full of interest, throwing light on the ancient ways and religious views, and showing how the latter more especially came to be corrupted by the intrusion among them of Táoistic elements.

The Book has sometimes been called 'A Calendar of the Months of K'áu.' Callery translates the name Yüeh Ling by 'Attributs des Mois.' My own translation of it is after K'äng Hsüan, who says, 'The Book is called Yüeh Ling, because it records the proceedings of Government in the twelve months of the year.'

BOOK V. 3ANG-3ZE WÂN.

This Book is named from the first three characters in it, meaning 'The Questions of 3äng-3ze.' Most of the different paragraphs or chapters in the two Sections of it commence in the same way. It is not found at all in the expurgated editions of the classic.

3äng-3ze, or Mr. 3äng², about fifty years younger than Confucius, was one of the chief disciples of his school, perhaps the ablest among them. He was distinguished for his filial piety, and straightforward, honest simplicity.

¹ Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 146. The 1000 pieces of gold suspended at Lü's gate are probably only a variation of what has been related in the preceding chapter of what was done by king Hsien of Ho-kien towards the recovery of the missing Book of the K'áu Kwan.

² 曾子; his name was (Shăn, 參), and that which he received in his maturity, 3ze-yü (子興).

There is an interesting account of his death in Book II, i, Part i, 18. In the department of Liû Hsin's Catalogue, which contains 'Works of the Literati,' there are entered '18 Treatises (phien) of 3ǎng-ze,' but without any further specification of them. Ten of those treatises, or fragments of them, are found in the Lî of the Greater Tâi, but this Book is not among them, nor have I seen it anywhere ascribed to him as the writer of it. It must have been compiled, however, from memoranda left by him or some of his intimate disciples. The names of only two other disciples of the Master occur in it—those of 3ze-yû and 3ze-hsiâ¹. The reference to the disciples of the former in Section ii, 19, must be a note by the final compiler. The mention of Lâo-ze or Lâo Tan, and his views also, in Section ii, 22, 24, 28, strikes us as remarkable.

If it were necessary to devise a name for the Book, I should propose—'Questions of Casuistry on the subject of Ceremonial Rites.' 3ǎng-ze propounds difficulties that have struck him on various points of ceremony, especially in connexion with the rites of mourning; and Confucius replies to them ingeniously and with much fertility. Some of the questions and answers, however, are but so much trifling. Khung Ying-tâ says that only 3ǎng-ze could have proposed the questions, and only Confucius have furnished the answers. He applies to the Book the description of the Yî in the third of the Appendixes to that classic, i, 40, as 'Speaking of the most complex phenomena under the sky, and having nothing in it to awaken dislike, and of the subtlest movements under the sky, and having nothing in it to produce confusion.'

BOOK VI. WÂN WANG SHIH-3ZE.

No hint is given, nothing has been suggested, as to who was the compiler of this Book, which the K'ien-lung editors publish in two Sections. Its name is taken from the first

¹ 子遊 and 子夏.

clause of the first paragraph, which treats of king Wăn, the founder of the Kâu dynasty, as he demeaned himself in his youth, when he was Shih-îze, or son and heir of his father. This is followed by a similar account of his son, who became king Wû; and in paragraph 3 the writer goes on to the duke of Kâu's training of king K'ăng, the young son of Wû. In the last paragraph of the second Section, the subject of king Wăn as prince is resumed.

But the real subject-matter of the Book lies between those portions, and treats of three things.

First; Section i, paragraph 5 to the end, treats of the education and training of the eldest sons of the king and feudal princes, and of the young men of brightest promise throughout the kingdom, chosen to study with these. We learn much from it as to the educational institutions and methods of ancient times.

Second; in Section ii, paragraphs 1 to 15, we have the duties of the Shû-îze, the head of an official Section, belonging to the department of the premier, whose special business was with the direction of the young noblemen of the royal and feudal courts in all matters belonging to their instruction.

Third; from paragraph 17 to 23 of Section ii, we have an account of the various ceremonies or observances in the king's feasting and cherishing of the aged, and of his care that a similar course should be pursued by all the princes in their states.

BOOK VII. LÎ YUN.

Lî Yun means, literally, 'The Conveyance of Rites.' P. Callery translates the name, not unsuccessfully, by 'Phases du Cérémonial;' but I prefer my own longer rendering of it, because it gives the reader a better idea of the contents of the Book. K'ăng Hsüan said it was called the Conveyance of Rites, because it records how the five Tis and three Kings made their several changes in them, and how the Yin and the Yang, or the twofold movement

and operation of nature, produced them by their revolutions. The whole is difficult and deep ; and no other portion of the collection has tasked the ablest commentators more. The *K'hien-lung* editors say that we have in the Book a grand expression of the importance of ceremonial usages, and that, if we are on our guard against a small Tâoistic element in it, it is pure and without a flaw. That depraving element, they think, was introduced by the smaller Tâi, who ignorantly thought he could make the Treatise appear to have a higher character by surreptitiously mixing it up with the fancies of Lâo and Kwang. But the Tâoistic admixture is larger than they are willing to allow.

Some have attributed the Book to 3ze-yû, who appears, in the first of its Sections, three times by his surname and name of Yen Yen, as the questioner of Confucius, and thereby giving occasion to the exposition of the sage's views ; others attribute it to his disciples. The second Section commences with an utterance of Confucius without the prompting of any interlocutor ; and perhaps the compiler meant that all the rest of the Treatise should be received as giving not only the Master's ideas, but also his words. Whoever made the Book as we now have it, it is one of the most valuable in the whole work. Hwang K'ân (in the end of the Sung dynasty) says of it, that notwithstanding the appearance, here and there, of Tâoistic elements, it contains many admirable passages, and he instances what is said about creation or the processes of nature, in iii, 2 ; about government, in ii, 18 ; about man, in iii, 1, 7 ; and about ceremonial usages, in iv, 6.

But the Tâoistic element runs through the whole Book, as it does through Book IV. There is an attempt to sew the fancies about numbers, colours, elements, and other things on to the common-sense and morality of Confucianism. But nevertheless, the Treatise bears important testimony to the sense of religion as the first and chief element of ceremonies, and to its existence in the very earliest times.

BOOK VIII. Lĭ Kĕi.

Book VII, it was said, has been attributed to 3ze-yŭ. I have not seen this ascribed to any one ; but it is certainly a sequel to the other, and may be considered as having proceeded from the same author. The more the two are studied together, the more likely will this appear.

Callery has not attempted to translate the title, and says that the two characters composing it give the sense of 'Utensils of Rites,' and have no plausible relation with the scope of the Book in which there is no question in any way of the material employed either in sacrifices or in other ceremonies; and he contends, therefore, that they should not be translated, but simply be considered as sounds¹.

But the rendering which I have given is in accordance with an acknowledged usage of the second character, *Kĕi*. We read in the Confucian Analects, V, 3 :—' 3ze-kung asked, "What do you say of me?" The Master answered, "You are a vessel." "What vessel?" "A sacrificial vessel of jade."' The object of the Book is to show how ceremonial usages or rites go to form 'the vessel of honour,' 'the superior man,' who is equal to the most difficult and important services. K'ang Hsüan saw this clearly, and said, 'The Book was named Lĭ *Kĕi*, because it records how ceremonies cause men to become perfect vessels.' 'The former Book shows the evolution of Rites; this shows the use of them :—such was the dictum in A. D. 1113 of Fang K'ueh, a commentator often quoted by K'han Hào and by the K'ien-lung editors.

Throughout the Book it is mostly religious rites that are spoken of; especially as culminating in the worship of God. And nothing is more fully brought out than that all rites are valueless without truth and reverence.

BOOK IX. KĪAO THEH SANG.

The name of the Book is made up of the three characters with which it commences, just as the Hebrew name for the Book of Genesis in our Sacred Scriptures is Beraishith (בְּרֵאשִׁית). From the meaning, however, of KĪao Theh Săng the reader is led to suppose that he will find the Treatise occupied principally with an account of the great Border Sacrifice. But it is not so.

The main subject of the Book is sacrifice generally; and how that which is most valuable in it is the reverence and sincerity of the worshipper, finding its exhibition in the simplicity of his observances. In the preceding Book different conditions have been mentioned which are of special value in sacrifice and other ceremonies. Among them is the paucity of things (Section i, paragraph 8); and this consideration is most forcibly illustrated by 'the Single Victim' employed in the Border Sacrifice, the greatest of all ceremonies. At the same time various abuses of the ancient sincerity and simplicity are exposed and deplored.

The ceremonies of capping and marriage are dealt with in the third Section; and we are thankful for the information about them which it supplies. In the end the writer returns to the subject of sacrifices; and differences in the different dynasties, from the time of Shun downwards, in the celebration of them are pointed out.

The K'kien-lung editors say that this Book was originally one with the last, and 'was separated from it by some later hand.' I had come to the same conclusion before I noticed their judgment. Books VII, VIII, and IX must have formed, I think, at first one Treatise.

BOOK X. NĒI 3EH.

The title of this book, meaning 'The Pattern of the Family,' rendered by Callery, 'Réglements Intérieurs,' approxi-

mates to a description of its contents more than most of the titles in the *Lî K'î*. It is not taken, moreover, from any part of the text near the commencement or elsewhere. It is difficult to understand why so little of it is retained in the expurgated editions, hardly more than a page of P. Callery's work being sufficient for it.

K'äng Hsüan says :—' The Book takes its name of *Nêi 3eh*, because it records the rules for sons and daughters in serving their parents, and for sons and their wives in serving her parents-in-law in the family-home. Among the other Treatises of the *Lî K'î*, it may be considered as giving the Rules for Children. And because the observances of the harem are worthy of imitation, it is called *Nêi 3eh*, "the Pattern of the Interior." ' *K'ü Hsi* says, that ' it is a Book which was taught to the people in the ancient schools, an ancient Classic or Sacred Text.'

Because the name of *3äng-3ze* and a sentence from him occur, the *K'ien-lung* editors are inclined to ascribe the authorship to his disciples ; but the premiss is too narrow to support such a conclusion.

The position of the wife, as described in Section i, will appear to western readers very deplorable. Much in this part of the Treatise partakes of the exaggeration that is characteristic of Chinese views of the virtue of filial piety.

The account in Section ii of the attention paid to the aged, and the nourishing of them, is interesting, but goes, as the thing itself did, too much into details. What is it to us at the present time how they made the fry, the bake, the delicacy, and the other dishes to tempt the palate and maintain the strength ? The observances in the relation of husband and wife, on the birth of a child, and the education and duties of the young of both sexes, which the Section goes on to detail, however, are not wanting in attraction.

BOOK XI. Yü 3âo.

The name of the Book, *Yü 3âo*, is taken from the first clause of the first paragraph. The two characters denote the pendants of the royal cap worn on great occasions, and

on which beads of jade were strung. There were twelve of those pendants hanging down, before and behind, from the ends of the square or rectangular top of the cap, as in the cardinal cap which is the crest of Christ Church, Oxford. But we read nothing more of this cap or its pendants after the first paragraph; and the contents of all the three Sections of the Book are so various, that it is impossible to give an account of them in small compass.

K'ang Hsüan said that the Book was named Yü 3áo, because it recorded the dresses and caps worn by the son of Heaven; but it is not confined to the king, but introduces rulers also and officers generally. It treats also of other matters besides dress, which it would be difficult to speak of in so many categories. Much, moreover, of the second Section seems to consist of *disjecta membra*, and the paragraphs are differently arranged by different editors. Here and there the careful reader will meet with sentiments and sentences that will remain in his memory, as in reading Book I; but he will only carry away a vague impression of the Book as a whole.

BOOK XII. MING THANG WEI.

Readers will turn to this Book, as I did many years ago, expecting to find in it a full description of the Ming Thang, generally called by sinologists, 'The Brilliant Hall,' and 'The Hall of Light;,' but they will find that the subject-matter is very different. I have here translated the name by 'the Hall of Distinction,' according to the meaning of it given in paragraph 5, taking 'distinction' in the sense of separation or discrimination.

The Treatise commences with, but does not fairly describe, the great scene in the life of the duke of K'áu, when as regent of the kingdom, he received all the feudal lords and the chiefs of the barbarous tribes at the capital, on occasion of a grand audience or *durbar*. The duke was the ancestor of the lords or marquises of the state of

Lû,—part of the present province of Shan-tung. He was himself, indeed, invested with that fief by his nephew, king *Khăng*, though, remaining for reasons of state at the royal court, he never took possession of it in person, but sent his son *Po-khin* to do so in his room. Because of his great services in the establishment and consolidation of the new dynasty, however, various privileges were conferred on the rulers of Lû above the lords of other states. These are much exaggerated in the Book; and after the sixth paragraph, we hear no more of the Hall of Distinction. All that follows is occupied with the peculiar privileges said to have been claimed, and antiques reported to have been possessed, by the marquises of Lû. What is said has no historical value, and the whole Book is excluded from the expurgated editions.

The *K'ien-lung* editors say that its author must have been an ignorant and vainglorious scholar of Lû in the end of the *K'au* dynasty. Some have imagined that it was handed on, with additions of his own, by *Mâ Yung* to *K'äng Hsüan*; but the latter says nothing about the other in his brief prefatory note.

The Hall of Distinction was a royal structure. Part of it was used as a temple, at the sacrifices in which peculiar honour was done to king *Wăn* (*The Shih*, IV, i, 7). It was also used for purposes of audience, as on the occasion referred to in this Book; and governmental regulations were promulgated from it (*Mencius*, I, ii, 5). To this third use of it would belong the various references to it in Book IV of this collection.

The principal Hall was in the capital; but there were smaller ones with the same name at the four points where the kings halted in their tours of inspection to receive the feudal lords of the different quarters of the kingdom. It was one of these which *Mencius* had in his mind in the passage referred to above.

In the 67th Book of the *Lî* of the Greater *T'ai* there is a description of the building and its various parts; and among the 'Books of *K'au*' said to have been found in A. D. 279 in the grave of king *Hsiang* of *Wei*, the 55th

chapter has the title of Ming Thang, but it is little more than a rifacimento of the first four paragraphs of this Book of the LĪ KĪ.

In Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, vol. i, p. 512, there is a ground-plan of the Hall according to a common representation of it by Chinese authorities.

BOOK XIII. SANG FŪ HSIĀO KĪ.

This 'Record of Smaller Points in connexion with the Dress of Mourning,' is the first of the many treatises in our collection, devoted expressly to the subject of the mourning rites, and especially of the dress worn by the mourners, according to the degree of their relationship. The expurgated editions do not give any part of it; and it is difficult—I may say impossible—to trace any general plan on which the compiler, who is unknown, put the different portions of it together. Occasionally two or three paragraphs follow one another on the same subject, and I have kept them together after the example of Khung Ying-tâ; but the different notices are put down as if at random, just as they occurred to the writer.

Kŭ Hsi says that 3ze-hsiâ made a supplementary treatise to the 11th Book of the Ī LĪ, and that we have here an explanation of many points in that Book. It is so; and yet we may not be justified in concluding that this is a remnant of the production of 3ze-hsiâ.

BOOK XIV. TĀ K'WAN.

This Book, 'the Great Treatise,' has been compared to the Hsi 3hze, the longest and most important of the Appendixes to the Yĭ King, which is also styled TĀ K'wan.

It is short, however, as compared with that other; nor is it easy to understand, the subjects with which it deals being so different in the conceptions of Chinese and western minds. 'It treats,' said K'ăn Hsiang-táo (early in the Sung dynasty), 'of the greatest sacrifice,—that

offered by the sovereign to all his ancestors; of the greatest instance of filial piety,—that of carrying back to his forefathers the title gained by the sacrificer; of the greatest principle in the regulation of the family,—that expressed by the arrangement of the names of its members according to their relations to one another; and of the course of humanity as the greatest illustration of propriety and righteousness. On account of this it is called *The Great Treatise*.’

From this summary of its contents the importance of the Book will be seen. We know nothing either of its author or of the date of its compilation.

BOOK XV. SHĀO Î.

The ShĀo Î, or ‘Smaller Rules of Conduct,’ is akin to much of the first Book in our collection, ‘the Summary of the Rules of Ceremony.’ ShĀo means ‘few,’ and often ‘few in years,’ or ‘young;’ and hence some have thought that the subject of the Book is ‘Rules for the Young.’ So Callery, who gives for the title, ‘*Règles de Conduite des Jeunes Gens*.’

But the contents cannot be so restricted; and since the time of Kǎng Hsüan, shĀo has been taken by most Chinese commentators as equivalent to hsiĀo¹, which occurs in the title of Book XIII. The difference between the two Chinese characters is not so great as that between these alphabetic exhibitions of their names. Lû Teh-ming says, ‘ShĀo is here equivalent to hsiĀo;’ and Kǎng says, that the Book is named ShĀo Î ‘because it records the small rules of demeanour at interviews and in bringing in the provisions for a feast.’ But the observances described are very various, and enable us to form a life-like picture of manners in those early days.

According to K’û Hsi, the Book was intended to be a branch of the smaller learning, or lessons for youth; but

¹ 少 and 小.

was extended to a variety of subjects in daily life and the intercourses of society. When and by whom it was compiled is not known.

BOOK XVI. HSIO KĪ.

The *Hsio KĪ*, or 'Record of Studies,' is a treatise of very considerable interest and importance. *Khǎng-ze*, whom *Kū Hsi* was accustomed to call his 'Master,' considered it to be, after Books XXVIII and XXXIX, the *Kung Yung* and *Tā Hsio*, the most correct and orthodox Book in the *LĪ KĪ*.

The *Khien-lung* editors say that in paragraphs 4 and 5 we have the institutions of the ancient kings for purposes of education; in 6 to 19, the laws for teachers; and in what follows, those for learners. The summary is on the whole correct, but the compiler (who is unknown) did not always keep his subjects distinct. In the three commencing paragraphs the importance of education to the moral well-being of the people is strikingly exhibited. The whole displays an amount of observation and a maturity of reflection on the subject, which cannot but be deemed remarkable. The information about ancient schools and higher institutions may be found in the earlier Books, but we are glad to have this repetition of it.

BOOK XVII. YO KĪ.

The *Yo KĪ*, or 'Record of Music,' will be found to have more interest for general readers than most of the other Books of the *LĪ*. *Khǎng-ze* speaks of it in terms similar to those quoted from him in the preceding notice about the *Hsio KĪ*. That, so far as correctness and orthodoxy are concerned, is next to the *Kung Yung* and *Tā Hsio*; this is near to them. Its introduction into our collection is ascribed to *Mā Yung*.

The old documents on music that had been recovered during the earlier Han dynasty, appear in *Liū Hsin's* Catalogue after those of the *LĪ*, amounting in all to

165 phien, distributed in six collections. The first of these was the *Yo K'i*, in 23 phien; the second, the *K'i* of Wang Yü¹, in 24 phien. Khung Ying-tâ, deriving his information from a note in Hsin's Catalogue and other sources, sums up what he has to say about this Book in the following way:—On the rise of the Han dynasty, the treatises of former times on music, as well as the practice of the art, were in a state of special dilapidation. In the time of the emperor Wû, his brother Teh, with the help of many scholars, copied out all that remained on the subject of music, and made a *Yo K'i*, or 'Record of Music,' in 24 phien or books, which Wang Yü presented to the court in the time of the emperor *K'ang* (B. C. 32-7); but it was afterwards hardly heard of. When Liû Hsiang (died B. C. 9) examined the books in the Imperial library, he found a 'Record of Music' in 23 phien, different from that which Wang Yü had presented. Our present *Yo K'i* contains eleven of those phien, arranged with the names of their subjects. The other twelve are lost, though their names remain.

Most of the present text is found in Sze-mâ *K'hien's* Monograph on Music; and as he was so long before Liû Hsiang (*K'hien* died between B. C. 90 and 80), the *K'hien-lung* editors suppose that it is one of the portions of *K'hien's* work, supplied by *K'û Shão-sun*², who was a contemporary of Hsiang.

K'û Hsi had a great admiration of many passages in the *Yo K'i*, and finds in them the germs of the views on the constitution of humanity, and on the action and interaction of principle and passion, reason and force, in the economy of what we call Providence, on which he delighted to dwell in his philosophical speculations. We expect from the title, as Hwang Kan-hsing (Ming dynasty) says, that music will be the chief subject of the Treatise, but everywhere we find ceremonial usages spoken of equally and in their relation to it; for, according to the view of the author, the framework of society is built on the truth

¹王禹. ²褚少孫; see Wylie's Notes, p. 14.

underlying ceremonies, and music is the necessary expression of satisfaction in the resulting beauty and harmony.

BOOK XVIII. 3Â Kĭ.

Book XVII is given nearly complete in the expurgated edition translated by Callery, while the 18th or 'Miscellaneous Records,' happily rendered by him by the one French word '*Mélanges*,' is reduced to about a third of its length in the Chinese text. Notwithstanding its name of 'Miscellanies,' the greater part is occupied with the observances of the Mourning Rites. Interesting questions concerning them are discussed, and information is given on customs which we do not find in such detail elsewhere,—such, for instance, as those relating to the gifts of grave-clothes and other things for the burial of the dead. Towards the end other customs, besides those of the mourning rites, are introduced. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this is done to justify the name of Miscellaneous Records given to the whole. It is a peculiarity of many of the other Books that the writer, or writers, seem to get weary of confining themselves to one subject or even to a few subjects, and introduce entries of quite a different nature for no reason that we can discover but their arbitrary pleasure.

The correctness and integrity of many paragraphs have been justly called in question. The authority of the Book does not rank high. It must be classed in this respect with the Than Kung.

BOOK XIX. SANG TÂ Kĭ.

Book XIII deals with smaller points in connexion with the dress of mourning; Book XVIII, with miscellaneous points in mourning; and this Book with the greater points, especially with the two dressings of the dead, the coffin, and the burial. Beginning with the preparations for death in the case of a ruler, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer, it goes methodically over all the observances at and after death, until the burial has taken place. It takes us into

the palace, the mansion, and the smaller official residence, and shows us what was done at the different steps that intervened between death and the committing of the coffin to the grave. Some of the observances differ in minor points from details in those other Books, and in the *Than Kung* or Book II; but taking them all together, we get from them a wonderfully minute account of all the rites of mourning in ancient China. *Wû K'ang* says, 'This Book relates the greater rules observed in each event which it mentions.' It was not intended to supplement the information elsewhere given about smaller details; and hence it is named 'The Greater Record of Mourning Rites.'

BOOK XX. *K'î Fâ*.

K'î Fâ, so named from the first two characters in the Book, and meaning 'Laws or Rules of Sacrifices,' is the first of three treatises, all on the subject of sacrifices, that come together at this part of the collection of the *Lî*. They were not, perhaps, the production of the same hand; but the writer of this one evidently had before him the 17th article in the first Part of the Narratives connected with the state of *Lû*, which form the second Section of 'the Narratives of the States¹.' That article contains an exposition of the subject of sacrifices by a *Ken K'ên*, in deprecation of a sacrifice ordered by *Çang Wăn-kang*, who had been for about fifty years one of the ministers of *Lû*. *Çang* died in B. C. 617.

Difficulties attach to some of the historical statements in the Book, which cannot be cleared up from our want of sufficient documents. The whole consists of two Parts, —paragraphs 1–8, and paragraph 9. All the former is excluded from the expurgated editions; but in it, as well as in the other, the sacrifices are mainly those to departed worthies. There is no idea of deprecation in them; much less of atonement. They are expressions of gratitude, and commemorative of men whose laws and achievements were

¹ 國語.

beneficial to their own times, and helped on the progress of civilisation, so that they would be beneficial also to all ages.

In the conclusion, the sacrifices to the sun, moon, and other parts of nature appear; and it is said that they were instituted because the action of those bodies contributed to promote the comfort and agency of men. So far those sacrifices were a species of nature-worship; but the question arises whether they were not really offered to the spirits under whose guardianship those objects operated.

BOOK XXI. KÎ Î.

The KÎ Î, or 'The Meaning of Sacrifices,' 'Sens des Sacrifices' in Callery, embraces a wider extent of subjects than the last Book. It treats first of the sacrifices to Heaven, and to the sun and moon in connexion with it, as well as of those in the ancestral temple, though the latter are the principal subject. The writer, whoever he was, goes fully into the preparations of the sacrificer, and the spirit of reverence in which the services should be conducted.

No idea of deprecation or expiation is expressed as belonging to the sacrifices. It is said, indeed, in Section i, 18, that the sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven.

In Section ii other subjects besides sacrifice are treated of. It commences with a remarkable conversation between Confucius and his disciple 3âi Wo, on the constitution of man, as comprehending both the Kwei and Shăn, the former name denoting the animal soul, which, with the bones and flesh, 'moulders below and becomes the dust of the fields;' while the latter denotes the intelligent soul or spirit, which issues forth at death, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness.

The ploughing of the special fields by the king and rulers of states, and the regulations for the nourishment of silkworms and the preparation of silk by their wives, are set forth, both operations being to provide the sacrificial grain and robes.

After this we have the views of ǰǰng-ǰze and one of his disciples on filial piety, which subject again passes into the submission of the younger brother to the elder, and the respect to be paid generally by juniors to their elders.

BOOK XXII. Kĭ THUNG.

The 'Summary Account of Sacrifices' is the last and longest, and, it may be added, the most interesting, of the treatises, specially on that subject. We find nothing in it, any more than in the others, of the idea of propitiation; but it gives many details of the purposes which the institution of sacrifices served in the Chinese state. The old commentators took the character Thung¹ in the sense of 'Root' or 'Origin²,' and hence some English sinologists have named the book 'The Origin of Sacrifices,' and P. Zottoli gives for the title 'Sacrificii Principium.' Callery calls it, better, 'Généralités sur les Sacrifices.' The very able commentator K'ǰǰn Hsiang-tǰo compares the Treatise to 'the large rope which controls the meshes of a net,' saying, that it commences with sacrifice as coming from the feeling of the heart, and ends with the display of its influence in the conduct of government.

The concluding paragraph shows that it was written while the state of Lŭ still had an existence; and if the whole Book proceeded from the same hand, it must have been composed some time after the death of Confucius and before the extinction of Lŭ, which was consummated by K'ǰu in B. C. 248. I think we may refer it to the fourth century B. C.

The doctrine of Filial Piety occupies a prominent place in it. Paragraph 13 and the ten that follow, on the connexion between sacrifice and the ten relationships of men, are specially instructive. The author writes forcibly and often subtly; and can hardly do himself justice in the

expression of his ideas. What he says on the subject of Inscriptions towards the conclusion is interesting. He was a true Lî man, and his views on the sacrifices of his state are contrary to the standard of Chinese orthodoxy about them.

BOOK XXIII. *KING KIEH.*

King Kieh has been translated 'Explanations of the Classics,' and Callery gives for the title 'Sens Général des Livres Canoniques.' A slight attention to the few paragraphs which compose the Book, however, will satisfy the reader that these translations of the name are incorrect. No explanation is attempted of passages in the different *King*. The true meaning of *King Kieh* was given by Hwang Khan in A.D. 538. '*Kieh*,' he says, 'is to be taken in the sense of "separation" or "division;" and the Treatise describes the difference between the subjects dealt with in the different *King*.'

The Book, though ingenious, is not entitled to much attention. The first two paragraphs, assigned to Confucius, could not have come from him. They assume that there were six *King*; but that enumeration of the ancient writings originated with the scholars of the Han dynasty. And among the six is the *K'ün K'hiû*, the work of Confucius himself, which he compiled only a year or two before his death. It was for posterity, and not for him, to raise it to the rank of a *King*, and place it on the same level with the *Shû*, the *Shih*, and the *Yi*. It may be doubted, moreover, if there were ever a *Yo King*, or 'Classic of Music.' Treatises on music, no doubt, existed under the *K'au* dynasty, but it does not appear that there was any collection of them made till the attempts that have been referred to in the introductory notice to Book XVII.

Who the ingenious, but uncritical, compiler of the *King Kieh* was is unknown.

BOOK XXIV. ÂI KUNG WAN.

'Questions of Duke Âi' is a translation of the three characters with which the Book commences, and which mean there 'Duke Âi asked;' and the title is so far descriptive of the contents of the Book,—two conversations on ceremonies and the practice of government between the marquis 3iang of Lû, posthumously called duke Âi, and Confucius. The sage died in the sixteenth year of 3iang's marquise. As an old minister of the state, after he had retired from public life, he had a right of entrance to the court, which, we know, he sometimes exercised. He may have conversed with the marquis on the subjects discussed in this Treatise; but whether he held the particular conversations here related can only be determined by the consideration of their style and matter. I am myself disposed to question their genuineness.

There are other recensions of the Treatise. It forms the third of the Books in the current editions of 'the Lî of the Greater Tâi,' purporting to be the forty-first of those which were in his larger collection; and is the same as in our Lî Kî, with hardly a variation. The second conversation, again, appears as the fourth article in the collection called the 'Narratives of the School¹,' but with considerable and important variations, under the title of Tâ Hwăn, 'The Grand Marriage.' The first conversation is found also in the same collection, as part of the sixth article, called Wăn Lî, or 'Questions about Ceremonies.' There are also variations in it; but the questioner in both articles is duke Âi.

The most remarkable passages of the Book are some paragraphs of the second conversation towards its conclusion. P. Callery translates Thien Tâo, 'the Way of Heaven,' in paragraph 16, by 'La Vérité Céleste,' and

says in a note that Confucius speaks of this Tào in a way not unlike Láo-ze in the Tào Teh King, adding that 'these two fathers of Chinese philosophy had on this mysterious Being ideas nearly similar.' But a close examination of the passage, which is itself remarkable, shows that this resemblance between it and passages of the Táoist classic does not exist. See my concluding note on the Book. If there were a Táoist semblance in the phraseology, it would make us refer the composition of the Treatise to the time of K'in or the early days of Han, when Táoism had taken a place in the national literature which it had not had under the dynasty of Káu.

BOOK XXV. KUNG-NĪ YEN KÜ.

The title of this Book is taken from the four characters with which it commences. Confucius has returned from his attendance at the court of Lû, and is at home in his own house. Three of his disciples are sitting by him, and his conversation with them flows on till it has reached the subject of ceremonial usages. In reply to their questions, he discourses on it at length, diverging also to the subjects of music and the practice of government in connexion with ceremonies, in a familiar and practical manner.

He appears in the title by his designation, or name as married, Kung-nĭ, which we find also two or three times in Book XXVIII, which is received as the composition of his grandson Khung Kĭ, or Ze-sze. This Treatise, however, is much shorter than that, and inferior to it. The commentator Wang of Shih-liang¹, often quoted by K'ăn Háo, says, that though this Treatise has a beginning and end, the style and ideas are so disjected and loose, that many of the utterances attributed to Confucius cannot be accepted as really his.

'石梁王氏.

BOOK XXVI. KHUNG-ȝZE HSIEN K'U.

The title of this Book is akin to that of the last, the characters of that leading us to think of Confucius as having returned from court to 'his ease,' and those of this suggesting nothing of his immediate antecedents, but simply saying that he was 'at home and at leisure.' Instead of being called, as there, by his designation, he appears here as Khung-ȝze, 'the philosopher Khung,' or 'Mr. Khung.'

The Book also relates a conversation, but only one disciple is present, and to him the Master discourses on the description of a sovereign as 'the parent of the people,' and on the virtue of the founders of the three dynasties of Hsiâ, Shang, and K'au, illustrating his views by quotations from the Book of Poetry. His language is sometimes strange and startling, while the ideas underlying it are subtle and ingenious. And the poetical quotations are inapplicable to the subjects in connexion with which they are introduced. If the commentator Wang could not adopt the speeches attributed to Confucius in the last Book as really his, much less can we receive those in this as such.

From their internal analogies in form and sentiment, I suppose that the two Books were made by the same writer; but I have met with no guess even as to who he was.

BOOK XXVII. FANG K'İ.

'The Dykes,' which is the meaning of the title of this Book, is suggestive of its subject-matter. We have in it the rules or usages of ceremony presented to us under the figure of dykes, dams, or barriers; defensive structures made to secure what is inside them from escaping or dispersion, and to defend it against inundation or other injurious assault and invasion from without. The character, called fang, is used for the most part with verbal force, 'acting as a dyke or barrier;' and it would often be difficult to say

whether the writer was thinking of the particular institution or usage spoken of as fulfilling the purpose of defence against peril from within, or violence from without.

The illustrations are numerous, and they are all given as if they came from the lips of Confucius himself; but we cannot suppose that they were really from him. They are not in his style, and the reasonings are occasionally unworthy of him. Many paragraphs carry on their front a protest against our receiving them as really his. Nevertheless, the Book, though sometimes tedious, is on the whole interesting, and we like the idea of looking on the usages as 'dykes.' We do not know to whom we are indebted for it. One of the famous brothers *K'hang* of the Sung dynasty has said:—'We do not know who wrote the Treatise. Since we find such expressions in it as "The Lun Yü says," it is plainly not to be ascribed to Confucius. Passages in the Han scholars, *K'ia* Í and Tung *Kung-shû*, are to the same effect as what we find here; and perhaps this memoir was their production.'

BOOK XXVIII. *KUNG YUNG*.

The *Kung Yung* would be pronounced, I think, by Chinese scholars to be the most valuable of all the Treatises in the *Lî K'î*; and from an early time it asserted a position peculiar to itself. Its place in the general collection of Ritual Treatises was acknowledged by *Mâ Yung* and his disciple *K'ang Hsüan*; but in *Liü Hsin's* Catalogue of the *Lî Books*, we find an entry of 'Observations on the *Kung Yung*, in two *phien*;' so early was the work thought to be deserving of special treatment by itself. In the records of the Sui dynasty (A. D. 589–617), in the Catalogue of its Imperial library, there are the names of three other special works upon it, one of them by the emperor *Wû* (A. D. 502–549) of the Liang dynasty.

Later on, under the Sung dynasty, the *Kung Yung*, the *Tâ Hsio*, or 'Great Learning,' which is also a portion of the *Lî K'î*, the Confucian Analects, or the *Lun Yü*, and the works of Mencius, were classed together as 'The Four Books,'

which have since that time formed so important a division of Chinese literature; and 'the *Kung Yung*, in chapters and sentences, with a digest of commentaries on it,' was published by *K'ü Hsi* early in A.D. 1189. About 125 years afterwards, the fourth emperor of the *Yüan* dynasty enacted that *K'ü*'s edition and views should be the text-book of the classic at the literary examinations. From that time merely the name of the *Kung Yung* was retained in editions of the *Lî K'î*, until the appearance of the Imperial edition of the whole collection in the *K'ien-lung* period of the present dynasty. There the text is given in two Sections according to the old division of it, with the ancient commentaries from the edition of 'The Thirteen King' of the Thang dynasty, followed at the end of each paragraph by the Commentary of *K'ü*.

The authorship of the *Kung Yung* is ascribed to *Khung K'î*, better known as *3ze-sze*, the grandson of Confucius. There is no statement to this effect, indeed, in the work itself; but the tradition need not be called in question. It certainly existed in the *Khung* family. The Book must have been written in the fifth century B.C., some time, I suppose, between 450 and 400. Since A.D. 1267, the author has had a place in the temples of Confucius as one of 'The Four Assessors,' with the title of 'The Philosopher *3ze-sze*, transmitter of the Sage.' I have seen his tomb-mound in the Confucian cemetery, outside the city of *K'ü-fû* in Shan-tung, in front of those of his father and grandfather. There is a statue of him on it, bearing the inscription, 'Duke (or Prince) of the State of *Î*.'

It is not easy to translate the name of the Treatise, *Kung Yung*. It has been represented by 'Juste Milieu;' 'Medium Constans vel Sempiternum;' 'L'Invariable Milieu;' 'The Constant Medium;' 'The Golden Medium;' 'The True Medium;' and otherwise. I called it, in 1861, 'The Doctrine of the Mean,' which I have now changed for 'The State of Equilibrium and Harmony,' the reasons for which will be found in the notes on the first chapter of the present version.

I do not here enter on an exhibition of the scope and value of the Book. It gives the best account that we have of the Confucian philosophy and morals, and will amply repay careful study, and hold its place not only in China, but in the wider sphere beyond it. The writer had an exaggerated conception of the sage; but he deserves well of his own country and of the world.

BOOK XXIX. PIÁO KÍ.

The character called Piáo is the symbol for the outer garments, and is used to indicate whatever is external in opposition to what is internal; the outside of things, what serves to mark them out and call attention to them. Hence comes its use in the sense which it bears in the title of this Book, for what serves as an example or model. Callery renders that title by '*Mémoire sur l'Exemple*;' Wylie, by '*The Exemplar Record*.'

Piáo is also used for the gnomon of a dial; and the *K'ien-lung* editors fix on this application of the character in explaining the name of the Book. 'Piáo,' they say, 'is the gnomon of a dial, by which the movement of the sun is measured; it rises up in the centre, and all round is regulated by it. The Fang Kí shows men what they ought to be on their guard against; the Piáo Kí, what they should take as their pattern.' Then they add—'Of patterns there is none so honourable as benevolence (or humanity proper), and to aid that there is righteousness, while, to complete it, there is sincerity or good faith, and reverence is that by which the quest for humanity is pursued.' This second sentence may be considered a summary of the contents of the Book, which they conclude by saying, they have divided into eight chapters after the example of the scholar Hwang; meaning, I suppose, Hwang Khan, who has been already mentioned as having published his work on our classic in A. D. 538.

That division into eight chapters lies on the face of the Treatise. We have eight paragraphs commencing with the characters which I have rendered by 'These were the words

of the Master ;' and these are followed by a number of others, more or fewer as the case may be, in which the words of the Master ('The Master said') are adduced to substantiate what has been stated in that introductory passage. The arrangement is uniform, excepting in one instance to which I have called attention in a note, and suitably divides the whole into eight chapters.

But no one supposes that 'the words of the Master' are really those of Confucius, or were used by him in the connexion which is here given to them. They were invented by the author of the Treatise, or applied by him, to suit his own purpose ; and scholars object to many of them as contrary to the sentiments of the sage, and betraying a tendency to the views of Tàoism. This appears, most strikingly perhaps, in the fifth chapter. On the statement, for instance, in paragraph 32, that the methods of Yin and K'áu were not equal to the correction of the errors produced by those of Shun and Hsia, the *K'ien-lung* editors say :—'How could these words have come from the mouth of the Master? The disciples of Láo-¿ze despised forms and prized the unadorned simplicity, commended what was ancient, and condemned all that was of their own time. In the beginning of the Han dynasty, the principles of Hwang and Láo were widely circulated ; students lost themselves in the stream of what they heard, could not decide upon its erroneousness, and ascribed it to the Master. Such cases were numerous, and even in several paragraphs of the *Li Yun* (Book VII) we seem to have some of them. What we find there was the utterance, probably, of some disciple of Láo-¿ze.'

No one, so far as I have noticed, has ventured to assign the authorship of this Book on example. I would identify him, myself, with the Kung-sun Ní-¿ze, to whom the next is ascribed.

BOOK XXX. ¿ZE Í.

It is a disappointment to the reader, when he finds after reading the title of this Book, that it has nothing to do with the Black Robes of which he expects it to be an account.

That phrase occurs in the second paragraph, in a note to which its origin is explained ; but the other name Hsiang Po, which is found in the same paragraph, might with equal appropriateness, or rather inappropriateness, have been adopted for the Treatise.

It is really of the same nature as the preceding, and contains twenty-four paragraphs, all attributed to 'the Master,' and each of which may be considered to afford a pattern for rulers and their people. It ought to form one Book with XXIX under the title of 'Pattern Lessons.' I have pointed out in the notes some instances of the agreement in their style and phraseology, and the intelligent reader who consults the translation with reference to the Chinese text will discover more. Lû Teh-ming (early in the Thang dynasty) tells us, on the authority of Liû Hsien, that the 3ze Î was made by a Kung-sun Nî-ze. Liû Hsien was a distinguished scholar of the early Sung dynasty, and died about A. D. 500; but on what evidence he assigned the authorship of the Book to Kung-sun Nî-ze does not, in the present state of our knowledge, appear. The name of that individual is found twice in Liû Hsin's Catalogue, as belonging to the learned school, and among 'the Miscellaneous writers,' with a note that he was 'a disciple of the seventy disciples of the Master.' The first entry about him precedes that about Mencius, so that he must be referred to the closing period of the K'au dynasty, the third century B. C. He may, therefore, have been the author of 'The Black Robes,' and of the preceding Book as well, giving his own views, but attributing them, after the fashion of the time, to Confucius; but, as the commentator Făng Î (? Ming dynasty) observes:—'Many passages in the Book are made to resemble the sayings of a sage ; but the style is not good and the meaning is inferior.'

BOOK XXXI. PĀN SANG.

This Book refers to a special case in connexion with the mourning rites, that of an individual who has been prevented, from taking part with the other relatives in the usual

observances at the proper time. It might be that he was absent from the state, charged by his ruler with public business, or he might be in the same state but at a distance, and so occupied that he had been unable to take part in the mourning services.

But they were too sacred to be entirely neglected, and we have here the rules applicable to such a case, in a variety of circumstances and different degrees of consanguinity. Some other matter, more or less analogous, is introduced towards the end.

We have seen how the first of the 'Three Rituals' recovered in the Han dynasty was seventeen Books that now form the 1 Li. K'ang Hsüan supposed that the P'ăn Sang had been another Book of that collection, and was afterwards obtained from the tablets found in the village of Yen-kung in Lû. It has been decided, however, that the style determines it to be from another hand than the 1 Li.

Here it is, and we have only to make the best of it that we can, without knowing who wrote it or when it came to light. The *K'ien-lung* editors say:—'Anciently, in cases of mourning for a year or shorter period even, officers left their charges and hurried to the rites. In consequence of the inconvenience arising from this, it was enacted that officers should leave their charge only on the death of a parent. It was found difficult, however, to enforce this. The rule is that a charge cannot be left, without leave asked and obtained.'

BOOK XXXII. WÂN SANG.

The W'ăn Sang, or 'Questions about Mourning Rites,' is a short Treatise, which derives its name from inquiries about the dressing of the corpse, the putting off the cap and replacing it by the cincture, and the use of the staff in mourning. Along with those inquiries there are accounts of some of the rites, condensed and imperfect. The Book should be read in connexion with the other Books of a similar character, especially XIII.

Much cannot be said in favour of the style, or of the

satisfactoriness of the replies to the questions that are propounded. The principal idea indeed in the mind of the author, whoever he was, was that the rites were the outcome of the natural feelings of men, and that mourning was a manifestation of filial piety. The most remarkable passage is that with which the Treatise concludes, that the use of the staff was not to be sought in any revelation from heaven or earth, but was simply from the good son's filial affection. The way in which the sentiment is expressed has often brought to my mind the question of the Apostle Paul about faith, in Romans x. 6-8.

BOOK XXXIII. FŪ WĀN.

Like the last two Books and the two that follow, the Fū Wān is omitted in the expurgated editions. It is still shorter than the Wān Sang, and treats also of the mourning rites, and specially of the dress in it, and changes in it, which naturally gave rise to questioning.

The writer, or compiler, often quotes from what he calls the *Kwan*, a name which has sometimes been translated by 'Tradition.' But the Chinese term, standing alone, may mean what is transmitted by writings, as well as what is handed down by oral communication. It is used several times in Mencius in the sense of 'Record' and 'Records.' I have called it here 'The Directory of Mourning.' Wū K'hāng says rightly that the Book is of the same character as XIII; that the mourning rites were so many, and some of them so peculiar, that collisions between different rites must have been of frequent occurrence. The Fū Wān takes up several such cases and tells us how they were met satisfactorily, or, as we may think, unsatisfactorily.

BOOK XXXIV. KIEN KWAN.

The *Kien Kwan* is a Treatise on subsidiary points in the mourning rites. It is not easy to render the name happily in English. I have met with it as 'The Inter-

mediate Record.' *K'wan* is the character spoken of in the preceding notice; *K'ien* is the symbol for the space between two things, suggesting the idea of distinction or difference. *K'ang Hsüan* says that 'the name has reference to the distinctions suitably made in mourning, according as it was lighter or more important.'

However we translate or explain the name, we find the Book occupied with the manifestations of grief in the bearing of the mourners; in the modulation of their voices; in their eating and drinking; in their places; in the texture of their dress; and in the various changes which were made in it till it was finally put off. Some points in it are difficult to understand at this distance of time, and while we are still imperfectly acquainted with the mourning usages of the people at the present day.

BOOK XXXV. SAN NIEN WAN.

The 'Questions about the Mourning for three years' is occupied principally with the mourning for parents for that period, but it touches on all the other periods of mourning as well, explaining why one period differs in its duration from the others.

Mourning, it is said, is the outcome of the relative feeling proper to man; the materials of the dress, the duration of the rites, and other forms are from the ancient sages and legislators, to regulate and direct the expression of the feeling.

What is said in paragraph 4 about the mourning of birds and beasts is interesting, but fantastical. Though the mourning for a parent is said to last for three years, the western reader is not to suppose that it continues to the end of that time, but simply that it extends into the third year. Virtually it terminates with the twenty-fifth month, and positively with the twenty-seventh. It is the eastern mode in speaking of time to say that it lasts for three years. Similarly, I have often been told that a child, evidently not more than six months, was two years old, when a little cross-questioning has brought out the fact that it had been born

towards the end of the previous year, that it had lived in two years, and was, therefore, spoken of as two years old.

BOOK XXXVI. SHĀN Î.

The Shăn Î is what we should expect from the name, a description of the dress so-called. It was the garment of undress, worn by all classes of the people, from the highest to the lowest, when they were at home and at ease. What distinguished it from other dresses was that in those the jacket or upper garment was in one piece, and the skirt or lower garment in another, whereas in this they were joined together, so that it could be put on and off with ease.

In the *K'ien-lung* edition of the *LĪ KĪ*, chapter 29, second collection of Plates, there are pictures of the Shăn Î, taken from *K'û Hsi's* 'Rules for the Family,' but they do not correspond with the description here. More accurate plates are to be found in a monograph on the subject by Yung Kiang, a senior licentiate of the present dynasty, which forms the 251st chapter in the 'Explanations of the Classics under the Imperial dynasty of *K'ing*.' The proper meaning of Shăn Î is 'The Deep Dress,' but the garment was also called 'The Long Dress,' which suits our nomenclature better; and 'The Inner Dress,' when it was worn under another.

The reasons assigned for fashioning it after the description in paragraphs 3 and 4 are of course fanciful; but M. Callery is too severe on the unknown author, when he says:—'On est tenté de rire en voyant les rapprochements que l'auteur cherche à établir entre la forme de cet habit et les principes les plus abstraits de la morale. Je suis porté à croire que toutes ces allégories ont été imaginées après coup; car si elles avaient dirigé la coupe primitive du Shăn Î, il faudrait dire que les ateliers des anciens tailleurs de la Chine étaient des écoles de mysticisme.'

BOOK XXXVII. THĀU HŪ.

The Tháu Hū, or 'Pitching into a Jar,' gives the description of a game, played anciently, and probably at the pre-

sent day also, at festal entertainments. It was a kind of archery, with darts instead of arrows, and the hand instead of a bow; 'the smallest,' as *Kǎng* says, 'of all the games of archery,' and yet lessons for the practice of virtue and for judging of character might be learned from it. It is interesting to us, however, simply as a game for amusement, and a sufficient idea of it may be gained from this Book.

Two might play at it, or any number. The host and guest in the text are the representatives of two sides or parties. It was a contest at pitching darts into the mouth of a pot or vase, placed at a short distance from the players, —too short a distance, it appears to us. There was nothing peculiar in the form of the vase of which we have an account in paragraph 10. We are surprised to read the description of it in the late Dr. Williams' Syllabic Dictionary, under the character for *Hû*:—'One ancient kind (of vase) was made with tubes on each side of the mouth, and a common game, called *Thâu Hû*, was to pitch reeds into the three orifices.' This would have been a different jar, and the game would have been different from that here described, and more difficult.

The style of the Treatise is like that of the *Î Lî*, in the account of the contests of archery in Books VIII-XI, to which we have to refer to make out the meaning of several of the phrases.

The Book should end with paragraph 10. The three paragraphs that follow seem to have been jotted down by the compiler from some memoranda that he found, that nothing might be lost which would throw light on the game.

Then follows a paragraph, which may be pronounced unintelligible. The whole Book is excluded from the expurgated editions.

BOOK XXXVIII. *Zû Hsing*.

The *Zû Hsing*, or 'Conduct of the Scholar,' professes to be a discourse delivered to duke *Âi* of *Lû* on the character and style of life by which scholars, or men claiming to

possess literary acquirements, ought to be, and were in a measure, distinguished. Even so far back, such a class of men there was in China. They had certain peculiarities of dress, some of which are alluded to in Odes of the Shih. The duke, however, had not been accustomed to think highly of them; and struck by something in the dress of Confucius, he asks him if he wore the garb of a scholar. The sage disclaims this; and being questioned further as to the conduct of the scholar, he proceeds to dilate on that at great length, and with a remarkable magnificence of thought and diction. He portrayed to his ruler a man *sans peur et sans reproche*, strong in principle, of cultivated intelligence, and animated by the most generous, patriotic, and benevolent spirit. We are told in the conclusion that the effect on duke Âi was good and great. It made him a better man, and also made him think more highly of the class of scholars than he had done. The effect of the Book on many of the literati must have been great in the ages that have intervened, and must still be so.

But did such a conversation really take place between the marquis of Lû and the sage? The general opinion of Chinese scholars is that it did not do so. Lü Tâ-lin (of the eleventh century, and a contemporary of the brothers *K'hang*), as quoted by the *K'ien-lung* editors, while cordially approving the sentiments, thinks the style too grandiloquent to allow of our ascribing it to Confucius. Another commentator of the Sung period, one of the Lîs¹, holds that the language is that of some ambitious scholar of the period of the Warring States, who wished to stir up the members of his order to a style of action worthy of it. P. Callery appends to his translation the following note:—‘In general, the maxims of this chapter are sufficiently profound to justify us in ascribing them to Confucius, in preference to so many other passages which the author of this work places to the credit of the great philosopher. We find nevertheless in it some ideas of which the really authentic works of Confucius do not offer any trace.’

¹ 李氏.

BOOK XXXIX. TÂ HSIO.

Like the *Kung Yung* (XXVIII), the *Tâ Hsio* has long been published separately from the other Books of the *Lî K'î*, and is now the first of the well-known 'Four Books.' As it appears in this translation, we follow the arrangement of the text given by the *K'ien-lung* editors from that in the *Thirteen King* published by *Khung Ying-tâ*, who himself simply followed *K'ang Hsüan*. Early in the Sung dynasty the brothers *K'ang* occupied themselves with the *Treatise*; and thinking that errors had crept into the order of the paragraphs, and that portions were missing, made various alterations and additions. *K'û Hsi* entered into their labours, and, as he thought, improved on them. It is now current in the *Four Books*, as he published it in 1189, and the difference between his arrangement and the oldest one may be seen by comparing the translation in the first volume of my *Chinese Classics* and that in the present publication. Despite the difference of arrangement, the substance of the work is the same.

There can be no doubt that the *Tâ Hsio* is a genuine monument of the Confucian teaching, and gives us a sufficient idea of the methods and subjects in the great or higher schools of antiquity. The enthusiasm of M. Pauthier is not to be blamed when he says:—'It is evident that the aim of the Chinese philosopher is to exhibit the duties of political government as the perfecting of self and the practice of virtue by all men.'

Pauthier adopts fully the view of *K'û*, that the first chapter is a genuine relic of Confucius himself, for which view there really is no evidence. And he thinks also that all that follows should be attributed to the disciple, *Ûang-ze*, which is contrary to the evidence which the *Treatise* itself supplies.

If it were necessary to assign an author for the work, I should adopt the opinion of *K'ia Kwei* (A. D. 30–101), and assign it to *Khung K'î*, the grandson of Confucius, and author of the *Kung Yung*. 'When *Khung K'î*,' said *K'ia*,

'was still alive, and in straits, in Sung, being afraid that the lessons of the former sage (or sages) would become obscure, and the principles of the ancient Tis and Kings fall to the ground, he made the Tâ Hsio as the warp of them, and the Kung Yung as the woof.' This would seem to have been the opinion of scholars in that early time, and the only difficulty in admitting it is that K'ang Hsüan does not mention it. Notwithstanding his silence, the conviction that Khung K'î wrote both treatises has become very strong in my mind. There is that agreement in the matter, method, and style of the two, which almost demands for them a common authorship.

BOOK XL. KWAN Î.

A fuller account of the ceremony of capping is obtained from portions of the ninth and other Books, where it comes in only incidentally, than from this Book in which we might expect from the title to find all the details of it brought together. But the object of the unknown writer was to glorify the rite as the great occasion when a youth stepped from his immaturity into all the privileges and responsibilities of a man, and to explain some of the usages by which it had been sought from the earliest times to mark its importance. This intention is indicated by the second character in the title called Î, which we have met with only once before in the name of a Book,—in K'î Î, 'the Meaning of Sacrifices,' the title of XXI. It is employed in the titles of this and the five Books that follow, and always with the same force of 'meaning,' 'signification,' 'ideas underlying the ceremony.' Callery renders correctly Kwan Î by 'Signification de la Prise du Chapeau Viril.'

The Chinese cap of manhood always suggests the toga virilis of the Romans; but there was a difference between the institutions of the two peoples. The age for assuming the toga was fourteen; that for receiving the cap was twenty. The capped Chinese was still young, but he had grown to man's estate; the gowned Roman might have reached puberty, but he was little more than a boy.

Until the student fully understands the object of the Treatise, the paragraphs seem intricate and heavy, and the work of translation is difficult.

BOOK XLI. HWAN Í.

After capping comes in natural order the ceremony of marriage; and we are glad to have, in the first portion of this Book, so full an account of the objects contemplated in marriage, the way in which the ceremony was gone about, and the subsequent proceedings by which the union was declared to be established.

The writer made much use of the chapters on marriage in the Í Lî. Nothing is said of the age at which it was the rule for a young man to marry; and this, we have seen, is put down, in other parts of this collection, as thirty. The same age is mentioned in the *K'áu Lî*, XIII, 55, on the duties of the marriage-contractor. But marriage, we may assume from the case of Confucius himself, actually took place earlier in ancient times, as it does now. The *3ze*¹, or name of maturity, which was given at the capping, is commonly said to be the name taken at marriage, as in Morrison's Dictionary, I, i, page 627.

The duties set forth in the Book, however, are not those of the young husband, but those of the wife, all comprised in the general virtue of 'obedience.' After the tenth paragraph, the author leaves the subject of marriage, and speaks of the different establishments of the king and queen and of their functions. So far what is said on these topics bears on marriage as it sets forth, mystically, that union as analogous to the relations of heaven and earth, the sun and moon, and the masculine and feminine energies of nature; and the response made by these to the conduct of the human parties in their wedded union.

BOOK XLII. HSIANG YIN KĪŮ Ĩ.

Hsiang was anciently the name for the largest territorial division of the state. Under the dominion of K'âu, from the hamlet of five families, through the lü, the ĩŭ, the tang, and the k'âu, we rise to the hsiang, nominally containing 12,500 families, and presided over by a 'Great officer.' The royal domain contained six hsiang, and a feudal state three.

In more than one of these territorial divisions, there were festive meetings at regular intervals, all said to be for the purpose of 'drinking.' There was feasting at them too, but the viands bore a small proportion to the liquor, called by the name of K'ĩŭ, which has generally been translated wine, though the grape had nothing to do with it, and whether it was distilled or merely fermented is a disputed point.

The festivity described in this Book was at the true Hsiang meeting, celebrated once in three years, under the superintendence of 'the Great officer' himself, when, in the principal school or college of the district, he assembled the gentlemen of accomplishments and virtue, and feasted them. His object was to select, especially from among the young men, those who were most likely to prove useful to the government in various departments of service. There was in the celebration the germ of the competitive examinations which have been for so long a characteristic feature of the Chinese nation.

The writer had before him the sixth and seventh Books of the Ĩ LĪ on the same subject, or their equivalents. He brings out five things accomplished by the ceremony, all of a moral and social nature; but in trying to explain the arrangements, he becomes allegorical or mystical, and sometimes absurd.

BOOK XLIII. SHĒ Ĩ.

There were various games or competitions of archery; at the royal court, at the feudal courts, at the meetings in

the country districts which form the subject of the last Book, and probably others of a less public and distinguished character. We have references in this Book to at least one of the archery trials at the royal court; to that at the feudal courts; and to one presided over by Confucius himself, of which it is difficult to assign the occasion. The object of the author is to show the attention paid to archery in ancient times, and how it was endeavoured to make it subservient to moral and educational purposes.

He had before him the accounts of the archery for officers in Books VIII, IX, and X of the *Í Lî*; but he allows himself more scope, in his observations on them, than the authors of the two preceding Books, and explains several practices in his own way,—unsatisfactorily, as I have pointed out in my notes.

BOOK XLIV. YEN Í.

The Yen Í, or 'Meaning of the Banquet,' is a fragment of only five paragraphs, which, moreover, are inartistically put together, the first having no connexion with the others. The Book should begin with paragraph 2, commencing:— 'The meaning of the Banquet at the feudal courts was this.' It was of this banquet that the compiler intended to give his readers an idea.

The greatest of all the ancient banquets was that which immediately followed the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, given to all the kindred of the same surname as the ruler, and to which there are several references in the *Shih King*. Thang San-ghai (Ming dynasty) specifies four other occasions for the banquet besides this:— It might be given by a feudal prince, without any special occasion,—like that described in the second of the Praise Songs of *Lû*; or to a high dignitary or Great officer, who had been engaged in the royal service,—like that in the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, iii, 3; or when a high dignitary returned from a friendly mission,—like that also in the Minor Odes, i, 2; or when an officer came from one state to another on a friendly mission. Many other occasions,

however, can be imagined on which public banquets were appropriate and might be given. The usages at them would, for the most part, be of the same nature.

The eleventh and twelfth chapters of the *Î Lî* are occupied with the ceremony of the banquet. The author of this Treatise quotes passages here and there from them, and appends his own explanation of their educational significance. Two lessons, he says, were especially illustrated in them:—the right relations to be maintained between superiors and inferiors, and the distinction between the noble and the mean.

BOOK XLV. PHING Î.

The subject of the Phing Î is the interchange of missions between the ancient feudal states. It was a rule of the kingdom that those states should by such interchange maintain a good understanding with one another, as a means of preventing both internal disturbances and aggression from without. P. Callery gives for the title:—‘*Signification (du Rite) des Visites.*’ I have met with it rendered in English by ‘*The Theory of Embassies;*’ but the Phing was not an embassy on any great state occasion, nor was it requisite that it should be sent at stated intervals. It could not be long neglected between two states without risk to the good fellowship between them, but events might at any time occur in any one state which would call forth such an expression of friendly sympathy from others.

A mission occasioned a very considerable expenditure to the receiving state, and the author, with amusing ingenuity, explains this as a device to teach the princes and their peoples to care little for such outlay in comparison with the maintenance of the custom and its ceremonies.

Those visits are treated with all the necessary details in the *Î Lî*, Books XV–XVIII; and though the extracts from them are not many, we get from the author a sufficiently intelligible account of the nature of the missions and the way in which they were carried through.

In paragraph 11, however, he turns to another subject, and writes at some length about archery, while the concluding paragraphs (12 and 13) give a conversation between Confucius and his disciple 3ze-kung on the reasons why jade is thought so much of. The three paragraphs have no connexion with those that precede on the subject of the missions; and the question arises—Whence were they derived? The previous paragraphs, taken from or based on the 1 Lî, are found in one of the surviving Treatises of the larger collection of the Greater Tâi, the thirty-sixth Book, called *Khâo-sze*, in consequence of which the *Khien-lung* editors suggest that these concluding paragraphs were an addition made by his relative, Tâi Shăng. It may have been so, but we should not thereby be impressed with a high idea of the skill or judgment with which Shăng executed his work.

BOOK XLVI. SANG FŪ SZE KIH.

This Book, with which the collection of the Lî *Ki* concludes, is an attempt to explain the usages of the mourning rites, and especially of the dress, wherein they agree, and wherein they differ, by referring them to the four constituents of man's nature,—love, righteousness, the sentiment of propriety, and knowledge, in harmony with the operations of heaven and earth in the course of nature. We do not know who was the author of it, but the *Khien-lung* editors contend that it could not have been in the original compilation of the Smaller Tâi, and owes its place in the collection to *Kăng Hsüan*.

The greater part of it is found in the thirty-ninth, or last but one¹, of the Books still current as the Lî of the Greater Tâi; and another part in the 'Narratives of the School,' the third article in the sixth chapter of that collection², the compilation of which in its present form is attributed to Wang Sû in the first half of our third century. But this second fragment must have existed previously, else *Kăng*

¹ 本命.

² 本命解.

himself could not have seen it. The argument of those editors, therefore, that some scholar, later than the Smaller Tái, must have incorporated it with what we find in the Greater Tái, adding a beginning and ending of his own, so as to form a Book like one of those of Tái Shăng, and that Kăng thought it worth his while to preserve it as the last portion of Shăng's collection,—this argument is inconclusive. The fragment may originally have formed part of Tái Teh's thirty-ninth Book or of some other, and the whole of this Book have been arranged, as we now have it by Shăng himself, working, as he is reported to have done, on the compilation or digest of his cousin. However this be, the views in the Book are certainly ingenious and deserve to be read with care.

A few lines in Callery's work are sufficient to translate all of the Book which is admitted into the expurgated editions.

THE LÎ KÎ.

A COLLECTION OF TREATISES ON THE RULES
OF PROPRIETY OR CEREMONIAL USAGES.

BOOK I. *KHÛ LÎ*.

SUMMARY OF THE RULES OF PROPRIETY.

SECTION I. PART I.

Ch. 1. 1. The Summary of the Rules of Propriety says:—Always and in everything let there be reverence ; with the deportment grave as when

On the names of the whole work and of this book, see the Introduction, pp. 9-12 and 15-17.

Part I is occupied with general principles and statements about Propriety rather than with the detail of particular rules. It may be divided into seven chapters, containing in all thirty-one paragraphs.

Ch. 1. 1, tells how reverence and gravity, with careful speech, are essential in Propriety ; and shows its importance to a community or nation. 2. 2, specifies habits or tendencies incompatible with Propriety. 3. 3-5, gives instances of Propriety in superior men, and directions for certain cases. 4. 6, 7, states the rules for sitting, standing, and a mission to another state. 5. 8-22, sets forth how indispensable Propriety is for the regulation of the individual and society, and that it marks in fact the distinction between men and brutes. 6. 23-26, indicates how the rules, unnecessary in the most ancient times, grew with the progress of society, and were its ornament and security. 7. 27-31, speaks of the different stages of life, as divided into decades from ten years to a hundred ; and certain characteristics belonging to them.

one is thinking (deeply), and with speech composed and definite. This will make the people tranquil.

2. 2. Pride should not be allowed to grow; the desires should not be indulged; the will should not be gratified to the full; pleasure should not be carried to excess.

3. 3. Men of talents and virtue can be familiar with others and yet respect them; can stand in awe of others and yet love them. They love others and yet acknowledge the evil that is in them. They accumulate (wealth) and yet are able to part with it (to help the needy); they rest in what gives them satisfaction and yet can seek satisfaction elsewhere (when it is desirable to do so). 4. When you find wealth within your reach, do not (try to) get it by improper means; when you meet with calamity, do not (try to) escape from it by improper means. Do not seek for victory in small contentions; do not seek for more than your proper share. 5. Do not positively affirm what you have doubts about; and (when you have no doubts), do not let what you say appear (simply) as your own view¹.

4. 6. If a man be sitting, let him do so as a personator of the deceased²; if he be standing, let him do so (reverently), as in sacrificing. 7. In

¹ The text in the second part of this sentence is not easily translated and interpreted. I have followed in my version the view of K'ang, K'ü Hsü, and the K'ien-lung editors. Callery gives for the whole sentence, 'Ne donnez pas comme certain ce qui est douteux, mais exposez-le clairement sans arrière-pensée.' Zottoli's view of the meaning is probably the same as mine: 'Dubius rerum noli praesumere, sed sincerus ne tibi arroges.'

² On the personator of the deceased, see vol. iii, pp. 300, 301. According to the ritual of K'âu, the representatives of the dead always sat, and bore themselves with the utmost gravity.

(observing) the rules of propriety, what is right (for the time and in the circumstances) should be followed. In discharging a mission (to another state), its customs are to be observed.

5. 8. They are the rules of propriety, that furnish the means of determining (the observances towards) relatives, as near and remote; of settling points which may cause suspicion or doubt; of distinguishing where there should be agreement, and where difference; and of making clear what is right and what is wrong. 9. According to those rules, one should not (seek to) please others in an improper way, nor be lavish of his words. 10. According to them, one does not go beyond the definite measure, nor encroach on or despise others, nor is fond of (presuming) familiarities. 11. To cultivate one's person and fulfil one's words is called good conduct. When the conduct is (thus) ordered, and the words are accordant with the (right) course, we have the substance of the rules of propriety. 12. I have heard that it is in accordance with those rules that one should be chosen by others (as their model); I have not heard of his choosing them (to take him as such). I have heard in the same way of (scholars) coming to learn; I have not heard of (the master) going to teach. 13. The course (of duty), virtue, benevolence, and righteousness cannot be fully carried out without the rules of propriety; 14. nor are training and oral lessons for the rectification of manners complete; 15. nor can the clearing up of quarrels and discriminating in disputes be accomplished; 16. nor can (the duties between) ruler and minister, high and low, father and son, elder brother and younger, be determined; 17. nor can students for office and

(other) learners, in serving their masters, have an attachment for them; 18. nor can majesty and dignity be shown in assigning the different places at court, in the government of the armies, and in discharging the duties of office so as to secure the operation of the laws; 19. nor can there be the (proper) sincerity and gravity in presenting the offerings to spiritual Beings on occasions of supplication, thanksgiving, and the various sacrifices¹. 20. Therefore the superior man is respectful and reverent, assiduous in his duties and not going beyond them, retiring and yielding;—thus illustrating (the principle of) propriety. 21. The parrot can speak, and yet is nothing more than a bird; the ape can speak, and yet is nothing more than a beast². Here now is a man who observes no rules of propriety; is not his heart that of a beast? But if (men were as) beasts, and without (the principle of) propriety, father and son might have the same mate. 22. Therefore, when the sages arose, they framed the rules of propriety in order to teach men, and cause them, by

¹ Four religious acts are here mentioned, in connexion with which the offerings to spiritual Beings were presented. What I have called 'various sacrifices' is in Chinese *K'í sze*. Wú *K'ǎng* says: '*K'í* means sacrificial offerings to the spirit (or spirits) of Earth, and *sze* those to the spirits of Heaven. Offerings to the manes of men are also covered by them when they are used together.'

² We know that the parrot and some other birds can be taught to speak; but I do not know that any animal has been taught to enunciate words even as these birds do. Williams (Dict. p. 809) thinks that the *shǎng shǎng* mentioned here may be the rhinopithecus *Roxellana* of P. David, found in *Sze-~~h~~üan*; but we have no account of it in Chinese works, so far as I know, that is not evidently fabulous.

their possession of them, to make a distinction between themselves and brutes.

6. 23. In the highest antiquity they prized (simply conferring) good ; in the time next to this, giving and repaying was the thing attended to¹. And what the rules of propriety value is that reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety ; if the thing comes to me, and I give nothing in return, that also is contrary to propriety. 24. If a man observe the rules of propriety, he is in a condition of security ; if he do not, he is in one of danger. Hence there is the saying, 'The rules of propriety should by no means be left unlearned.' 25. Propriety is seen in humbling one's self and giving honour to others. Even porters and pedlers are sure to display this giving honour (in some cases); how much more should the rich and noble do so (in all)! 26. When the rich and noble know to love propriety, they do not become proud nor dissolute. When the poor and mean know to love propriety, their minds do not become cowardly.

7. 27. When one is ten years old, we call him a boy ; he goes (out) to school. When he is twenty, we call him a youth ; he is capped. When he is thirty, we say, 'He is at his maturity;' he has a wife². When

¹ Compare with this paragraph the state of 'the highest antiquity' described in the Táo Teh King, chapters 18, 19, et al.

² When it is said that at thirty a man has a wife, the meaning must be that he ought not to reach that age without being married. Early marriages were the rule in ancient China, as they are now. Confucius was married when barely twenty. In the same way we are to understand the being in office at forty. A man might take office at thirty ; if he reached forty before he did so, there was something wrong in himself or others.

he is forty, we say, 'He is in his vigour;' he is employed in office. When he is fifty, we say, 'He is getting grey;' he can discharge all the duties of an officer. When he is sixty, we say, 'He is getting old;' he gives directions and instructions. When he is seventy, we say, 'He is old;' he delegates his duties to others. At eighty or ninety, we say of him, 'He is very old.' When he is seven, we say that he is an object of pitying love. Such a child and one who is very old, though they may be chargeable with crime, are not subjected to punishment. At a hundred, he is called a centenarian, and has to be fed. 28. A great officer, when he is seventy, should resign (his charge of) affairs. 29. If he be not allowed to resign, there must be given him a stool and staff. When travelling on service, he must have the attendance of his wife¹; and when going to any other state, he will ride in an easy carriage². 30. (In another state) he will style himself 'the old man;' in his own state, he will call himself by his name. 31. When from another they ask (about his state), he must tell them of its (old) institutions³.

¹ Perhaps we should translate here in the plural—'his women,' which would include his wife.

² An 'easy carriage' was small. Its occupant sat in it, and did not stand.

³ It is supposed here that the foreign envoys first question the ruler, who then calls in the help of the aged minister.

PART II.

1. 1. In going to take counsel with an elder, one must carry a stool and a staff with him (for the elder's use). When the elder asks a question, to reply without acknowledging one's incompetency and (trying to) decline answering, is contrary to propriety¹.

2. 2. For all sons it is the rule:—in winter, to warm (the bed for their parents), and to cool it in summer; in the evening, to adjust everything (for their repose), and to inquire (about their health) in the morning; and, when with their companions, not to quarrel.

3. 3. Whenever a son, having received the three (first) gifts (of the ruler), declines (to use) the carriage and horses, the people of the hamlets and smaller districts, and of the larger districts and neighbourhoods, will proclaim him filial; his brothers and relatives, both by consanguinity and affinity, will proclaim him

Part II enters more into detail about the rules of Propriety. It has been divided into seven chapters, containing in all thirty-two paragraphs.

Ch. 1. 1, speaks of a junior consulting an elder. 2. 2, describes services due from all sons to their parents. 3. 3, shows a filial son when raised to higher rank than his father. 4. 4-16, contains rules for a son in various circumstances, especially with reference to his father. 5. 17-26, gives the rules for younger men in their intercourse with their teachers and elders generally, and in various cases. 6. 27, is the rule for an officer in entering the gate of his ruler or coming out by it. 7. 28-32, deals with a host and visitor, and ceremonious visiting and intercourse generally.

¹ The reply of Tsăng Shăn to Confucius, as related in vol. iii, pp. 465, 466, is commonly introduced in illustration of this second sentence.

loving; his friends who are fellow-officers will proclaim him virtuous; and his friends who are his associates will proclaim him true¹.

4. 4. When he sees an intimate friend of his father, not to presume to go forward to him without being told to do so; nor to retire without being told; nor to address him without being questioned:—this is the conduct of a filial son. 5. A son, when he is going abroad, must inform (his parents where he is going); when he returns, he must present himself before them. Where he travels must be in some fixed (region); what he engages in must be some (reputable) occupation. 6. In ordinary conversation (with his parents), he does not use the term 'old' (with reference to them)². 7. He should serve one twice as old as himself as he serves his father, one ten years older than himself as an elder brother; with one five years older he should walk shoulder to shoulder, but (a little) behind him. 8. When five are sitting together, the eldest must have a different mat (by himself)³. 9. A son should not occupy the south-west corner of the apartment, nor sit in the

¹ The gifts of distinction, conferred by the sovereign on officers, ministers, and feudal princes, were nine in all; and the enumerations of them are not always the same. The three intended here are the appointment to office, or rank; the robes belonging to it; and the chariot and horses. We must suppose that the rank placed the son higher than the father in social position, and that he declines the third gift from humility,—not to parade himself as superior to his father and others in his circle.

² Some understand the rule to be that the son is not to speak of himself as old; but the meaning in the translation is the more approved.

³ Four men were the proper complement for a mat; the eldest of the five therefore was honoured with another mat for himself.

middle of the mat (which he occupies alone), nor walk in the middle of the road, nor stand in the middle of the doorway¹. 10. He should not take the part of regulating the (quantity of) rice and other viands at an entertainment. 11. He should not act as personator of the dead at sacrifice². 12. He should be (as if he were) hearing (his parents) when there is no voice from them, and as seeing them when they are not actually there. 13. He should not ascend a height, nor approach the verge of a depth; he should not indulge in reckless reviling or derisive laughing. A filial son will not do things in the dark, nor attempt hazardous undertakings, fearing lest he disgrace his parents. 14. While his parents are alive, he will not promise a friend to die (with or for him)³, nor will he have wealth that he calls his own. 15. A son, while his parents are alive, will not wear a cap or (other) article of dress, with a white border⁴. 16. An orphan son, taking his father's place, will not wear a cap or (other article of) dress with a variegated border⁵.

5. 17. A boy should never be allowed to see an

¹ The father is supposed to be alive; the south-west part of an apartment was held to be the most honourable, and must be reserved for him. So of the other things.

² This was in the ancestral worship. A son, acting such a part, would have to receive the homage of his father.

³ I have known instances of Chinese agreeing to die with or for a friend, who wished to avenge a great wrong. See the covenant of the three heroes of the 'romance of the Three Kingdoms,' near the beginning.

⁴ White was and is the colour worn in mourning.

⁵ The son here is the eldest son and heir; even after the regular period of mourning is over, he continues to wear it in so far. The other sons were not required to do so.

instance of deceit¹. 18. A lad should not wear a jacket of fur nor the skirt². He must stand straight and square, and not incline his head in hearing. 19. When an elder is holding him with the hand, he should hold the elder's hand with both his hands. When the elder has shifted his sword to his back and is speaking to him with the side of his face bent down, he should cover his mouth with his hand in answering³. 20. When he is following his teacher⁴, he should not quit the road to speak with another person. When he meets his teacher on the road, he should hasten forward to him, and stand with his hands joined across his breast. If the teacher speak to him, he will answer; if he do not, he will retire with hasty steps. 21. When, following an elder, they ascend a level height, he must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking. 22. When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point, nor call out⁵. 23. When he intends to go to a lodging-house, let it not be with the feeling that he must get whatever he asks for. 24. When about to go up to the hall (of a house), he must raise his voice. When outside the door there are two (pairs

¹ This maxim deserves to be specially noted. It will remind the reader of Juvenal's lines :—

'Maxima debetur puero reverentia. Si quid
Turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos.'

² To make him handy, and leave him free to execute any service required of him.

³ The second sentence here is difficult to construe, and the critics differ much in dealing with it. Zottoli's version is—'Si e dorso vel latere transverso ore (superior) eloquatur ei, tunc obducto ore respondebit.'

⁴ 'Teacher' is here 'the one born before him,' denoting 'an old man who teaches youth.'

⁵ And thus make himself an object of general observation.

of) shoes¹, if voices be heard, he enters; if voices be not heard, he will not enter. 25. When about to enter the door, he must keep his eyes cast down. As he enters, he should (keep his hands raised as high as if he were) bearing the bar of the door. In looking down or up, he should not turn (his head). If the door were open, he should leave it open; if it were shut, he should shut it again. If there be others (about) to enter after him, while he (turns to) shut the door, let him not do so hastily. 26. Let him not tread on the shoes (left outside the door), nor stride across the mat (in going to take his seat); but let him hold up his dress, and move hastily to his corner (of the mat). (When seated), he must be careful in answering or assenting.

6. 27. A great officer or (other) officer should go out or in at the ruler's doors², on the right of the middle post, without treading on the threshold.

7. 28. Whenever (a host has received and) is entering with a guest, at every door he should give place to him. When the guest arrives at the innermost door (or that leading to the feast-

¹ It was the custom in China, as it still is in Japan, to take off the shoes, and leave them outside the door on entering an apartment. This paragraph and the next tell us how a new-comer should not enter an apartment hastily, so as to take those already there by surprise.

² It is necessary to translate here in the plural. Anciently, as now, the palace, mansion, or public office was an aggregate of courts, with buildings in them, so that the visitor passed from one to another through a gateway, till he reached the inner court which conducted to the hall, behind which again were the family apartments. The royal palace had five courts and gates; that of a feudal lord had three. Each gate had its proper name. The whole assemblage of buildings was much deeper than it was wide.

room), the host will ask to be allowed to enter first and arrange the mats. Having done this, he will come out to receive the guest, who will refuse firmly (to enter first). The host having made a low bow to him, they will enter (together). 29. When they have entered the door, the host moves to the right, and the guest to the left, the former going to the steps on the east, and the latter to those on the west. If the guest be of the lower rank, he goes to the steps of the host (as if to follow him up them). The host firmly declines this, and he returns to the other steps on the west¹. 30. They then offer to each other the precedence in going up, but the host commences first, followed (immediately) by the other. They bring their feet together on every step, thus ascending by successive paces. He who ascends by the steps on the east should move his right foot first, and the other at the western steps his left foot. 31. Outside the curtain or screen² (a visitor) should not walk with the formal hasty steps, nor above in the hall, nor when carrying the symbol of jade. Above, in the raised hall, the foot-prints should be alongside each other, but below it free and separate. In the apartment the elbows should not be held out like wings in bowing. 32. When two (equals) are sitting side by side, they do not have their elbows extended crosswise. One should not kneel in handing anything to a (superior) standing, nor stand in handing it to him sitting.

¹ The host here is evidently of high dignity, living in a mansion.

² The screen was in front of the raised hall, in the courtyard; until they passed it visitors might not be in view of their host, and could feel at ease in their carriage and movements.

PART III.

1. 1. In all cases of (a lad's) carrying away the dirt that has been swept up from the presence of an elder, it is the rule that he (place) the brush on the basket, keeping his sleeve before it as he retires. The dust is not allowed to reach the elder, because he carries the basket with its mouth turned towards himself. 2. He carries the (elder's) mat in his arms like the cross-beam of a shadoof. 3. If it be a mat

Part III continues to lay down the rules for various duties and classes of duties. It extends to sixty-seven paragraphs, which may be comprised in twenty-one chapters.

Ch. 1. 1-4, describes a youth's ways in sweeping for an elder and in carrying and placing his mats. 2. 5-7, relates to host and guest. 3. 8-19, is about a youth, especially a pupil, in attendance on his elders. 4. 20-26, is about his ways in serving a superior. 5. 27-29, is about the shoes in visiting. 6. 30-39, gives rules about not interfering with people's private affairs, and avoiding, between male and female, what would cause suspicion. 7. 40, is a message of congratulation to a friend on his marriage. 8. 41, is about consideration for the poor and the old. 9. 42-46, gives rules for the naming of sons and daughters. 10. 47-51, describes the arrangement of the dishes, and the behaviour of the host and guests, at an entertainment. 11. 52, we have a youth and his host eating together. 12. 53, shows how people, eating together, ought to behave. 13. 54-58, is about things to be avoided in eating. 14. 59, shows us host and guest at the close of the entertainment. In 15. 60, we have a youth and elder drinking together. 16. 61, is about a gift from an elder. 17. 62, shows how the kernel of a fruit given by an elder is to be dealt with in his presence. 18. 63, 64, relates to gifts at a feast from the ruler, and how they are to be used. 19. 65, is about a ruler asking an attendant to share in a feast. 20. 66, is about the use of chopsticks with soup. 21. 67, gives the rules for paring a melon for the ruler and others.

to sit on, he will ask in what direction (the elder) is going to turn his face; if it be to sleep on, in what direction he is going to turn his feet. 4. If a mat face the south or the north, the seat on the west is accounted that of honour; if it face the east or the west, the seat on the south.

2. 5. Except in the case of guests who are there (simply) to eat and drink, in spreading the mats a space of ten cubits should be left between them¹.

6. When the host kneels to adjust the mats (of a visitor), the other should kneel and keep hold of them, declining (the honour)². When the visitor (wishes to) remove one or more, the host should firmly decline to permit him to do so. When the visitor steps on his mats, (the host) takes his seat.

7. If the host have not put some question, the visitor should not begin the conversation.

3. 8. When (a pupil) is about to go to his mat, he should not look discomposed. With his two hands he should hold up his lower garment, so that the bottom of it may be a cubit from the ground. His clothes should not hang loosely about him, nor should there be any hurried movements of his feet. 9. If any writing or tablets of his master, or his lute or cithern be in the way, he should kneel down and remove them, taking care not to disarrange them. 10. When sitting and doing nothing, he should keep quite at the back (of his mat); when eating, quite at the front of it³. He should sit quietly and keep

¹ To allow space and freedom for gesticulation.

² Two or more mats might be placed over each other in honour of the visitor.

³ The dishes were placed before the mats.

a watch on his countenance. If there be any subject on which the elder has not touched, let him not introduce it irregularly. 11. Let him keep his deportment correct¹, and listen respectfully. Let him not appropriate (to himself) the words (of others), nor (repeat them) as (the echo does the) thunder. If he must (adduce proofs), let them be from antiquity, with an appeal to the ancient kings. 12. When sitting by his side, and the teacher puts a question, (the learner) should not reply till (the other) has finished. 13. When requesting (instruction) on the subject of his studies, (the learner) should rise; when requesting further information, he should rise. 14. When his father calls, (a youth) should not (merely) answer 'yes,' nor when his teacher calls. He should, with (a respectful) 'yes,' immediately rise (and go to them). 15. When one is sitting in attendance on another whom he honours and reveres, he should not allow any part of his mat to keep them apart², nor will he rise when he sees others (come in) of the same rank as himself. 16. When the torches come, he should rise; and also when the viands come in, or a visitor of superior rank³. 17. The torches should not (be allowed to burn) till their ends can be seen. 18. Before an honoured visitor we should not shout (even) at

¹ Here, and in some other places, we find the second personal pronoun; as if the text were made up from different sources. I have translated, however, as if we had only the third person.

² He should sit on the front of his mat, to be as near the other as possible.

³ The torches were borne by boys. They were often changed, that the visitors might not be aware how the time was passing.

a dog. 19. When declining any food, one should not spit.

4. 20. When one is sitting in attendance on another of superior character or rank, and that other yawns or stretches himself, or lays hold of his staff or shoes, or looks towards the sun to see if it be early or late, he should ask to be allowed to leave. 21. In the same position, if the superior man put a question on a new subject, he should rise up in giving his reply. 22. Similarly, if there come some one saying (to the superior man), 'I wish, when you have a little leisure, to report to you,' he should withdraw to the left or right and wait. 23. Do not listen with the head inclined on one side, nor answer with a loud sharp voice, nor look with a dissolute leer, nor keep the body in a slouching position¹. 24. Do not saunter about with a haughty gait, nor stand with one foot raised. Do not sit with your knees wide apart, nor sleep on your face. 25. Have your hair gathered up, and do not use any false hair². 26. Let not the cap be laid aside; nor the chest be bared, (even) when one is toiling hard; nor let the lower garment be held up (even) in hot weather.

5. 27. When (going to) sit in attendance on an elder, (a visitor) should not go up to the hall with his shoes on, nor should he presume to take them off in front of the steps. 28. (When any single visitor is leaving), he will go to his shoes, kneel down and take them up, and then move to one side. 29. (When the visitors retire in a body) with their

¹ The style and form of 23-26 differ from the preceding. Perhaps they should form a paragraph by themselves.

² Which women were accustomed to do.

faces towards the elder, (they stand) by the shoes, which they then, kneeling, remove (some distance), and, stooping down, put on¹.

6. 30. When two men are sitting or standing together, do not join them as a third. When two are standing together, another should not pass between them. 31. Male and female should not sit together (in the same apartment), nor have the same stand or rack for their clothes, nor use the same towel or comb, nor let their hands touch in giving and receiving. 32. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not interchange inquiries (about each other). None of the concubines in a house should be employed to wash the lower garment (of a son)². 33. Outside affairs should not be talked of inside the threshold (of the women's apartments), nor inside (or women's) affairs outside it. 34. When a young lady is promised in marriage, she wears the strings (hanging down to her neck)³; and unless there be some great occasion, no (male) enters the door of her apartment⁴. 35. When a married aunt, or sister, or daughter returns home (on a visit), no brother (of the family) should sit with her on the same mat or eat with her from the same dish. (Even) the father and daughter should not occupy the same mat⁵. 36.

¹ The host would be seeing the visitors off, and therefore they would keep their faces towards him.

² Concubines might be employed to wash clothes; delicacy forbade their washing the lower garments of the sons.

³ Those strings were symbolic of the union with and subjection to her husband to which she was now pledged.

⁴ Great sickness or death, or other great calamity, would be such an occasion.

⁵ This is pushing the rule to an extreme. The sentence is also (but wrongly) understood of father and son.

Male and female, without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Unless the marriage presents have been received, there should be no communication nor affection between them. 37. Hence the day and month (of the marriage) should be announced to the ruler, and to the spirits (of ancestors) with purification and fasting; and (the bridegroom) should make a feast, and invite (his friends) in the district and neighbourhood, and his fellow-officers:—thus giving its due importance to the separate position (of male and female). 38. One must not marry a wife of the same surname with himself. Hence, in buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he must consult the tortoise-shell about it¹. 39. With the son of a widow, unless he be of acknowledged distinction, one should not associate himself as a friend.

7. 40. When one congratulates (a friend) on his marrying, his messenger says, 'So and So has sent me. Having heard that you are having guests, he has sent me with this present.'

8. 41. Goods and wealth are not to be expected from the poor in their discharge of the rules of propriety; nor the display of sinews and strength from the old.

9. 42. In giving a name to a son, it should not be that of a state, nor of a day or a month, nor of any hidden ailment, nor of a hill or river². 43.

¹ Not to find out what her surname is, but to determine whether it be the same as that of the gentleman or not.

² Such names were so common, that if it became necessary to avoid them, as it might be, through the death of the party or on other grounds, it would be difficult and inconvenient to do so.

Sons and daughters should have their (relative) ages distinguished¹. 44. A son at twenty is capped, and receives his appellation². 45. Before his father a son should be called by his name, and before his ruler a minister³. 46. When a daughter is promised in marriage, she assumes the hair-pin, and receives her appellation.

10. 47. The rules for bringing in the dishes for an entertainment are the following :—The meat cooked on the bones is set on the left, and the sliced meat on the right; the rice is placed on the left of the parties on the mat, and the soup on their right; the minced and roasted meat are put outside (the chops and sliced meat), and the pickles and sauces inside; the onions and steamed onions succeed to these, and the drink and syrups are on the right. When slices of dried and spiced meat are put down, where they are folded is turned to the left, and the ends of them to the right. 48. If a guest be of lower rank (than his entertainer), he should take up the rice⁴, rise and decline (the honour he is receiving). The host then rises and refuses to allow the guest (to retire). After this the guest will resume his seat. 49. When the host leads on the guests to present an offering (to the father of cookery), they will begin

¹ As *primus*, *prima*; *secundus*, *secunda*, &c.

² The appellation was thus the name given (at a family meeting) to a youth who had reached man's estate. Morrison (*Dict.* i. 627) calls it the name taken by men when they marry. Such a usage testifies to the early marriages in ancient China, as referred to in note 2, p. 65.

³ There might be some meaning in the appellation which would seem to place its bearer on the level of his father or his ruler.

⁴ The rice is called 'the principal article in a feast.' Hence the humbler guest takes it up, as symbolical of all the others.

with the dishes which were first brought in. Going on from the meat cooked on the bones they will offer of all (the other dishes)¹. 50. After they have eaten three times, the host will lead on the guests to take of the sliced meat, from which they will go on to all the other dishes. 51. A guest should not rinse his mouth with spirits till the host has gone over all the dishes.

11. 52. When (a youth) is in attendance on an elder at a meal, if the host give anything to him with his own hand, he should bow to him and eat it. If he do not so give him anything, he should eat without bowing.

12. 53. When eating with others from the same dishes, one should not try to eat (hastily) to satiety. When eating with them from the same dish of rice, one should not have to wash his hands².

13. 54. Do not roll the rice into a ball; do not bolt down the various dishes; do not swill down (the soup). 55. Do not make a noise in eating; do not crunch the bones with the teeth; do not put back fish you have been eating; do not throw the bones to the dogs; do not snatch (at what you want). 56. Do not spread out the rice (to cool); do not use chopsticks in eating millet³.

¹ This paragraph refers to a practice something like our 'saying grace.' According to Khung Ying-tâ, a little was taken from all the dishes, and placed on the ground about them as an offering to 'the father of cookery.'

² As all ate from the same dish of rice without chopsticks or spoons, it was necessary they should try to keep their hands clean. Some say the 'washing' was only a rubbing of the hands with sand.

³ A spoon was the proper implement in eating millet.

57. Do not (try to) gulp down soup with vegetables in it, nor add condiments to it; do not keep picking the teeth, nor swill down the sauces. If a guest add condiments, the host will apologise for not having had the soup prepared better. If he swill down the sauces, the host will apologise for his poverty¹. 58. Meat that is wet (and soft) may be divided with the teeth, but dried flesh cannot be so dealt with. Do not bolt roast meat in large pieces.

14. 59. When they have done eating, the guests will kneel in front (of the mat), and (begin to) remove the (dishes) of rice and sauces to give them to the attendants. The host will then rise and decline this service from the guests, who will resume their seats.

15. 60. If a youth is in attendance on, and drinking with, an elder, when the (cup of) spirits is brought to him, he rises, bows, and (goes to) receive it at the place where the spirit-vase is kept. The elder refuses (to allow him to do so), when he returns to the mat, and (is prepared) to drink. The elder (meantime) lifts (his cup); but until he has emptied it, the other does not presume to drink his.

16. 61. When an elder offers a gift, neither a youth, nor one of mean condition, presumes to decline it.

17. 62. When a fruit is given by the ruler and in his presence, if there be a kernel in it, (the receiver) should place it in his bosom².

¹ The sauce should be too strong to be swallowed largely and hurriedly.

² Lest he should seem to throw away anything given by the ruler.

18. 63. When one is attending the ruler at a meal, and the ruler gives him anything that is left, if it be in a vessel that can be easily scoured, he does not transfer it (to another of his own); but from any other vessel he should so transfer it¹.

19. 64. Portions of (such) food should not be used as offerings (to the departed). A father should not use them in offering even to a (deceased) son, nor a husband in offering to a (deceased) wife².

20. 65. When one is attending an elder and (called to) share with him (at a feast), though the viands may be double (what is necessary), he should not (seek) to decline them. If he take his seat (only) as the companion of another (for whom it has been prepared), he should not decline them.

21. 66. If the soup be made with vegetables, chopsticks should be used; but not if there be no vegetables.

22. 67. He who pares a melon for the son of Heaven should divide it into four parts and then into eight, and cover them with a napkin of fine linen. For the ruler of a state, he should divide it into four parts, and cover them with a coarse napkin. To a great officer he should (present the four parts) uncovered. An inferior officer should receive it (simply) with the stalk cut away. A common man will deal with it with his teeth.

¹ A vessel of potter's ware or metal can be scoured, and the part which his mouth has touched be cleansed before the ruler uses it again.

² The meaning of this paragraph is not clear.

PART IV.

1. 1. When his father or mother is ill, (a young man) who has been capped should not use his comb, nor walk with his elbows stuck out, nor speak on idle topics, nor take his lute or cithern in hand. He should not eat of (different) meats till his taste is changed, nor drink till his looks are changed¹. He should not laugh so as to show his teeth, nor be angry till he breaks forth in reviling. When the illness is gone, he may resume his former habits. 2. He who is sad and anxious should sit with his mat

Part IV contains fifty-two paragraphs, which have been arranged in ten chapters, stating the rules to be observed in a variety of cases.

Ch. 1. 1, 2, treats of the ways of a young man who is sorrowful in consequence of the illness or death of a parent. 2. 3-26, treats of the rules in giving and receiving, and of messages connected therewith. The presentations mentioned are all from inferiors to superiors. 3. 27, 28, does not lay down rules, but gives characteristics of the superior man, and the methods by which he preserves his friendships unbroken. 4. 29, 30, refers to the arrangement of the tablets in the ancestral temple, and to the personators of the dead. 5. 31, tells how one fasting should keep himself from being excited. 6. 32-34, sets forth cautions against excess in the demonstrations of mourning. 7. 35, 36, speaks of sorrowing for the dead and condoling with the living. 8. 37, 38, gives counsels of prudence for one under the influence of sympathy and benevolent feeling. 9. 39-48, describes rules in connexion with mourning, burials, and some other occasions. 10. 49-52, describes gradations in ceremonies and in the penal statutes; and how a criminal who has been punished should never be permitted to be near the ruler.

¹ Does the rule about eating mean that the anxious son should restrict himself to a single dish of meat?

spread apart from others ; he who is mourning (for a death) should sit on a single mat¹.

2. 3. When heavy rains have fallen, one should not present fish or tortoises (to a superior)². 4. He who is presenting a bird should turn its head on one side ; if it be a tame bird, this need not be done. 5. He who is presenting a carriage and horses should carry in his hand (to the hall) the whip, and strap for mounting by³. 6. He who is presenting a suit of mail should carry the helmet (to the hall). He who is presenting a staff should hold it by its end⁴. 7. He who is presenting a captive should hold him by the right sleeve⁵. 8. He who is presenting grain unhulled should carry with him the left side of the account (of the quantity) ; if the hull be off, he should carry with him a measure-drum⁶. 9. He who is presenting cooked food, should carry with him the sauce and pickles for it. 10. He who is presenting fields and tenements should carry with him the writings about them, and give them up (to the superior). 11. In every case of giving a bow to another, if it be bent, the (string of) sinew should be kept upwards ; but if unbent, the horn.

¹ Grief is solitary. A mourner afflicts himself.

² Because the fish in such a case are so numerous as not to be valuable, or because the fish at the time of the rains are not clean. Other reasons for the rule have been assigned.

³ The whip and strap, carried up to the hall, represented the carriage and horses, left in the courtyard.

⁴ For convenience ; and because the end, going into the mud, was not so honourable.

⁵ So that he could not attempt any violence.

⁶ The account was in duplicate, on the same tablet. The right was held to be the more honourable part. 'Drum' was the name of the measure.

(The giver) should with his right hand grasp the end of the bow, and keep his left under the middle of the back. The (parties, without regard to their rank as) high and low, (bow to each other) till the napkins (at their girdles) hang down (to the ground). If the host (wish to) bow (still lower), the other moves on one side to avoid the salutation. The host then takes the bow, standing on the left of the other. Putting his hand under that of the visitor, he lays hold of the middle of the back, having his face in the same direction as the other; and thus he receives (the bow). 12. He who is giving a sword should do so with the hilt on his left side¹. 13. He who is giving a spear with one hook should do so with the metal end of the shaft in front, and the sharp edge behind. 14. He who is presenting one with two hooks, or one with a single hook and two sharp points, should do so with the blunt shaft in front. 15. He who is giving a stool or a staff should (first) wipe it. 16. He who is presenting a horse or a sheep should lead it with his right hand. 17. He who is presenting a dog should lead it with his left hand. 18. He who is carrying a bird (as his present of introduction) should do so with the head to the left². 19. For the ornamental covering of a lamb or a goose, an embroidered cloth should be used. 20. He who receives a pearl or a piece of jade should do so with both his hands. 21. He who receives a bow or a sword should do so (having his hands covered) with his sleeves³. 22. He who has

¹ That the receiver may take it with his right hand.

² Compare paragraph 4. In this case the bird was carried across the body of the donor with its head on his left.

³ A different case from that in paragraph 11. It is supposed that

drunk from a cup of jade should not (go on to) shake it out¹. 23. Whenever friendly messages are about to be sent, with the present of a sword or bow, or of (fruit, flesh, and other things, wrapped in) matting of rushes, with grass mats, and in baskets, round and square, (the messenger) has these things (carried with him, when he goes) to receive his commission, and departs himself as when he will be discharging it². 24. Whenever one is charged with a mission by his ruler, after he has received from him his orders, and (heard all) he has to say, he should not remain over the night in his house. 25. When a message from the ruler comes (to a minister), the latter should go out and bow (to the bearer), in acknowledgment of the honour of it. When the messenger is about to return, (the other) must bow to him (again), and escort him outside the gate. 26. If (a minister) send a message to his ruler, he must wear his court-robcs when he communicates it to the bearer; and on his return, he must descend from the hall, to receive (the ruler's) commands.

3. 27. To acquire extensive information and remember retentively, while (at the same time) he is modest; to do earnestly what is good, and not become weary in so doing:—these are the characteristics of him whom we call the superior man. 28. A superior man does not accept everything by which another would express his joy in him, or his devotion to him³; and thus he preserves their friendly intercourse unbroken.

here the two things were presented together, and received as on a cushion.

¹ Because of the risk to a thing so valuable.

² A rehearsal of what he would have to do.

³ E. g., it is said, festive entertainments and gifts.

4. 29. A rule of propriety says, 'A superior man may carry his grandson in his arms, but not his son.' This tells us that a grandson may be the personator of his deceased grandfather (at sacrifices), but a son cannot be so of his father¹. 30. When a great officer or (other) officer sees one who is to personate the dead (on his way to the ancestral temple), he should dismount from his carriage to him. The ruler himself, when he recognises him, should do the same². The personator (at the same time) must bow forward to the cross-bar. In mounting the carriage, he must use a stool.

5. 31. One who is fasting (in preparation for a sacrifice) should neither listen to music nor condole with mourners³.

6. 32. According to the rules for the period of mourning (for a father), (a son) should not emaciate himself till the bones appear, nor let his seeing and hearing be affected (by his privations). He should not go up to, nor descend from, the hall by the steps on the east (which his father used), nor go in or out by the path right opposite to the (centre of the) gate. 33. According to the same rules, if he have a scab on his head, he should wash it; if he have a sore on his body, he should bathe it. If he be ill, he should drink spirits, and eat flesh, returning to his former

¹ The tablets of a father and son should not be in the same line of shrines in the ancestral temple; and the fact in the paragraph—hardly credible—seems to be mentioned as giving a reason for this.

² The personator had for the time the dignity of the deceased whom he represented.

³ The fasting and vigil extended to seven days, and were intended to prepare for the personating duty. What would distract the mind from this must be eschewed.

(abstinence) when he is better. If he make himself unable to perform his mourning duties, that is like being unkind and unfilial. 34. If he be fifty, he should not allow himself to be reduced (by his abstinence) very much; and, if he be sixty, not at all. At seventy, he will only wear the unhemmed dress of sackcloth, and will drink and eat flesh, and occupy (the usual apartment) inside (his house).

7. 35. Intercourse with the living (will be continued) in the future; intercourse with the dead (friend) was a thing of the past¹. 36. He who knows the living should send (a message of) condolence; and he who knew the dead (a message also of his) grief. He who knows the living, and did not know the dead, will send his condolence without (that expression of) his grief; he who knew the dead, and does not know the living, will send the (expression of) grief, but not go on to condole.

8. 37. He who is condoling with one who has mourning rites in hand, and is not able to assist him with a gift, should put no question about his expenditure. He who is enquiring after another that is ill, and is not able to send (anything to him), should

¹ This gives the reasons for the directions in the next paragraph. We condole with the living—to console them; for the dead, we have only to express our grief for our own loss. P. Zottoli's translation is:—'Vivis computatur subsequens dies; mortuo computatur praecedens dies;' and he says in a note:—'Vivorum luctus incipit quarta a morte die, et praecedente die seu tertia fit mortui in feretrum depositio; luctus igitur et depositio, die intercipiuntur; haec praecedit ille subsequetur.' This is after many critics, from *K'ang Khang-k'hang* downwards; but it does great violence to the text. I have followed the view of the *K'ien-lung* editors.

not ask what he would like. He who sees (a traveller), and is not able to lodge him, should not ask where he is stopping. 38. He who would confer something on another should not say, 'Come and take it;' he who would give something (to a smaller man), should not ask him what he would like.

9. 39. When one goes to a burying-ground, he should not get up on any of the graves. When assisting at an interment, one should (join in) holding the rope attached to the coffin¹. 40. In a house of mourning, one should not laugh. 41. In order to bow to another, one should leave his own place. 42. When one sees at a distance a coffin with the corpse in it, he should not sing. When he enters among the mourners, he should not keep his arms stuck out. When eating (with others), he should not sigh. 43. When there are mourning rites in his neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and confined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. 44. When going to a burying-ground, one should not sing, nor on the same day when he has wailed (with mourners). 45. When accompanying a funeral, one should not take a by-path. When taking part in the act of interment, one should not (try to) avoid mud or pools. When presenting himself at any mourning rite, one should have a sad countenance. When holding the rope, one should not laugh. 46. When present on an occasion of joy, one should not sigh. 47. When wearing his coat of

¹ The rope here may also be that, or one of those, attached to the low car on which the coffin was drawn to the grave. Compare paragraph 45.

mail and helmet, one's countenance should say, 'Who dares meddle with me?' 48. Hence the superior man is careful to maintain the proper expression of his countenance before others.

10. 49. Where the ruler of a state lays hold of the cross-bar, and bends forward to it, a great officer will descend from his carriage. Where a great officer lays hold of the bar and bends forward, another officer will descend. 50. The rules of ceremony do not go down to the common people¹. 51. The penal statutes do not go up to great officers². 52. Men who have suffered punishment should not (be allowed to) be by the side of the ruler³.

¹ Not that the common people are altogether freed from the rules. But their occupations are engrossing, and their means small. Much cannot be expected from them.

² It may be necessary to punish them, but they should be beyond requiring punishment. The application of it, moreover, will be modified by various considerations. But the regulation is not good.

³ To preserve the ruler from the contamination of their example, and the risk of their revenge.

PART V.

1. 1. A fighting chariot has no cross-board to assist its occupants in bowing ; in a war chariot the

Part V contains forty-eight paragraphs, which may be arranged in ten chapters.

Ch. 1. 1-10, relates to carriages, especially to war chariots, and the use of them with their banners and other things in an expedition. 2. 10, gives the rules in avenging the deaths of a father, brother, and friend. 3. 11, shows the responsibility of ministers and officers generally in maintaining the defence and the cultivation

banner is fully displayed ; in a chariot of peace it is kept folded round the pole. 2. A recorder should carry with him in his carriage his implements for writing¹; his subordinates the (recorded) words (of former covenants and other documents). 3. When there is water in front, the flag with the green bird² on it should be displayed. 4. When there is (a cloud of) dust in front, that with the screaming kites. 5. For chariots and horsemen, that with wild geese in flight³. 6. For a body of troops, that with a tiger's (skin). 7. For a beast of prey, that with a leopard's (skin). 8. On the march the (banner with the) Red Bird should be in front; that with the Dark Warrior behind; that with the Azure Dragon on the left; and that with the White Tiger on the right; that

of their country. 4. 12-14, relates to sacrifices,—the sacrificers, their robes, the victims, &c. 5. 15-21, gives rules about avoiding the mention of certain names. 6. 22-27, is on the subject of divination,—of divining, especially, about the days for contemplated undertakings. 7. 28-33, describes the yoking the horses to a ruler's chariot, his taking his seat, and other points. 8. 34, 35, is about the strap which the driver handed to parties who wished to mount the carriage. 9. 36, gives three prohibitive rules:—about a visitor's carriage; a woman riding in a carriage; and dogs and horses. 10. 37-48, relates various rules about driving out, for the ruler and people generally.

¹ The original character denotes what is now used for 'pencils;' but the ordinary pencil had not yet been invented.

² Some kind of water-bird.

³ A flock of geese maintains a regular order in flying, and was used to symbolise lines of chariots and horsemen. Khung Ying-tâ observes that chariots were used in the field before cavalry, and that the mention of horsemen here looks like the close of the Kâu dynasty. One of the earliest instances of riding on horseback is in the 30 Kwan under the year B. C. 517.

with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host):—all to excite and direct the fury (of the troops)¹. 9. There are rules for advancing and retreating; there are the various arrangements on the left and the right, each with its (proper) officer to look after it.

2. 10. With the enemy who has slain his father, one should not live under the same heaven. With the enemy who has slain his brother, one should never have his sword to seek (to deal vengeance). With the enemy who has slain his intimate friend, one should not live in the same state (without seeking to slay him).

3. 11. Many ramparts in the country round and near (a capital) are a disgrace to its high ministers and great officers². Where the wide and open country is greatly neglected and uncultivated, it is a disgrace to the officers (in charge of it).

4. 12. When taking part in a sacrifice, one should not show indifference. 13. When sacrificial robes are worn out, they should be burnt: sacrificial vessels in the same condition should be buried, as should the tortoise-shell and divining stalks, and a victim that has died. 14. All who take part with the ruler in a sacrifice must themselves remove the stands (of their offerings).

¹ 'The Red Bird' was the name of the seven constellations of the southern quarter of the Zodiac; 'the Dark Warrior' embraced those of the northern; 'the Azure Dragon,' those of the eastern; and 'the Tiger,' those of the western. These flags would show the direction of the march, and seem to suggest that all heaven was watching the progress of the expedition.

² As showing that they had not been able to keep invaders at a distance.

5. 15. When the ceremony of wailing is over¹, a son should no longer speak of his deceased father by his name. The rules do not require the avoiding of names merely similar in sound to those not to be spoken. When (a parent had) a double name, the avoiding of either term (used singly) is not required. 16. While his parents (are alive), and a son is able to serve them, he should not utter the names of his grandparents; when he can no longer serve his parents (through their death), he need not avoid the names of his grandparents. 17. Names that would not be spoken (in his own family) need not be avoided (by a great officer) before his ruler; in the great officer's, however, the names proper to be suppressed by the ruler should not be spoken. 18. In (reading) the books of poetry and history, there need be no avoiding of names, nor in writing compositions. 19. In the ancestral temple there is no such avoiding. 20. Even in his presence, a minister need not avoid the names improper to be spoken by the ruler's wife. The names to be avoided by a wife need not be unspoken outside the door of the harem. The names of parties for whom mourning is worn (only) nine months or five months are not avoided². 21. When one is crossing the boundaries (of a state), he should ask what are its prohibitory laws; when he has fairly entered it, he should ask about its customs; before entering the door (of a house), he should ask about the names to be avoided in it.

¹ After the burial. Till then they would not allow themselves to think of the departed as dead.

² As, in the first place, for uncles; and in the second, for cousins and grand-uncles.

6. 22. External undertakings should be commenced on the odd days, and internal on the even¹. 23. In all cases of divining about a day, whether by the tortoise-shell or the stalks, if it be beyond the decade, it is said, 'on such and such a distant day,' and if within the decade, 'on such and such a near day.' For matters of mourning a distant day is preferred; for festive matters a near day². 24. It is said, 'For the day we depend on thee, O great Tortoise-shell, which dost give the regular indications; we depend on you, O great Divining Stalks, which give the regular indications.' 25. Divination by the shell or the stalks should not go beyond three times. 26. The shell and the stalks should not be both used on the same subject³. 27. Divination by the shell is called p'ü; by the stalks, shih. The two were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings. Hence it is said, 'If you doubted, and have consulted the stalks, you need not (any longer) think that you will do wrong. If the day (be clearly indicated), boldly do on it (what you desire to do).'

7. 28. When the ruler's carriage is about to have the horses put to it, the driver should stand before

¹ The odd days are called 'strong,' as belonging to the category of yang; the even days 'weak,' as of the category of yin.

² 'A distant day' gave a longer period for cherishing the memory of the departed; 'a near day' was desired for festive celebrations, because at them the feeling of 'respect' was supposed to predominate.

³ To reverse by the one the indication of the other.

them, whip in hand. 29. When they are yoked, he will inspect the linch pin, and report that the carriage is ready. 30. (Coming out again), he should shake the dust from his clothes, and mount on the right side, taking hold of the second strap¹. He should (then) kneel in the carriage². 31. Holding his whip, and taking the reins separately, he will drive the horses on five paces, and then stop. 32. When the ruler comes out and approaches the carriage, the driver should take all the reins in one hand, and (with the other) hand the strap to him. The attendants should then retire out of the way. 33. They should follow quickly as the carriage drives on. When it reaches the great gate, the ruler will lay his hand on that of the driver (that he may drive gently), and, looking round, will order the warrior for the seat on the right to come into the carriage³. In passing through the gates (of a city) or village, and crossing the water-channels, the pace must be reduced to a walk.

8. 34. In all cases it is the rule for the driver to hand the strap (to the person about to mount the carriage). If the driver be of lower rank (than himself) that other receives it. If this be not the case, he should not do so⁴. 35. If the driver be of the lower rank, the other should (still) lay his own

¹ In a carriage the ruler occupied the seat on the left side; the driver avoided this by mounting on the right side. Each carriage was furnished with two straps to assist in mounting; but the use of one was confined to the chief occupant.

² But only till the ruler had taken his seat.

³ This spearman occupied the seat on the right; and took his place as they were about to pass out of the palace precincts.

⁴ That is, I suppose, he wishes the driver to let go the strap that he may take hold of it himself.

hand on his (as if to stop him). If this be not the case (and the driver will insist on handing it), the other should take hold of the strap below (the driver's hand).

9. 36. A guest's carriage does not enter the great gate; a woman does not stand up in her carriage; dogs and horses are not taken up to the hall¹.

10. 37. Hence², the ruler bows forward to his cross-board to (an old man of) yellow hair; he dismounts (and walks on foot) past the places of his high nobles (in the audience court)³. He does not gallop the horses of his carriage in the capital; and should bow forward on entering a village. 38. When called by the ruler's order, though through a man of low rank, a great officer, or (other) officer, must meet him in person. 39. A man in armour does not bow, he makes an obeisance indeed, but it is a restrained obeisance. 40. When the carriage of a deceased ruler is following at his interment, the place on the left should be vacant. When (any of his ministers on other occasions) are riding in (any of) the ruler's carriages, they do not presume to leave the seat on the left vacant, but he who occupies it should bend forward to the cross-board⁴. 41. A charioteer

¹ The carriage halted outside in testimony of the guest's respect. A man stood up in the carriage; a woman, as weaker, did not do so. For horses, see the rules in Part IV, 5. Dogs were too insignificant to be taken up.

² We do not see the connexion indicated by the 'hence.'

³ Leaving the palace, he walks past those places to his carriage. Returning, he dismounts before he comes to them.

⁴ The first sentence of this paragraph has in the original only four characters; as P. Zottoli happily renders them in Latin, 'Fausti currus vacante sinistra;' but they form a complete

driving a woman should keep his left hand advanced (with the reins in it), and his right hand behind him¹. 42. When driving the ruler of a state, (the charioteer) should have his right hand advanced, with the left kept behind and the head bent down. 43. The ruler of a state should not ride in a one-wheeled carriage². In his carriage one should not cough loudly, nor point with his hand in an irregular way. 44. Standing (in his carriage) one should look (forward only) to the distance of five revolutions of the wheels. Bending forward, he should (do so only till he) sees the tails of the horses. He should not turn his head round beyond the (line of the) naves. 45. In the (streets of the) capital one should touch the horses gently with the brush-end of the switch. He should not urge them to their speed. The dust should not fly beyond the ruts. 46. The ruler of a state should bend towards the cross-board when he meets a sacrificial victim, and dismount (in passing) the ancestral temple. A great officer or (other) officer should descend (when he comes to) the ruler's gate, and bend forward to the ruler's horses³. 47.

sentence. The left seat was that of the ruler in life, and was now left vacant for his spirit. Khung Ying-tâ calls the carriage in question, 'the Soul Carriage' (hẁăn k'ü). A ruler had five different styles of carriage, all of which might be used on occasions of state; as in the second sentence.

¹ The woman was on the driver's left, and they were thus turned from each other as much as possible.

² Common so long ago as now, but considered as beneath a ruler's dignity. So, Wang Tâo. See also the Khang-hsi dictionary under 奇 (k'î).

³ The text says that the ruler should dismount before a victim, and bow before the temple. The verbal characters have been misplaced, as is proved by a passage of the commentary on the

(A minister) riding in one of the ruler's carriages must wear his court robes. He should have the whip in the carriage with him, (but not use it). He should not presume to have the strap handed to him. In his place on the left, he should bow forward to the cross-board. 48. (An officer) walking the ruler's horses should do so in the middle of the road. If he trample on their forage, he should be punished, and also if he look at their teeth, (and go on to calculate their age).

Official Book of *K'âu*, where one part is quoted. The *K'ien-lung* editors approve of the alteration made in the version above.

SECTION II. PART I.

1. 1. When a thing is carried with both hands, it should be held on a level with the heart ; when with one hand, on a level with the girdle. 2. An article belonging to the son of Heaven should be held higher than the heart ; one belonging to a ruler of a state, on a level with it ; one belonging to a Great officer, lower than it ; and one belonging to an (inferior)

This Part I contains thirty-three paragraphs, which have been arranged in sixteen chapters.

Ch. 1. 1-5, describes the manner of carrying things belonging to superiors, and standing before them. 2. 6, relates to the not calling certain parties by their names. 3. 7, 8, to designations of themselves to be avoided or used by certain other parties. 4. 9, prescribes modesty in answering questions. 5. 10, 11, gives rules about the practice of ceremonies in another state. 6. 12, is a rule for an orphan son. 7. 13, 14, is for a son in mourning for his father, and other points. 8. 15-17, describes certain offences to be punished, and things to be avoided in the palace ; and in private. 9. 18, shows us a superior man in building, preparing for sacrifice, and cognate matters ; 10. 19-21, a great or other officer, leaving his own state to go to another, and in that other ; 11. 22, 23, officers in interviews with one another and with rulers. 12. 24-26, gives the rules for the spring hunting ; for bad years ; and for the personal ornaments of a ruler, and the music of officers. 13. 27, is about the reply of an officer to a question of his ruler ; 14. 28, about a great officer leaving his state on his own business. 15. 29, tells how parties entreat a ruler, and others, not to abandon the state. 16. 30-33, gives rules relating to the king : his appellations, designations of himself, &c.

officer should be carried lower still. 3. When one is holding an article belonging to his lord, though it may be light, he should seem unable to sustain it. In the case of a piece of silk, or a rank-symbol of jade, square or round, he should keep his left hand over it. He should not lift his feet in walking, but trail his heels like the wheels of a carriage. 4. (A minister) should stand (with his back) curved in the manner of a sounding-stone¹, and his girdle-pendants hanging down. Where his lord has his pendants hanging at his side, his should be hanging down in front; where his lord has them hanging in front, his should descend to the ground. 5. When one is holding any symbol of jade (to present it), if it be on a mat, he leaves it so exposed; if there be no mat, he covers it with (the sleeve of) his outer robe².

2. 6. The ruler of a state should not call by their names his highest ministers, nor the two noble ladies of her surname, who accompanied his wife to the harem³. A Great officer should not call in that way an officer who had been employed by his father, nor

¹ The sounding-stone which the writer had in mind could not have been so curved as it is ordinarily represented to be in pictures, or the minister must have carried himself as Scott in his 'Fortunes of Nigel,' ch. 10, describes Andrew the Scrivener.

² P. Zottoli translates this paragraph by:—'*Deferens gemmas, si eae habent sustentaculum, tunc apertam indues diploidem; si non habent sustentaculum, tunc clausam.*' The text is not easily construed; and the commentaries, very diffuse, are yet not clear.

³ When a feudal prince married, two other states, of the same surname as the bride, sent each a daughter of their ruling house to accompany her to the new harem. These are 'the noble ladies' intended here.

the niece and younger sister of his wife (members of his harem)¹. (Another) officer should not call by name the steward of his family, nor his principal concubine².

3. 7. The son of a Great officer (of the king, himself equal to) a ruler, should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the little son³.' The son of a Great officer or (other) officer (of a state) should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the inheriting son, so-and-so⁴.' They should not so presume to speak of themselves as their heir-sons do. 8. When his ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery (meeting), and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the ground of being ill, and say, 'I, so-and-so, am suffering from carrying firewood⁵.'

4. 9. When one, in attendance on a superior man, replies to a question without looking round to see (if any other be going to answer), this is contrary to rule⁶.

5. 10. A superior man⁷, in his practice of cere-

¹ The bride (what we may call the three brides in the preceding note) was accompanied by a niece and a younger sister to the harem.

² This would be the younger sister of the wife, called in the text 'the oldest concubine.'

³ So the young king styled himself during mourning.

⁴ The proper style for the orphan son of such officer was, 'I, the sorrowing son.'

⁵ Mencius on one occasion (I. ii. 2. 1) thus excused himself for not going to court. The son of a peasant or poor person might speak so; others, of higher position, adopted the style in mock humility.

⁶ The action of 3ze-lû in Analects 9, 5. 4, is referred to as an instance in point of this violation of rule.

⁷ The 'superior man' here must be an officer, probably the

monies (in another state), should not seek to change his (old) customs. His ceremonies in sacrifice, his dress during the period of mourning, and his positions in the wailing and weeping, will all be according to the fashions of his former (state). He will carefully study its rules, and carry them exactly into practice.

11. (But) if he (or his descendants) have been away from the state for three generations, and if his dignity and emoluments be (still) reckoned to him (or his representative) at the court, and his outgoings and incomings are announced to the state, and if his brothers or cousins and other members of his house be still there, he should (continue to) send back word about himself to the representative of his ancestor. (Even) after the three generations, if his dignity and emoluments be not reckoned to him in the court, and his outgoings and incomings are (no longer) announced in the state, it is only on the day of his elevation (to official rank) that he should follow the ways of his new state.

6. 12. A superior man, when left an orphan, will not change his name. Nor will he in such a case, if he suddenly become noble, frame an honorary title for his father¹.

7. 13. When occupied with the duties of mourning, and before the interment of (a parent), (a son) should study the ceremonies of mourning; and after

head of a clan or family. Does not the spirit of this chapter still appear in the unwillingness of emigrants from China to forget their country's ways, and learn those of other countries?

¹ The honorary title properly belonged to men of position, and was intended as a condensed expression of their character and deeds. A son in the position described would be in danger of styling his father from his own new standpoint.

the interment, those of sacrifice. When the mourning is over, let him resume his usual ways, and study the pieces of music. 14. When occupied with the duties of mourning, one should not speak of music. When sacrificing, one should not speak of what is inauspicious. In the ruler's court, parties should not speak of wives and daughters.

8. 15. For one to have to dust his (collection of) written tablets, or adjust them before the ruler, is a punishable offence; and so also is it to have the divining stalks turned upside down or the tortoise-shell turned on one side, before him¹. 16. One should not enter the ruler's gate, (carrying with him) a tortoise-shell or divining stalks, a stool or a staff, mats or (sun-)shades, or having his upper and lower garments both of white or in a single robe of fine or coarse hempen cloth². Nor should he do so in rush sandals, or with the skirts of his lower garment tucked in at his waist, or in the cap worn in the shorter periods of mourning. Nor, unless announcement of it has been made (and permission given), can one take in the square tablets with the written (lists of articles for a funeral), or the frayed sackcloth, or the coffin and its furniture³. 17. Public affairs should not be privately discussed.

9. 18. When a superior man, (high in rank), is about to engage in building, the ancestral temple should

¹ These things indicated a want of due preparation and care.

² All these things were, for various reasons, considered inauspicious.

³ A death had in this case occurred in the palace, and the things mentioned were all necessary to prepare for the interment; but still they could not be taken in without permission asked and granted.

have his first attention, the stables and arsenal the next, and the residences the last. In all preparations of things by (the head of) a clan, the vessels of sacrifice should have the first place; the victims supplied from his revenue, the next; and the vessels for use at meals, the last. Those who have no revenue from lands do not provide vessels for sacrifice. Those who have such revenue first prepare their sacrificial dresses. A superior man, though poor, will not sell his vessels of sacrifice; though suffering from cold, he will not wear his sacrificial robes; in building a house, he will not cut down the trees on his grave-mounds.

10. 19. A Great or other officer, leaving his state¹, should not take his vessels of sacrifice with him across the boundary. The former will leave his vessels for the time with another Great officer, and the latter his with another officer. 20. A Great or other officer, leaving his state², on crossing the boundary, should prepare a place for an altar, and wail there, looking in the direction of the state. He should wear his upper garment and lower, and his cap, all of white; remove his (ornamental) collar, wear shoes of untanned leather, have a covering of white (dog's-fur) for his cross-board, and leave his horses' manes undressed. He should not trim his nails or beard, nor make an offering at his (spare) meals. He should not say to any one that he is not chargeable with guilt, nor have any of his women approach him. After three months he will return to his usual dress. 21. When a Great or other officer has an interview with the ruler of the state (to whom he has been sent),

¹ And expecting to return.

² This is in case of exile.

if the ruler be condoling with him on the toils of his journey, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and then bow twice with his head to the ground. If the ruler meet him (outside the gate) and bow to him, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and not presume to return the bow.

11. 22. When Great or other officers are having interviews with one another, though they may not be equal in rank, if the host reverence (the greater worth of) the guest, he should first bow to him; and if the guest reverence the (greater worth of the) host, he should first bow. 23. In all cases but visits of condolence on occasion of a death, and seeing the ruler of one's state, the parties should be sure to return the bow, each of the other. When a Great officer has an interview with the ruler of (another) state, the ruler should bow in acknowledgment of the honour (of the message he brings); when an officer has an interview with a Great officer (of that state), the latter should bow to him in the same way. When two meet for the first time in their own state, (on the return of one from some mission), the other, as host, should bow in acknowledgment (of the service). A ruler does not bow to a (simple) officer; but if it be one of a different state, he should bow to his bow. A Great officer should return the bow of any one of his officers, however mean may be his rank. Males and females do (? not) bow to one another¹.

¹ The text says that they do bow to one another; but it is evident that *K'ang Khang-K'ang* understood it as saying the very opposite. *Lû Teh-ming* had seen a copy which had the character for 'not.'

12. 24. The ruler of a state, in the spring hunting, will not surround a marshy thicket, nor will Great officers try to surprise a whole herd, nor will (other) officers take young animals or eggs. 25. In bad years, when the grain of the season is not coming to maturity, the ruler at his meals will not make the (usual) offering of the lungs¹, nor will his horses be fed on grain. His special road will not be kept clean and swept², nor even at sacrifices will his musical instruments be suspended on their stands. Great officers will not eat the large grained millet; and (other) officers will not have music (even) at their drinkings. 26. Without some (sad) cause, a ruler will not let the gems (pendent from his girdle) leave his person, nor a Great officer remove his music-stand, nor an (inferior) officer his lutes.

13. 27. When an officer presents anything to the ruler of his state, and another day the ruler asks him, 'Where did you get that?' he will bow twice with his head to the ground, and afterwards reply³.

14. 28. When a Great officer wishes to go beyond the boundaries (of the state) on private business, he must ask leave, and on his return must present some offering. An (inferior) officer in similar cir-

¹ The offering here intended was to 'the father of cookery;' see the first note on p. 80. Such offering, under the K'âu dynasty, was of the lungs of the animal which formed the principal dish. It was not now offered, because it was not now on the ground, even the ruler not indulging himself in such a time of scarcity.

² The road was left uncared for that vegetables might be grown on it, available to the poor at such a time.

³ The offering must have been rare and valuable. The officer had turned aside at the time of presenting it to avoid any compliment from his ruler.

cumstances, must (also) ask leave, and when he comes back, must announce his return. If the ruler condole with them on their toils, they should bow. If he ask about their journey, they should bow, and afterwards reply.

15. 29. When the ruler of a state (is proposing to) leave it, they should (try to) stop him, saying, 'Why are you leaving the altars of the spirits of the land and grain?' (In the similar case of) a Great officer, they should say, 'Why are you leaving your ancestral temple?' In that of an (inferior) officer, they should say, 'Why are you leaving the graves (of your ancestors)?' A ruler should die for his altars; a Great officer, with the host (he commands); an inferior officer, for his charge.

16. 30. As ruling over all, under the sky, (the king) is called 'The son of Heaven¹.' As receiving at court the feudal princes, assigning (to all) their different offices, giving out (the laws and ordinances of) the government, and employing the services of the able, he styles himself, 'I, the one man².' 31. When he ascends by the eastern steps, and presides at a sacrifice, if it be personal to himself and his family³, his style is, 'I, so-and-so, the filial king;' if it be external to himself⁴, 'I, so-and-so, the inheriting king.' When he visits the feudal princes⁵, and sends to make announcement (of his

¹ Meaning, 'Heaven-sonned; constituted by Heaven its son, its firstborn.'

² An expression of humility as used by himself, 'I, who am but a man;' as used of him, 'He who is the one man.'

³ In the ancestral temple.

⁴ At the great sacrifices to Heaven and Earth.

⁵ On his tours of inspection.

presence) to the spirits (of their hills and streams), it is said, 'Here is he, so-and-so, who is king by (the grace of) Heaven.' 32. His death is announced in the words, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has fallen¹.' In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, O son of Heaven².' When announcement is made (to all the states) of the mourning for him, it is said, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has gone far on high³.' When his place is given to him in the ancestral temple, and his spirit-tablet is set up, he is styled on it, 'the god⁴.' 33. The son of Heaven, while he has not left off his mourning, calls himself, 'I, the little child.' While alive, he is so styled; and if he die (during that time), he continues to be so designated.

¹ A great landslide from a mountain is called pǎng, which I have rendered 'has fallen.' Like such a disaster was the death of the king.

² This ancient practice of calling the dead back is still preserved in China; and by the people generally. There are many references to it in subsequent Books.

³ The body and animal soul went downward, and were in the grave; the intelligent soul (called 'the soul and spirit,' 'the essential breath') went far on high. Such is the philosophical account of death; more natural is the simple style of the text.

⁴ The spirit-tablet was a rectangular piece of wood, in the case of a king, a cubit and two inches long, supposed to be a resting-place for the spirit at the religious services in the temple. Kǎng says that the deceased king was now treated as 'a heavenly spirit,'—he was now deified. P. Zottoli translates the character here—Tí—by imperator; but there was in those times no 'emperor' in China.

PART II.

1. 1. The son of Heaven has his queen, his help-mates, his women of family, and his ladies of honour. (These) constituted his wife and concubines¹.

2. 2. The son of Heaven appoints the officers of Heaven's institution², the precedence among them belonging to the six grandees:—the Grand-governor; the Grand-minister of the ancestral temple; the Grand-historiographer; the Grand-minister of prayers; the Grand-minister of justice; and the Grand-diviner. These are the guardians and superintendents of the six departments of the statutes. 3. The five (administrative) officers of the son of Heaven are:—the minister of instruction; the minister of war; the

Part II consists of twenty-one paragraphs, which are distributed in eight chapters.

Ch. 1. 1, describes the members of the royal harem. 2. 2-6, relates to the various ministers and officers appointed by the king, with their departments and duties. 3. 7-10, gives the names and titles, applied to, and used by, the chiefs of regions, provinces, and of the barbarous tribes. 4. 11-16, is about audiences, meetings, and covenants, and the designations of the princes and others in various circumstances. 5. 17, is about the demeanour of the king and others. 6. 18, 19, is about the inmates of the harems, and how they designated themselves. 7. 20, is about the practice of sons or daughters, and various officers, in designating themselves. 8. 21, is about certain things that should not be said of the king, of princes, and of superior men.

¹ See the very different translation of this paragraph by P. Zottoli in his *Cursus*, iii. p. 653. It is confessed out of place here, should belong to paragraph 18, and is otherwise incomplete.

² So described, as 'Powers that be ordained' by the will of Heaven, equally with the king, though under him these grandees are not all in the *K'au Kwan*.

minister of works; the minister of offices; and the minister of crime. These preside over the multitude in (each of) their five charges. 4. The six treasuries of the son of Heaven are under the charge of the superintendent of the land; the superintendent of the woods; the superintendent of the waters; the superintendent of the grass; the superintendent of articles of employment; and the superintendent of wares. These preside over the six departments of their charges. 5. The six manufactures of the son of Heaven are under the care of (the superintendents of) the workers in earth; the workers in metal; the workers in stone; the workers in wood; the workers in (the skins of) animals; and the workers in twigs. These preside over the six departments of stores. 6. When the five officers give in their contributions, they are said to 'present their offerings'.

3. 7. Chief among the five officers are the presidents², to whom belong the oversight of quarters (of the kingdom). In any message from them transmitted to the son of Heaven, they are styled 'ministers of the son of Heaven.' If they are of the same surname as he, he styles them 'paternal uncles;' if of a different surname, 'maternal uncles.' To the feudal princes, they designate themselves, 'the ancients of the son of Heaven.' Outside (their own states), they are styled 'duke;' in their states, 'ruler.' 8. The head prince in each

¹ Who are the five officers here? Those of paragraph 3? or the feudal dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons? Both views have their advocates. The next paragraph favours the second view.

² Such presidents were the dukes of Kâu and Shão, at the commencement of the Kâu dynasty.

of the nine provinces, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled 'pastor.' If he be of the same surname as himself, the son of Heaven calls him 'my paternal uncle;' if he be of a different surname, 'my maternal uncle.' Outside (his own state) he is called 'marquis;' in it, 'ruler.' 9. The (chiefs) among (the wild tribes of) the Í on the east, the Tí on the north, the Zung on the west, and the Man on the south, however great (their territories), are called 'counts.' In his own territories each one calls himself, 'the unworthy one;' outside them, 'the king's ancient.' 10. Any of the princelets of their various tracts¹, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled, 'Such and such a person.' Outside it he is called 'count,' and calls himself 'the solitary.'

4. 11. When the son of Heaven stands with his back to the screen with axe-head figures on it, and the princes present themselves before him with their faces to the north, this is called *k'in* (the autumnal audience). When he stands at the (usual) point (of reception) between the door and the screen, and the dukes have their faces towards the east, and the feudal princes theirs towards the west, this is called *Kháo* (the spring audience)². 12. When feudal princes see one another at a place and time not agreed on beforehand, the interview is called 'a meeting.' When they do so in some open place agreed on beforehand, it is called 'an assembly.'

¹ It is held, and I think correctly, that these princelets were the chiefs of the wild tribes.

² There were other audiences called by different names at the other two seasons.

When one prince sends a great officer to ask about another, it is called 'a message of friendly inquiry.' When there is a binding to mutual faith, it is called 'a solemn declaration.' When they use a victim, it is called 'a covenant.' 13. When a feudal prince is about to be introduced to the son of Heaven, he is announced as 'your subject so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state.' He speaks of himself to the people as 'the man of little virtue.' 14. If he be in mourning (for his father), he is styled 'the rightful eldest son, an orphan;' if he be taking part at a sacrifice in his ancestral temple, 'the filial son, the prince of such-and-such a state, the prince so-and-so.' If it be another sacrifice elsewhere, the style is, 'so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state, the distant descendant.' 15. His death is described by the character hung (disappeared). In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, sir so-and-so.' When he has been interred and (his son) is presented to the son of Heaven, the interview, (though special), is said to be 'of the same kind as the usual interviews.' The honorary title given to him is (also) said to be 'after the usual fashion.' 16. When one prince sends a message to another, the messenger speaks of himself as 'the ancient of my poor ruler.'

5. 17. The demeanour of the son of Heaven should be characterised by majesty; of the princes, by gravity; of the Great officers, by a regulated composure; of (inferior) officers, by an easy alertness; and of the common people, by simplicity and humility.

6. 18. The partner of the son of Heaven is called

‘the queen;’ of a feudal prince, ‘the helpmate;’ of a Great officer, ‘the attendant;’ of an (inferior) officer, ‘the serving woman;’ and of a common man, ‘the mate’¹. 19. A duke and (one of) the feudal princes had their helpmate, and their honourable women, (which) were their mates and concubines. The helpmate called herself, before the son of Heaven, ‘the aged servant;’ and before the prince (of another state), ‘the small and unworthy ruler.’ To her own ruler she called herself ‘the small maid.’ From the honourable women downwards, (each member of the harem) called herself ‘your handmaid.’

7. 20. To their parents, sons and daughters called themselves by their names. A Great officer of any of the states, entering the state of the son of Heaven, was called ‘the officer of such-and-such (a state),’ and styled himself ‘your subsidiary minister.’ Outside (his own state), he was called ‘sir;’ and in that state, ‘the ancient of our poor ruler.’ A messenger (to any state) called himself ‘so-and-so.’

8. 21. The son of Heaven should not be spoken of as ‘going out (of his state)’². A feudal prince should not be called by his name, while alive. (When either of these things is done), it is because the superior man³ will not show regard for wickedness. A prince who loses his territory is named, and also one who extinguishes (another state ruled by) lords of the same surname as himself.

¹ Here should come in paragraph 1.

² All the states are his. Wherever he may flee, he is still in what is his own land.

³ This ‘superior man’ would be an upright and impartial historiographer, superior to the conventions of his order.

PART III.

1. 1. According to the rules of propriety for a minister, he should not remonstrate with his ruler openly. If he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should leave (his service). In the service of his parents by a son, if he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should follow (his remonstrance) with loud crying and tears.

2. When a ruler is ill, and has to drink medicine, the minister first tastes it. The same is the rule for a son and an ailing parent. The physic of a doctor, in whose family medicine has not been practised for three generations at least, should not be taken.

2. 3. In comparing (different) men, we can only do so when their (circumstances and conditions) are of the same class.

Part III contains twenty paragraphs, which may be comprised in eleven chapters.

Ch. 1. 1, 2, contains the rules for a minister and a son in remonstrating with a ruler or parent; and also in seeing about their medicine when ill. 2. 3, gives the rule in making comparisons. 3. 4, 5, gives the rules to be observed in asking about the age and wealth of different parties from the king downwards. 4. 6-10, is about sacrifices: those of different parties, the sacrificial names of different victims, &c. 5. 11, 12, gives the terms in which the deaths of different men, and of animals, are described. 6. 13, 14, gives the names of near relatives, when they are sacrificed to, and when they are alive. 7. 15, tells how different parties should look at others. 8. 16, 17, is about executing a ruler's orders, and things to be avoided in the conduct of business. 9. 18, is about great entertainments. 10. 19, is about presents of introduction. 11. 20, contains the language used in sending daughters to different harems.

3. 4. When one asks about the years of the son of Heaven, the reply should be—'I have heard that he has begun to wear a robe so many feet long¹.' To a similar question about the ruler of a state, the reply should be—'He is able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain,' if he be grown up; and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain.' To a question about the son of a Great officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be—'He is able to drive;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to drive.' To a question about the son of an (ordinary) officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be—'He can manage the conveying of a salutation or a message;' and, if he be still young, 'He cannot yet manage such a thing.' To a question about the son of a common man, the reply, if he be grown up, should be—'He is able to carry (a bundle of) firewood;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to carry (such a bundle).' 5. When one asks about the wealth of the ruler of a state, the reply should be given by telling the extent of his territory, and the productions of its hills and lakes. To a similar question about a Great officer, it should be said, 'He has the lands allotted to him, and is supported by the labour (of his people). He needs not to borrow the vessels or dresses for his sacrificial occasions.' To the

¹ This would seem to imply that the king was still young.

same question about an (ordinary) officer, the reply should be by giving the number of his carriages; and to one about a common man, by telling the number of the animals that he keeps.

4. 6. The son of Heaven sacrifices (or presents oblations) to Heaven and Earth¹; to the (spirits presiding over the) four quarters; to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers; and offers the five sacrifices of the house,—all in the course of the year. The feudal princes present oblations, each to (the spirit presiding over) his own quarter; to (the spirits of) its hills and rivers; and offer the five sacrifices of the house,—all in the course of the year. Great officers present the oblations of the five sacrifices of the house,—all in the course of the year. (Other) officers present oblations to their ancestors². 7. There should be no presuming to resume any sacrifice which has been abolished (by proper authority)³, nor to abolish any which has been so established. A sacrifice which it is not proper to offer, and which yet is offered, is called a licentious sacrifice. A licentious sacrifice brings no blessing. 8. The son of Heaven uses an ox of one colour, pure and unmixed; a feudal prince, a fatted ox; a Great officer, an ox selected for the occasion; an (ordinary) officer, a sheep or a pig. 9. The son of an inferior

¹ There were various sacrifices to Heaven and also to Earth. The great ones were—that to Heaven at the winter solstice, and that to Earth at the summer solstice. But all the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth were confined to the king.

² The king offered all the sacrifices in this paragraph. The other parties only those here assigned to them, and the sacrifices allowed to others of inferior rank. The five sacrifices of the house will come before the reader in Book IV and elsewhere.

³ The 'proper authority' would be the statutes of each dynasty.

member of the harem cannot offer the sacrifice (to his grandfather or father); if (for some reason) he have to do so, he must report it to the honoured son, (the head of the family). 10. According to the rules for all sacrifices in the ancestral temple, the ox is called 'the creature with the large foot;' the pig, 'the hard bristles;' a sucking-pig, 'the fatling;' a sheep, 'the soft hair;' a cock, 'the loud voice;' a dog, 'the soup offering;' a pheasant, 'the wide toes;' a hare, 'the clear seer;' the stalks of dried flesh, 'the exactly cut oblations;' dried fish, 'the well-considered oblation;' fresh fish, 'the straight oblation.' Water is called 'the pure cleanser;' spirits, 'the clear cup;' millet, 'the fragrant mass;' the large-grained millet, 'the fragrant (grain);' the sacrificial millet, 'the bright grain;' paddy, 'the admirable vegetable;' scallions, 'the rich roots;' salt, 'the saline, briny substance;' jade, 'the admirable jade;' and silks, 'the exact silks.'

5. 11. The death of the son of Heaven is expressed by pǎng (has fallen); of a feudal prince, by hung (has crashed); of a Great officer, by ȝû (has ended); of an (ordinary) officer, by pû lû (is now unsalaried); and of a common man, by sze (has deceased). (The corpse) on the couch is called shih (the laid-out); when it is put into the coffin, that is called kîû (being in the long home). 12. (The death of) a winged fowl is expressed by hsiang (has fallen down); that of a quadruped, by ȝhze (is disorganised). Death from an enemy in fight is called ping (is slain by the sword).

6. 13. In sacrificing to them, a grandfather is

called 'the sovereign grandfather;' a grandmother, 'the sovereign grandmother;' a father, 'the sovereign father;' a mother, 'the sovereign mother;' a husband, 'the sovereign pattern.' 14. While (they are) alive, the names of father (fû), mother (mû), and wife (khi) are used; when they are dead, those of 'the completed one (khâo),' 'the corresponding one (pî),' and 'the honoured one (pin).' Death in old age is called 'a finished course (jû);' an early death, 'being unsalaried (pû lû).'

7. 15. The son of Heaven does not look at a person above his collar or below his girdle; the ruler of a state looks at him a little lower (than the collar); a Great officer, on a line with his heart; and an ordinary officer, not from beyond a distance of five paces. In all cases looks directed above to the face denote pride, and below the girdle grief; directed askance, they denote villainy.

8. 16. When the ruler orders (any special business) from a Great officer or (other) officer, he should assiduously discharge it; in their offices speaking (only) of the official business; in the treasury, of treasury business; in the arsenals, of arsenal business; and in the court, of court business. 17. At court there should be no speaking about dogs and horses. When the audience is over, and one looks about him, if he be not attracted by some strange thing, he must have strange thoughts in his mind. When one keeps looking about him after the business of the court is over, a superior man will pronounce him uncultivated. At court the conversation should be according to the rules of propriety;

every question should be so proposed, and every answer so returned.

9. 18. For great entertainments¹ there should be no consulting the tortoise-shell, and no great display of wealth.

10. 19. By way of presents of introduction, the son of Heaven uses spirits of black millet; feudal princes, their symbols of jade; a high minister, a lamb; a Great officer, a goose; an (ordinary) officer, a pheasant; a common man, a duck. Lads should bring their article, and withdraw. In the open country, in the army, they do not use such presents;—a tassel from a horse's breast, an archer's armband, or an arrow may serve the purpose. For such presents women use the fruits of the hovenia dulcis, or of the hazel tree, strings of dried meat, jujube dates, and chestnuts.

11. 20. In presenting a daughter for (the harem of) the son of Heaven it is said, 'This is to complete the providers of sons for you;' for that of the ruler of a state, 'This is to complete the providers of your spirits and sauces;' for that of a Great officer, 'This is to complete the number of those who sprinkle and sweep for you.'

¹ Instead of 'for great entertainments,' P. Zottoli has 'summo sacrificio;' but the *Khien-lung* editors decide in favour of the meaning which I have followed.

BOOK II. THE THAN KUNG.

SECTION I. PART I.

1. At the mourning rites for Kung-t Kung-ze, Than Kung (was there), wearing the mourning cincture for the head. Kung-ze had passed over his grandson, and appointed one of his (younger) sons as his successor (and head of the family). Than Kung said (to himself), 'How is this? I never heard of such a thing;' and he hurried to 3ze-fû Po-ze at the right of the door, and said, 'How is it that Kung-ze passed over his grandson, and made a (younger) son his successor?' Po-ze replied, 'Kung-ze perhaps has done in this, like others, according to the way of antiquity. Anciently, king Wăn passed over his eldest son Yî-khâu, and appointed king Wû; and the count of Wei passed over his grandson Tun, and made Yen, his (own) younger brother, his successor. Kung-ze perhaps did also in this according to the way of antiquity.' 3ze-yû asked Confucius (about the matter), and he said, 'Nay, (the rule is to) appoint the grandson¹.'

On the name and divisions of this Book, see the Introduction, pp. 17, 18.

¹ Important as showing the rule of succession to position and property. We must suppose that the younger son, who had been made the head of the family, was by a different mother, and one whose position was inferior to that of the son, the proper heir who was dead. Of course the succession should have descended

2. In serving his father, (a son) should conceal (his faults), and not openly or strongly remonstrate with him about them; should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and then complete the mourning for him for three years. In serving his ruler, (a minister) should remonstrate with him openly and strongly (about his faults), and make no concealment (of them); should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, but according to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and should then wear mourning for him according to rule for three years. In serving his master, (a learner) should have nothing to do with openly reproving him or with concealing (his faults); should in every possible way wait upon and serve him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and mourn for him in heart for three years¹.

3. *K'î Wû-ze* had built a house, at the bottom of the western steps of which was the grave of the *Tû* family. (The head of that) asked leave to bury (some member of his house) in it, and leave was granted to him to do so. (Accordingly) he entered the house (with the coffin), but did not dare to wail (in the usual fashion). *Wû-ze* said to him, 'To bury in the same grave was not the way of antiquity. It was begun by the duke of *K'âu*, and has not been

in the line of the rightful heir. *Po-ze* evaded the point of *Than Kung's* question; but Confucius did not hesitate to speak out the truth. On other matters which the paragraph might suggest we need not enter.

¹ On differences in the services rendered to a parent, a ruler, and a master or instructor.

changed since. I have granted you the great thing, and why should I not grant the less?' (With this) he ordered him to wail¹.

4. When 3ze-shang's mother died, and he did not perform any mourning rites for her, the disciples of (his father) 3ze-sze asked him, saying, 'Did your predecessor, the superior man, observe mourning for his divorced mother?' 'Yes,' was the reply. (And the disciples went on), 'Why do you not make Pâi also observe the mourning rites (for his mother)?' 3ze-sze said, 'My progenitor, a superior man, never failed in pursuing the right path. When a generous course was possible, he took it and behaved generously; and when it was proper to restrain his generosity, he restrained it. But how can I attain to that? While she was my wife, she was Pâi's mother; but when she ceased to be my wife, she was no longer his mother.' It was in this way that the Khung family came not to observe mourning for a divorced mother; the practice began from 3ze-sze².

5. Confucius said, 'When (the mourner) bows to (the visitor), and then lays his forehead to the ground,

¹ This Wû-ze was a great-grandson of Kî Yû, the third son (by an inferior wife) of duke Kwang of Lû (B.C. 693-662), and the ancestor of the Kî-sun, one of the three famous families of Lû. It would appear that he had appropriated to himself the burying-ground of the Tû family.

² 3ze-shang, by name, Pâi, was the son of 3ze-sze, and great-grandson of Confucius. What is related here is important as bearing on the question whether Confucius divorced his wife or not. If I am correct in translating the original text by 'your predecessor, the superior man,' in the singular and not in the plural, and supposing that it refers to Confucius, the paragraph has been erroneously supposed to favour the view that he did divorce his wife.

this shows the predominance of courtesy. When he lays his forehead to the ground, and then bows (to his visitor), this shows the extreme degree of his sorrow. In the three years' mourning, I follow the extreme (demonstration)¹.

6. When Confucius had succeeded in burying (his mother) in the same grave (with his father) at Fang, he said, 'I have heard that the ancients made graves (only), and raised no mound over them. But I am a man, who will be (travelling) east, west, south, and north. I cannot do without something by which I can remember (the place).' On this, he (resolved to) raise a mound (over the grave) four feet high. He then first returned, leaving the disciples behind. A great rain came on; and when they rejoined him, he asked them what had made them so late. 'The earth slipped,' they said, 'from the grave at Fang.' They told him this thrice without his giving them any answer. He then wept freely, and said, 'I have heard that the ancients did not need to repair their graves.'

7. Confucius was wailing for 3ze-lû in his courtyard. When any came to condole with him, he bowed to them. When the wailing was over, he made the messenger come in, and asked him all about (3ze-lû's death). 'They have made him into pickle,' said the

¹ In the former case the mourner first thought of his visitor; in the latter, of his dead and his own loss. The bow was made with the hands clasped, and held very low, the head being bowed down to them. They were then opened, and placed forward on the ground, on each side of the body, while the head was stretched forward between them, and the forehead made to touch the ground. In the second case the process was reversed.

messenger; and forthwith Confucius ordered the pickle (in the house) to be thrown away¹.

8. 3ǎng-ze said, 'When the grass is old² on the grave of a friend, we no (longer) wail for him.'

9. 3ze-sze said, 'On the third day of mourning, when the body is put into the coffin, (a son) should exercise sincerity and good faith in regard to everything that is placed with it, so that there shall be no occasion for repentance³. In the third month when the body is interred, he should do the same in regard to everything that is placed with the coffin in the grave, and for the same reason. Three years are considered as the extreme limit of mourning; but though (his parents) are out of sight, a son does not forget them. Hence a superior man will have a life-long grief, but not one morning's trouble (from without); and thus on the anniversary of a parent's death, he does not listen to music.'

10. Confucius, being quite young when he was left fatherless, did not know (his father's) grave. (Afterwards) he had (his mother's) body confined in the street of Wû-fû. Those who saw it all thought that it was to be interred there, so carefully was (everything done), but it was (only) the coffining. By inquiring of the mother of Man-fû of 3âu, he succeeded

¹ 3ze-lû had died in peculiar circumstances in the state of Wei, through his hasty boldness, in B.C. 480. It was according to rule that the Master should wail for him. The order about the pickled meat was natural in the circumstances.

² The characters in the text imply that a year had passed since the friend's death.

³ The graveclothes and coverlet. The things placed in the grave with the coffin were many, and will by-and-by come before the reader at length.

in burying it in the same grave (with his father) at Fang¹.

11. When there are mourning rites in the neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice². When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes². For a mourning cap the ends of the ties should not hang down.

12. (In the time of Shun) of Yü they used earthenware coffins³; under the sovereigns of Hsiâ, they surrounded these with an enclosure of bricks. The people of Yin used wooden coffins, the outer and inner. They of K'âu added the surrounding curtains and the feathery ornaments. The people of K'âu buried those who died between 16 and 19 in the coffins of Yin; those who died between 12 and 15 or between 8 and 11 in the brick enclosures of Hsiâ; and those who died (still younger), for whom no mourning is worn, in the earthenware enclosures of the time of the lord of Yü.

13. Under the sovereigns of Hsiâ they preferred what was black. On great occasions (of mourning), for preparing the body and putting it into the coffin, they used the dusk; for the business of war, they used black horses in their chariots; and the victims which they used were black. Under the Yin dynasty they preferred what was white. On occa-

¹ This paragraph is generally discredited. The *K'ien-lung* editors say it is not to be relied on.

² These two rules are in Book I, i. Pt. iv, 43, page 89.

³ In a still earlier time, according to the third Appendix of the *Yi* (vol. xvi, p. 385), they merely covered the body on the ground with faggots.

sions of mourning, for coffining the body, they used the midday; for the business of war they used white horses; and their victims were white. Under the *Kâu* dynasty they preferred what was red. On occasions of mourning, they coffined the body at sunrise; for the business of war they used red horses, with black manes and tails; and their victims were red.

14. When the mother of duke Mû of Lû¹ died, he sent to ask ǰǎng-ze² what (ceremonies) he should observe. ǰǎng-ze said, 'I have heard from my father that the sorrow declared in the weeping and wailing, the feelings expressed in the robe of sackcloth with even or with frayed edges, and the food of rice made thick or in congee, extend from the son of Heaven to all. But the tent-like covering (for the coffin) is of (linen) cloth in Wei, and of silk in Lû.'

15. Duke Hsien of ǰin, intending to put to death his heir-son Shǎn-shǎng, another son, *K'ung-r*, said to the latter, 'Why should you not tell what is in your mind to the duke?' The heir-son said, 'I cannot do so. The ruler is happy with the lady *K'î* of Lî. I should (only) wound his heart.' 'Then,' continued the other, 'Why not go away?' The heir-son replied, 'I cannot do so. The ruler says that I wish to murder him. Is there any state where the (sacredness) of a father is not recognised? Where should I go to obviate this charge?' (At the same time) he sent a man to take leave (for him) of Hû

¹ Duke Mû was marquis of Lû from B.C. 409 to 376.

² This was not the disciple of Confucius, but his son, also named Shǎn like him; but the characters for the names are different.

Tû, with the message, 'I was wrong in not thinking (more) of your words, my old friend, and that neglect is occasioning my death. Though I do not presume to grudge dying, yet our ruler is old, and his (favourite) son is (quite) young. Many difficulties are threatening the state, and you, old Sir, do not come forth (from your retirement), and consult for (the good of) our ruler. If you will come forth and do this, I will die (with the feeling that I) have received a (great) favour from you.' He (then) bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, after which he died (by his own hand). On this account he became (known in history as) 'the Reverential Heir-son¹.'

16. There was a man of Lû, who, after performing in the morning the ceremony which introduced the 25th month of his mourning, began to sing in the evening. 3ze-lû laughed at him, (but) the Master said, 'Yû, will you never have done with your finding fault with people? The mourning for three years is indeed long.' When 3ze-lû went out, the Master said, 'Would he still have had to wait long? In another month (he might have sung, and) it would have been well.'

17. Duke Kwang of Lû fought a battle with the men of Sung at Shăng-*khiû*. Hsien Păn-fû was driving, and Pû Kwo was spearman on the right. The horses got frightened, and the carriage was broken, so that the duke fell down². They handed the strap

¹ The marquis of Jin, who is known to us as duke Hsien, ruled from B.C. 676 to 651. Infatuated by his love for a barbarian captive from among the Lî, he behaved recklessly and unnaturally to his children already grown up. One very tragical event is the subject of this paragraph.

² The text would seem to say here that the army of the duke

of a relief chariot (that drove up) to him, when he said, 'I did not consult the tortoise-shell (about the movement).' Hsien Pân-fû said, 'On no other occasion did such a disaster occur; that it has occurred to-day is owing to my want of courage.' Forthwith he died (in the fight). When the groom was bathing the horses, a random arrow was found (in one of them), sticking in the flesh under the flank; and (on learning this), the duke said, 'It was not his fault;' and he conferred on him an honorary name. The practice of giving such names to (ordinary) officers began from this.

18. Ǵǻng-ǵze was lying in his chamber very ill. Yo-kǻng Ǵze-khun was sitting by the side of the couch; Ǵǻng Yüan and Ǵǻng Shǻn were sitting at (their father's) feet; and there was a lad sitting in a corner holding a torch, who said, 'How beautifully coloured and bright! Is it not the mat of a Great officer?' Ǵze-khun (tried to) stop him, but Ǵǻng-ǵze had heard him, and in a tone of alarm called him, when he repeated what he had said. 'Yes,' said Ǵǻng-ǵze, 'it was the gift of Kí-sun, and I have not been able to change it. Get up, Yüan, and change the mat.' Ǵǻng Yüan said, 'Your illness is extreme. It cannot now be changed. If you happily survive till the morning, I will ask your leave and reverently change it.' Ǵǻng-ǵze said, 'Your love of me is not equal to his. A superior man loves another on grounds of virtue; a little man's love of another is seen in his indulgence of him. What do I seek for?

was defeated; but the victory was with the duke. See the Ǵo Kwan, under B.C. 684, and there was a different reading, to which Lî Teh-ming refers on the passage, that leaves us free to translate as I have done.

I want for nothing but to die in the correct way.' They then raised him up, and changed the mat. When he was replaced on the new one, before he could compose himself, he expired.

19. When (a father) has just died, (the son) should appear quite overcome, and as if he were at his wits' end; when the corpse has been put into the coffin, he should cast quick and sorrowful glances around, as if he were seeking for something and could not find it; when the interment has taken place, he should look alarmed and restless, as if he were looking for some one who does not arrive; at the end of the first year's mourning, he should look sad and disappointed; and at the end of the second year's, he should have a vague and unreliable look.

20. The practice in *K'ü-lü* of calling the (spirits of the dead¹) back with arrows took its rise from the battle of Shǎng-hsing². That in *Lü* of the women making their visits of condolence (simply) with a band of sackcloth round their hair took its rise from the defeat at *Hû-thâi*³.

21. At the mourning for her mother-in-law, the Master instructed (his niece), the wife of Nan-kung Tháo⁴, about the way in which she should tie up her hair with sackcloth, saying, 'Do not make it very high, nor very broad. Have the hair-pin of hazel-wood, and the hair-knots (hanging down) eight inches.'

22. Mǎng Hsien-ze, after the service which ended

¹ See p. 108, par. 32; p. 112, par. 15; and often, farther on.

² In B. c. 638. See the 30 *Kwan* of that year.

³ See in the 30 *Kwan*, under B. c. 569.

⁴ This must have been the Nan Yung of the *Analects*, V, 1, 2.

the mourning rites, had his instruments of music hung on their stands, but did not use them; and when he might have approached the inmates of his harem, he did not enter it. The Master said, 'Hsien-ze is a degree above other men¹.'

23. Confucius, after the service at the close of the one year's mourning, in five days more (began to) handle his lute, but brought no perfect sounds from it; in ten days he played on the organ and sang to it².

24. Yü-ze, it appears, after the service of the same period of mourning, wore shoes of (white) silk, and had ribbons of (white) silk for his cap-strings³.

¹ The sacrificial service on the final putting off of the mourning dress, and to which reference is here made, was called *than* (禫). It will come several times before us hereafter. It is celebrated at the end of the 'three years' mourning' for a parent; that is, at the end of twenty-seven months from the death: see the Introduction, p. 49. Wang Sû of the Wei dynasty contended that the mourning was put off at the end of twenty-five months, and the editors of the Khang-hsi dictionary rather approve of his decision: see their note under the character *than*. I do not think the controversy as to the exact time when the mourning ceased can be entirely cleared up. Confucius praised Hsien-ze, because he could not forget his grief, when the outward sign of it was put off.

² The sacrificial service here is called by a different name from *than*; it is *hsiang* (祥); and in mourning for parents there was 'the small *hsiang*,' at the end of the first year, and 'the great *hsiang*,' at the end of the second. The character here probably denotes the mourning for one year, which is not continued beyond that time. Music was not used during any of the period of mourning; and it is doing violence to the text to take *hsiang* here as equivalent to *than*.

³ In condemnation of Yü-ze (see Analects, I, 2), as quick to forget his grief.

25. There are three deaths on which no condolence should be offered:—from cowardice; from being crushed (through heedlessness); and from drowning¹.

26. When 3ze-lû might have ended his mourning for his eldest sister, he still did not do so. Confucius said to him, 'Why do you not leave off your mourning?' He replied, 'I have but few brothers, and I cannot bear to do so.' Confucius said, 'When the ancient kings framed their rules, (they might have said that) they could not bear (to cease mourning) even for (ordinary) men on the roads.' When 3ze-lû heard this, he forthwith left off his mourning.

27. Thái-kung was invested with his state, (and had his capital) in Ying-~~k~~iû; but for five generations (his descendants, the marquises of K'hi) were all taken back and buried in Kâu. A superior man has said, 'For music, we use that of him from whom we sprang; in ceremonies, we do not forget him to whom we trace our root.' The ancients had a saying, that a fox, when dying, adjusts its head in the direction of the mound (where it was whelped); manifesting thereby (how it shares in the feeling of) humanity.

28. When the mother of Po-yü died, he kept on wailing for her after the year. Confucius heard him, and said, 'Who is it that is thus wailing?' The disciples said, 'It is Li.' The Master said, 'Ah! (such a demonstration) is excessive.' When Po-yü heard it, he forthwith gave up wailing².

¹ The third death here must be supplemented, as I have done the second.

² Compare paragraph 4, and the note on it. Li, designated Po-yü, was the son of Confucius, and it has been supposed that his mother had been divorced, so that his protracted wailing for her gave

29. Shun was buried in the wilderness of 3kang-wû, and it would thus appear that the three ladies of his harem were not buried in the same grave with him¹. Kí Wû-ze said, 'Burying (husband and wife) in the same grave appears to have originated with the duke of K'âu.'

PART II.

1. At the mourning rites for 3ǎng-ze, his body was washed in the cook-room².

2. During the mourning for nine months³ one should suspend his (musical) studies. Some one has said, 'It is permissible during that time to croon over the words (of the pieces).'

3. When 3ze-kang was ill, he called (his son), Shǎn-hsiang, and addressed him, saying, 'We speak of the end of a superior man, and of the death of

occasion to the rebuke of his father. But while his father was alive, a son did not wail for his mother beyond the year. The passage does not prove that Confucius had divorced his wife, but the contrary; though he might have shown more sympathy with his son's sorrow.

¹ From the first part of the Shû King we know that Shun married the two daughters of Yáo. The mention of 'three' wives here has greatly perplexed the commentators. Where 3hang-wû was is also much disputed.

² The proper place for the operation was the principal chamber. There is only conjecture to account for the different place in the case of 3ǎng-ze.

³ In relationships of the third degree: as by a man for a married aunt or sister, a brother's wife, a first cousin, &c.; by a wife, for her husband's grand-parents, uncles, &c.; by a married woman, for her uncle and uncle's wife, a spinster aunt, brothers, sisters, &c. See Appendix at the end of this Book.

a small man. I am to-day, perhaps, drawing near to my end (as a superior man).'

4. ǰǰǰǰ said, 'May not what remains in the cupboard suffice to set down (as the offerings) by (the corpse of) one who has just died?'

5. ǰǰǰǰ said, 'Not to have places (for wailing) in cases of the five months' mourning¹ is a rule which sprang from the ways in small lanes.' When ǰǰǰǰ wailed for his sister-in-law, he made such places, and his wife took the lead in the stamping. When Shǎn-hsiang wailed for Yen-sze, he also did the same.

6. Anciently, (all) caps were (made) with the seams going up and down them; now the (mourning cap) is made with the seams going round. Hence to have the mourning cap different from that worn on felicitous occasions is not the way of antiquity².

7. ǰǰǰǰ said to ǰǰǰǰ, '*Khi*, when I was engaged in the mourning for my parents, no water or other liquid entered my mouth for seven days.' ǰǰǰǰ said, 'With regard to the rules of ceremony framed by the ancient kings, those who would go beyond them should stoop down to them, and those who do not reach them should stand on tip-toe to do so. Hence, when a superior man is engaged in mourning for his parents, no water or other liquid

¹ In relationships of the fourth degree: as by a man for his grand-uncle and his wife, a spinster grand-aunt, a second cousin, &c.; by a wife for her husband's aunt, brother or sister, &c.; by a married woman, for her spinster aunt, married sister, &c. See Appendix.

² This paragraph does not seem to contain any lessons of censure or approval, but simply to relate a fact.

enters his mouth for three days, and with the aid of his staff he is still able to rise.'

8. 3ǎng-ze said, 'If, in cases coming under the five months' mourning, none be worn when the death is not heard of till after the lapse of that time, then when brethren are far apart there would be no wearing of mourning for them at all; and would this be right?'

9. On the mourning rites for Po-káo, before the messenger from Confucius could arrive, Zan-ze had taken it on him, as his substitute, to present a parcel of silks and a team of four horses. Confucius said, 'Strange! He has only made me fail in showing my sincerity in the case of Po-káo¹.'

10. Po-káo died in Wei, and news of the event was sent to Confucius. He said, 'Where shall I wail for him? For brethren, I wail in the ancestral temple; for a friend of my father, outside the gate of the temple; for a teacher, in my chamber; for a friend, outside the door of the chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, (some distance off). (To wail) in the open country would in this case be too slight (an expression of grief), and to do so in the bed-chamber would be too great a one. But it was by 3hze that he was introduced to me. I will wail for him in 3hze's.' Accordingly he ordered 3ze-kung to act as presiding mourner on the occa-

¹ We know almost nothing of the Po-káo (the eldest son, Káo) here. From the next paragraph it does not appear that his intimacy with Confucius had been great. Zan-ze had taken too much on himself. Perhaps the gift was too great, and sympathy cannot well be expressed by proxy. The parcel of silks contained five pieces.

sion, saying to him, 'Bow to those who come because you have a wailing in your house, but do not bow to those who come (simply) because they knew Po-káo.'

11. ǰǎng-ǰze said, 'When one during his mourning rites falls ill, and has to eat meat and drink spirits, there must be added the strengthening flavours from vegetables and trees;' meaning thereby ginger and cinnamon.

12. When ǰze-hsiâ was mourning for his son, he lost his eyesight. ǰǎng-ǰze went to condole with him, and said, 'I have heard that when a friend loses his eyesight, we should wail for him.' Thereupon he wailed, and ǰze-hsiâ also wailed, and said, 'O Heaven, and I have no guilt!' ǰǎng-ǰze was angry, and said, 'Shang, how can you say that you have no guilt?'

'I and you served the Master between the *Kû* and the *Sze*¹; and (after his death) you retired, and grew old in the neighbourhood of the Western Ho, where you made the people compare you with the Master. This was one offence.

'When you mourned for your parents, you did so in such a way that the people heard nothing of it. This was a second offence.

'When you mourned for your son, you did it in such a way that you have lost your eyesight. This is a third offence. And how do you say that you have no guilt?'

¹ These were two streams of *Lû*, near which was the home of Confucius. I thought of this passage when I crossed at least one of them on my way to *K'ü-fû*, 'the city of Confucius,' about twelve years ago.

3ze-hsiâ threw down his staff, and bowed, saying, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. It is a long time since I left the herd, and lived apart here.'

13. When a man stops during the daytime in his inner (chamber), it is allowable to come and ask about his illness. When he stops outside during the night, it is allowable to come and condole with him. Hence a superior man, except for some great cause¹, does not pass the night outside (his chamber); and unless he is carrying out a fast or is ill, he does not day and night stop inside.

14. When Kão 3ze-kão was engaged with the mourning for his parents, his tears flowed (silently) like blood for three years, and he never (laughed) so as to show his teeth. Superior men considered that he did a difficult thing.

15. It is better not to wear mourning at all than not to have it of the proper materials and fashion. When wearing the sackcloth with the edges even (for a mother), one should not sit unevenly or to one side, nor should he do any toilsome labour, (even) in the nine months' mourning².

16. When Confucius went to Wei, he found the mourning rites going on for a man with whom he had formerly lodged. Entering the house, he wailed for him bitterly; and when he came out, he told 3ze-kung to take out the outside horses of his carriage, and present them as his gift. 3ze-kung said, 'At the mourning for any of your disciples, you have

¹ 'A great cause:'—such as danger from enemies, or death and the consequent mourning, which, especially in the case of a father's death, required the son thus to 'afflict himself.'

² The whole of this paragraph seems overstrained and trivial.

never taken out those horses (for such a purpose); is it not excessive to do so for a man with whom you (merely) lodged?' The Master said, 'I entered a little ago, and wailed for him; and I found (the mourner) so dissolved in grief that my tears flowed (with his). I should hate it, if those tears were not (properly) followed. Do it, my child¹.'

17. When Confucius was in Wei, there was (a son) following his (father's) coffin to the grave. After Confucius had looked at him, he said, 'How admirably did he manage this mourning rite! He is fit to be a pattern. Remember it, my little children.' 3ze-kung said, 'What did you, Master, see in him so admirable?' 'He went,' was the reply, 'as if he were full of eager affection. He came back (looking) as if he were in doubt.' 'Would it not have been better, if he had come back hastily, to present the offering of repose?' The Master said, 'Remember it, my children. I have not been able to attain to it.'

18. At the mourning rites for Yen Yüan, some of the flesh of the sacrifice at the end of (? two) years was sent to Confucius, who went out and received it. On re-entering he played on his lute, and afterwards ate it².

19. Confucius was standing (once) with his dis-

¹ We are willing to believe this paragraph, because it shows how the depths of Confucius' sympathy could be stirred in him. He was not in general easily moved.

² This paragraph has occasioned a good deal of discussion. The text does not make it clear whether the sacrifice was that at the end of one, or that at the end of two years. Why did Confucius play on his lute? and was he right in doing so?

ciples, having his hands joined across his breast, and the right hand uppermost. They also all placed their right hands uppermost. He said to them, 'You do so from your wish to imitate me, but I place my hands so, because I am mourning for an elder sister.' On this they all placed their left hands uppermost (according to the usual fashion).

20. Confucius rose early (one day), and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing—

'The great mountain must crumble ;
The strong beam must break ;
The wise man must wither away like a plant.'

Having thus sung, he entered and sat down opposite the door. 3ze-kung had heard him, and said, 'If the great mountain crumble, to what shall I look up? If the strong beam break, (on what shall I lean)¹? If the wise man wither like a plant, whom shall I imitate? The Master, I am afraid, is going to be ill.' He then hastened into the house. The Master said, '3hze, what makes you so late? Under the sovereigns of Hsiâ, the body was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east, so that it was where the deceased used to go up (as master of the house). The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between the two pillars, so that the steps for the host were on one side of the corpse, and those for

¹ The original of this supplement has dropt out of the text. It is found in the 'Narratives of the School ;' and in a Corean edition of the LĪ KĪ.

the guest on the other. The people of K'âu perform it at the top of the western steps, treating the deceased as if he were a guest. I am a man (descended from the house) of Yin¹, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with the offerings to the dead by my side between the two pillars. Intelligent kings do not arise; and what one under heaven is able to take me as his Master? I apprehend I am about to die.' With this he took to his bed, was ill for seven days, and died.

21. At the mourning rites for Confucius, the disciples were in perplexity as to what dress they should wear. 3ze-kung said, 'Formerly, when the Master was mourning for Yen Yüan, he acted in other respects as if he were mourning for a son, but wore no mourning dress. He did the same in the case of 3ze-lû. Let us mourn for the Master, as if we were mourning for a father, but wear no mourning dress².'

22. At the mourning for Confucius, Kung-hsi K'ih made the ornaments of commemoration. As the adornments of the coffin, there were the wall-like curtains, the fan-like screens, and the cords at its sides, after the manner of K'âu. There were the flags with their toothed edges, after the manner of Yin; and there were the flag-staffs bound with white silk, and

¹ It is well known that the Khung family was a branch of the ducal house of Sung, the lords of which were the representatives of the royal house of Shang. The Khungs were obliged to flee from Sung, and take refuge in Lû in the time of the great-grandfather of Confucius.

² It is doubtful whether this advice was entirely followed as regards the matter of the dress.

long streamers pendent from them, after the manner of Hsiâ¹.

23. At the mourning for 3ze-kang, Kung-ming Î made the ornaments of commemoration. There was a tent-like pall, made of plain silk of a carnation colour, with clusters of ants at the four corners, (as if he had been) an officer of Yin².

24. 3ze-hsiâ asked Confucius, saying, 'How should (a son) conduct himself with reference to the man who has killed his father or mother?' The Master said, 'He should sleep on straw, with his shield for a pillow; he should not take office; he must be determined not to live with the slayer under the same heaven. If he meet with him in the market-place or the court, he should not have to go back for his weapon, but (instantly) fight with him.'

'Allow me to ask,' said (the other), 'how one should do with reference to the man who has slain his brother?' 'He may take office,' was the reply, 'but not in the same state with the slayer; if he be sent on a mission by his ruler's orders, though he may then meet with the man, he should not fight with him.'

'And how should one do,' continued 3ze-hsiâ, 'in the case of a man who has slain one of his paternal cousins?' Confucius said, 'He should not take the lead (in the avenging). If he whom it chiefly concerns is able to do that, he should support him from behind, with his weapon in his hand.'

¹ See the full description of a coffin and hearse with all its ornaments in Book XIX.

² In honour of the Master, though 3ze-kang himself could not claim to be descended from the kings of Yin.

25. At the mourning rites for Confucius, his disciples all wore their head-bands of sackcloth, when they went out. For one of their own number, they wore them in the house (when condoling), but not when they went out.

26. Keeping (the ground about) their graves clear of grass was not a practice of antiquity¹.

27. 3ze-lû said, 'I heard the Master say that in the rites of mourning, exceeding grief with deficient rites is better than little demonstration of grief with superabounding rites; and that in those of sacrifice, exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence.'

28. 3äng-ze having gone on a visit of condolence to Fû-hsiâ, the chief mourner had already presented the sacrifice of departure, and removed the offerings. He caused the bier, however, to be pushed back to its former place, and made the women come down (again), after which (the visitor) went through his ceremony. The disciples who accompanied 3äng-ze asked him if this proceeding were according to rule, and he said, 'The sacrifice at starting is an unimportant matter. And why might he not bring (the bier) back, and let it rest (for a while)?'

The disciples further asked the same question of 3ze-yû, who said, 'The rice and precious shell are put into the mouth of the corpse under the window (of the western chamber); the slighter dressing is

¹ Some would interpret this sentence as if it were—'changing the grave' (易 and not 易); but the *K'ien-lung* editors say that this practice, originating in geomancy, arose in the time of 3in, and was unknown during the Han dynasty.

done inside the door, and the more complete one at (the top of) the eastern steps; the coffining takes place at the guests' place; the sacrifice at starting in the courtyard; and the interment at the grave. The proceedings go on in this way to what is more remote, and hence in the details of mourning there is a constant advance and no receding.' When Ǻng-ze heard of this reply, he said, 'This is a much better account than I gave of the going forth to offer the sacrifice of departure.'

29. Ǻng-ze went on a visit of condolence, wearing his fur robe over the silk one, while Ǻe-yû went, wearing the silk one over his fur. Ǻng-ze, pointing to him, and calling the attention of others, said, 'That man has the reputation of being well versed in ceremonies, how is it that he comes to condole with his silk robe displayed over his fur one?' (By-and-by), when the chief mourner had finished the slighter dressing of the corpse, he bared his breast and tied up his hair with sackcloth, on which Ǻe-yû hastened out, and (soon) came back, wearing his fur robe over the silk, and with a girdle of sackcloth. Ǻng-ze on this said, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. That man was right.'

30. When Ǻe-hsiâ was introduced (to the Master) after he had put off the mourning (for his parents), a lute was given to him. He tried to tune it, but could hardly do so; he touched it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, 'I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I dare not go beyond them?' When a lute was given to Ǻe-kang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily

did so; he touched it, and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, 'The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I do not dare not to come up to them.'

31. At the mourning rites for Hui-ze, who had been minister of Crime, Ze-yü (went to condole), wearing for him a robe of sackcloth, and a headband made of the product of the male plant. Wän-ze (the brother of Hui-ze), wishing to decline the honour, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear this mourning; I venture to decline the honour.' Ze-yü said, 'It is in rule;' on which Wän-ze returned and continued his wailing. Ze-yü then hastened and took his place among the officers (of the family); but Wän-ze also declined this honour, and said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear for him this mourning, and to come and take part in the mourning rites; I venture to decline the honour.' Ze-yü said, 'I beg firmly to request you to allow me (to remain here).'

Wän-ze then returned, and supporting the rightful son to take his position with his face to the south, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now you further condescend to wear this mourning for him, and to come and take part in the rites; dare Hû but return to his (proper) place?' Ze-yü on this hastened to take his position among the guests¹.

¹ The object of Ze-yü in all the movements detailed here is supposed to have been to correct some irregularity in the pro-

32. At the mourning rites for the general Wăn-ze, when the first year's mourning was at an end, there came a man from Yüeh¹ on a visit of condolence. The chief mourner, wearing the long robe (assumed on the completion of the first year's mourning), and the cap worn before that, wailed for him in the ancestral temple, with the tears running from his eyes and the rheum from his nose. 3ze-yü saw it, and said, 'The son of the general Wăn is not far from being (a master of ceremonies). In his observances at this time, for which there is no special rule, his proceeding is correct.'

33. The giving of the name in childhood², of the designation at the capping, of the title of elder uncle or younger uncle at fifty, and of the honorary title after death, was the practice of the K'áu dynasty.

The wearing of the sackcloth head-bands and girdles, to express the real (feeling of the heart); the digging a hole in the middle of the apartment (over which) to wash (the corpse); taking down the (tiles of the) furnace, and placing them at the feet (of it)³; and at the interment pulling down (part of the wall on the west of the door of) the ancestral temple, so as to pass by the upper side (of the altar to the spirit)

ceedings on the occasion. K'äng Hsüan thinks that Wăn-ze was supporting a grandson, instead of Hû, his deceased brother's rightful son, to be the principal mourner, and consequently to succeed Hui-ze as his representative and successor. Hui-ze and Wăn-ze (called Mei-mâu) were of the state of Wei.

¹ A distant state, south of Wû, on the seaboard.

² Three months after birth.

³ To show the deceased had no more occasion for food, and to keep the feet straight, so that the shoes might be put on at the dressing of the corpse.

of the way, and issue by the great gate ;—these were the practices of the Yin dynasty, and the learners (in the school of Confucius) followed them.

34. When the mother of 3ze-liû died, (his younger brother) 3ze-shih asked for the means (to provide what was necessary for the mourning rites). 3ze-liû said, 'How shall we get them?' 'Let us sell (the concubines), the mothers of our half-brothers,' said the other. 'How can we sell the mothers of other men to bury our mother?' was the reply; 'that cannot be done.'

After the burial, 3ze-shih wished to take what remained of the money and other things contributed towards their expenses, to provide sacrificial vessels; but 3ze-liû said, 'Neither can that be done. I have heard that a superior man will not enrich his family by means of his mourning. Let us distribute it among the poor of our brethren.'

35. A superior man said, 'He who has given counsel to another about his army should die with it when it is defeated. He who has given counsel about the country or its capital should perish with it when it comes into peril.'

36. Kung-shû Wăn-ze ascended the mound of Hsiâ, with Kû Po-yü following him. Wăn-ze said, 'How pleasant is this mound! I should like to be buried here when I die.' Kû Po-yü said, 'You may find pleasure in such a thought, but allow me (to go home) before (you say any more about it)¹.'

37. There was a man of Pien who wept like a

¹ Was there anything more than a joke in this reply of Po-yü? The commentators make it out to be a reproof of Wăn-ze for wishing to appropriate for his grave the pleasant ground of another.

child on the death of his mother. Confucius said, 'This is grief indeed, but it would be difficult to continue it. Now the rules of ceremony require to be handed down, and to be perpetuated. Hence the wailing and leaping are subject to fixed regulations.'

38. When the mother of Shu-sun Wû-shû died, and the slighter dressing had been completed, the bearers went out at the door (of the apartment) with the corpse. When he had himself gone out at the door, he bared his arms, throwing down also his cap, and binding his hair with sackcloth. 3ze-yû said (in derision), 'He knows the rules¹!'

39. (When a ruler was ill), the high chamberlain supported him on the right, and the assigner of positions at audiences did so on the left. When he died these two officers lifted (the corpse)².

40. There are the husband of a maternal cousin and the wife of a maternal uncle;—that these two should wear mourning for each other has not been said by any superior man. Some one says, 'If they have eaten together from the same fireplace, the three months' mourning³ should be worn.'

41. It is desirable that affairs of mourning should be gone about with urgency, and festive affairs in a

¹ He should have made his preparations before, and not have had to throw down his cap on the ground.

² The text of this paragraph would make the assisting parties to be the chief diviner and the chief archer. The translation is according to an emendation of it from the *Kâu LĪ*.

³ Worn in relationships of the fifth degree: as by a man for his great-grand-uncle and his wife, a spinster great-grand-aunt, the son of a mother's brother or sister, &c.; by a wife for her husband's great-great-grand-parents, &c. See Appendix.

leisurely way. Hence, though affairs of mourning require urgency, they should not go beyond the prescribed rules; and though festive affairs may be delayed, they should not be transacted negligently. Hurry therefore (in the former) becomes rudeness, and too much ease (in the latter) shows a small man. The superior man will conduct himself in them as they severally require.

42. A superior man is ashamed¹ to prepare (beforehand) all that he may require in discharging his mourning rites. What can be made in one or two days, he does not prepare (beforehand).

43. The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son: the object being to bring him still nearer to one's self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other: the object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister, (when they have been married); the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance.

PART III.

1. When (the Master) was eating by the side of one who had mourning rites in hand, he never ate to the full.

2. Ǵǵǵǵze was standing with (another) visitor by the side of the door (of their house of entertainment), when a companion (of the other) came hurrying out.

¹ Lest he should seem not to be wishing individuals to live long.

'Where are you going?' said ǰǎng-ze; and the man replied, 'My father is dead, and I am going to wail for him in the lane.' 'Return to your apartment,' was the reply, 'and wail for him there.' (The man did so), and ǰǎng-ze made him a visit of condolence, standing with his face to the north.

3. Confucius said, 'In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of wisdom, and should not be done. On this account the vessels of bamboo (used in connexion with the burial of the dead) are not fit for actual use; those of earthenware cannot be used to wash in; those of wood are incapable of being carved; the lutes are strung, but not evenly; the pandean pipes are complete, but not in tune; the bells and musical stones are there, but they have no stands. They are called vessels to the eye of fancy; that is, (the dead) are thus treated as if they were spiritual intelligences¹.'

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors say on this:—'To serve the dead as he served the living is the highest reach of a son's feeling. But there is a difference, it is to be presumed, between the ways of spirits and those of men. In the offerings put down immediately after death, there is an approach to treating the deceased as if he were still a (living) man. But at the burial the treatment of him approaches to that due to a (disembodied) spirit. Therefore the dealing with the dead may be spoken of generally as something between that due to a man and that due to a spirit,—a manifestation of the utmost respect without any familiar liberty.' We should like to have something still more definite. Evidently the subject was difficult to those editors, versed in all Chinese lore, and not distracted by views from foreign habits and ways of thinking. How much more difficult must it be for a foreigner to place

4. Yû-ze asked ǰǰng-ze if he had ever questioned the Master about (an officer's) losing his place. 'I heard from him,' was the reply, 'that the officer in such a case should wish to become poor quickly, (just as) we should wish to decay away quickly when we have died.' Yû-ze said, 'These are not the words of a superior man.' 'I heard them from the Master,' returned ǰǰng-ze. Yû-ze repeated that they were not the words of a superior man, and the other affirmed that both he and ǰze-yû had heard them. 'Yes, yes,' said Yû-ze, 'but the Master must have spoken them with a special reference.' ǰǰng-ze reported Yû-ze's words to ǰze-yû, who said, 'How very like his words are to those of the Master! Formerly, when the Master was staying in Sung, he saw that Hwan, the minister of War, had been for three years having a stone coffin made for himself without its being finished, and said, "What extravagance! It would be better that when dead he should quickly decay away." It was with reference to Hwan, the minister of War, that he said, "We should wish to decay away quickly when we die." When Nan-kung K'ing-shû returned (to the state), he made it a point to carry his treasures with him in his carriage when he went to court, on which the Master said, "Such an amount of property! It would have been better for him, when he lost his office, to make haste to become poor." It was with reference to Nan-kung K'ing-shû that he said that

himself 'en rapport' with the thoughts and ways of men, so far removed from him in time and in mental training! The subject of these vessels, which yet were no vessels, will come up again.

"We should work to become poor quickly, when we have lost office."

Ǻng-ze reported these words of 3ze-yû to Yû-ze, who said, 'Yes, I did say that these were not the words of the Master.' When the other asked him how he knew it, he said, 'The Master made an ordinance in *Kung-tû* that the inner coffin should be four inches thick, and the outer five. By this I knew that he did not wish that the dead should decay away quickly. And formerly, when he had lost the office of minister of Crime in *Lû*, and was about to go to *King*, he first sent 3ze-hsiâ there, and afterwards Zan Yû. By this, I knew that he did not wish to become poor quickly¹.'

5. When *Kwang-ze* of *Khân* died, announcement of the event was sent to *Lû*. They did not want to wail for him there, but duke Mû² called *Hsien-ze*, and consulted him. He said, 'In old times, no messages from Great officers, not even such as were accompanied by a bundle of pieces of dried meat, went out beyond the boundaries of their states. Though it had been wished to wail for them, how could it have been done? Nowadays the Great officers share in the measures of government throughout the middle states. Though it may be wished not to wail for one, how can it be avoided? I have heard, moreover, that there are two grounds for the wailing; one from love, and one from fear.' The duke said, 'Very well; but how is the thing to be managed in this

¹ Confucius sent those two disciples, that he might get their report of *King* (or *Khû*), and know whether he might himself go and take office there as he wished to do.

² B. C. 409-377.

case?' Hsien-ze said, 'I would ask you to wail for him in the temple of (a family of) a different surname;' and hereon the duke and he wailed for K'wang-ze in (the temple of) the Hsien family.

6. Kung Hsien said to 3ǎng-ze, 'Under the sovereigns of the Hsiâ dynasty, they used (at burials) the vessels which were such only to the eye of fancy, intimating to the people that (the dead) had no knowledge. Under the Yin they used the (ordinary) sacrificial vessels, intimating to the people that (the dead) had knowledge. Under the K'âu we use both, intimating to the people that the thing is doubtful.' 3ǎng-ze replied, 'It is not so! What are vessels (only) to the eye of fancy are for the shades (of the departed); the vessels of sacrifice are those of men; how should those ancients have treated their parents as if they were dead?'

7. An elder brother of Kung-shû Mû, by the same mother but a different father, having died, he asked 3ze-yû (whether he should go into mourning for him), and was answered, 'Perhaps you should do so for the period of nine months.'

A brother, similarly related to Tî Î, having died, he consulted 3ze-hsiâ in the same way, and was answered, 'I have not heard anything about it before, but the people of Lû wear the one year's mourning in such a case.' Tî Î did so, and the present practice of wearing that mourning arose from his question¹.

8. When 3ze-sze's mother died in Wei, Liû Zo said to him, 'You, Sir, are the descendant of a sage.

¹ Confucius gives a decision against mourning at all in such a case, excepting it were exceptional,—in the 'Narratives of the School,' chapter 10, article 1.

From all quarters they look to you for an example in ceremonies; let me advise you to be careful in the matter.' 3ze-sze said, 'Of what have I to be careful? I have heard that when there are certain ceremonies to be observed, and he has not the necessary means for them, a superior man does not observe them, and that neither does he do so, when there are the ceremonies, and he has the means, but the time is not suitable; of what have I to be careful¹?'

9. Hsien-ze So said, 'I have heard that the ancients made no diminution (in the degrees of mourning on any other ground); but mourned for every one above and below them according to his relationship. Thus Wăn, the earl of Thăng, wore the year's mourning for Măng-hû, who was his uncle, and the same for Măng Phî, whose uncle he was.'

10. Hâu Mû said, 'I heard Hsien-ze say about the rites of mourning, that (a son) should certainly think deeply and long about them all, and that (for instance) in buying the coffin he should see that, inside and outside, it be (equally) well completed. When I die, let it be so also with me².'

11. 3ăng-ze said, 'Until the corpse has its ornaments put on it, they curtain off the hall; and after the slighter dressing the curtain is removed.' Kung-liang-ze said, 'Husband and wife are at first all in

¹ 3ze-sze's mother, after his father's death, had married again into the Shû family of Wei. What mourning was 3ze-sze now to wear for her? Liû Zo seems to have apprehended that he would be carried away by his feelings and would do more than was according to rule in such a case. 3ze-sze's reply to him is not at all explicit.

² This record is supposed to be intended to ridicule Hâu Mû for troubling himself as he did.

confusion¹, and therefore the hall is curtained off. After the slighter dressing, the curtain is removed.'

12. With regard to the offerings to the dead at the time of the slighter dressing, 3ze-yû said that they should be placed on the east (of the corpse). 3ăng-ze said, 'They should be placed on the west, on the mat there at the time of the dressing.' The placing the offerings on the west at the time of the slighter dressing was an error of the later times of Lû.

13. Hsien-ze said, 'To have the mourning robe of coarse dolichos cloth, and the lower garment of fine linen with a wide texture, was not (the way of) antiquity.'

14. When 3ze-phû died, the wailers called out his name Mieh². 3ze-kão said, 'So rude and uncultivated are they!' On this they changed their style.

15. At the mourning rites for the mother of Tû *Khiáo* no one was employed in the house to assist (the son in the ceremonies), which was accounted a careless omission.

16. The Master said, 'As soon as a death occurs, (the members of the family) should change their lamb-skin furs and dark-coloured caps, though they may do nothing more.' The Master did not pay a visit of condolence in these articles of dress.

17. 3ze-yû asked about the articles to be provided for the mourning rites, and the Master said, 'They should be according to the means of the family.'

¹ Settling places for the wailers, &c. But this explanation is deemed unsatisfactory.

² The name was used only in calling the spirit back immediately after death; the wailing was a subsequent thing.

3ze-yû urged, 'How can a family that has means and one that has not have things done in the same way?' 'Where there are means,' was the reply, 'let there be no exceeding the prescribed rites. If there be a want of means, let the body be lightly covered from head to foot, and forthwith buried, the coffin being simply let down by means of ropes. Who in such a case will blame the procedure?'

18. Păn, superintendent of officers' registries, informed 3ze-yû of his wish to dress his dead on the couch. 'You may,' said 3ze-yû. When Hsien-ze heard of this, he said, 'How arrogant is the old gentleman! He takes it on himself to allow men in what is the proper rule¹.'

19. At the burial of his wife, duke Hsiang of Sung² placed (in the grave) a hundred jars of vinegar and pickles. 3ăng-ze said, 'They are called "vessels only to the eye of fancy," and yet he filled them!'

20. After the mourning rites for Măng Hsien-ze, the chief minister of his family made his subordinates return their money-offerings to all the donors. The Master said that such a thing was allowable.

21. About the reading of the list of the material contributions (towards the service of a funeral), 3ăng-

¹ On death, the body was lifted from the couch, and laid on the ground. When there was no response to the recalling of the spirit, it was returned to the couch and dressed. A practice seems to have arisen of slightly dressing it on the ground, which Păn did not wish to follow. 3ze-yû ought to have told him that his proposal was according to rule; whereas he expressed his permission of it,—a piece of arrogance, which Hsien-ze condemned.

² Hsiang died in B. C. 637.

ze said, 'It is not an ancient practice; it is a second announcement (to the departed) ¹!'

22. When *Khǎng-ze Káo* was lying ill, *Khing Í* went in to see him, and asked his (parting) commands, saying, 'Your disease, Sir, is severe. If it should go on to be the great illness, what are we to do?' *Ze-káo* said, 'I have heard that in life we should be of use to others, and in death should do them no harm. Although I may have been of no use to others during my life, shall I do them any harm by my death? When I am dead, choose a piece of barren ground, and bury me there.'

23. *Ze-hsiâ* asked the Master (how one should deport himself) during the mourning for the ruler's mother or wife, (and the reply was), 'In sitting and stopping with others, in his conversation, and when eating and drinking, he should appear to be at ease ².'

24. When a stranger-visitor arrived, and had nowhere to lodge, the Master would say, 'While he is alive, let him lodge with me. Should he die, I will see to his coffin ³.'

25. *Kwo-ze Káo* ⁴ said, 'Burying means hiding

¹ The contributions had been announced by the bier, as if to the departed, and a record of them made. To read the list, as is here supposed, as the procession was about to set forth, was a vain-glorious proceeding, which *Ǵǵng-ze* thus derided.

² The supplements in this paragraph are from the 'Narratives of the School.' Some contend that the whole should be read as what *Ze-hsiâ* said, and that the Master gave him no reply, disapproving of his sentiments.

³ This paragraph, like the preceding, appears in rather a different form in the 'Narratives of the School.'

⁴ *Kwo-ze Káo* was the same as the *Khǎng-ze Káo* of par. 22. *Kwo* was the surname, and *Khǎng* the posthumous title. It is difficult to decide between *Kwo-ze Káo* and *Kwo Ze-káo*.

away; and that hiding (of the body) is from a wish that men should not see it. Hence there are the clothes sufficient for an elegant covering; the coffin all round about the clothes; the shell all round about the coffin; and the earth all round about the shell. And shall we farther raise a mound over the grave and plant it with trees?’

26. At the mourning for Confucius, there came a man from Yen to see (what was done), and lodged at 3ze-hsiâ's. 3ze-hsiâ said to him, ‘If it had been for the sage's conducting a burial, (there would have been something worthy to see); but what is there to see in our burying of the sage? Formerly the Master made some remarks to me, saying, “I have seen some mounds made like a raised hall; others like a dyke on a river's bank; others like the roof of a large house; and others in the shape of an axe-head.” We have followed the axe-shape, making what is called the horse-mane mound. In one day we thrice shifted the frame-boards, and completed the mound. I hope we have carried out the wish of the Master.’

27. Women (in mourning) do not (change) the girdle made of dolichos fibre.

28. When new offerings (of grain or fruits) are presented (beside the body in the coffin), they should be (abundant), like the offerings on the first day of the moon.

29. When the interment has taken place, everyone should make a change in his mourning dress.

30. The gutters of the tent-like frame over the coffin should be like the double gutters of a house.

31. When a ruler succeeds to his state, he makes

his coffin, and thereafter varnishes it once a year, keeping it deposited away.

32. Calling the departed back ; plugging the teeth open ; keeping the feet straight ; filling the mouth ; dressing the corpse ; and curtaining the hall :— these things are set about together. The uncles and elder cousins give their charges to those who are to communicate the death (to friends).

33. The (soul of a deceased) ruler is called back in his smaller chambers, and the large chamber ; in the smaller ancestral temples and in the great one ; and at the gate leading to the court of the external audience, and in the suburbs all round.

34. Why do they leave the offerings of the mourning rites uncovered ? May they do so with the flesh of sacrifice¹?

35. When the coffining has taken place, in ten days after, provision should be made for the materials (for the shell), and for the vessels to the eye of fancy.

36. The morning offerings should be set forth (beside the body) at sunrise ; the evening when the sun is about to set.

37. In mourning for a parent, there is no restriction to (set) times for wailing. If one be sent on a mission, he must announce his return (to the spirits of his departed).

38. After the twelfth month of mourning, the (inner) garment should be of white silk, with a yellow

¹ This short paragraph is difficult to construe. The *K'ien-lung* editors seem to approve of another interpretation of it ; but even that is not without its difficulties. The flesh of sacrifice, it is said, left uncovered, would become unfit for use or to be sold.

lining, and having the collar and the edges of the cuffs of a light purple. The waist-band should be of dolichos cloth; the shoes of hempen string, without the usual ornaments at the points; and the ear-plugs of horn. The lining of the deer's-fur (for winter) should be made broader and with longer cuffs, and a robe of thin silk may be worn over it¹.

39. When (a parent's) corpse has been coffined, if the son hear of mourning going on for a cousin at a distance, he must go (to condole), though the relationship would only require the three months' mourning. If the mourning be for a neighbour, who is not a relative, he does not go.

At (the mourning) for an acquaintance, he must pay visits of condolence to all his brethren, though they might not have lived with him. *

40. The coffin of the son of Heaven is fourfold. The hides of a water-buffalo and a rhinoceros, overlapping each other, (form the first), three inches in thickness. Then there is a coffin of Î wood², and there are two of the Rottlera. The four are all complete enclosures. The bands for the (composite) coffin are (five); two straight, and three cross; with a double wedge under each band (where it is on the edge).

¹ The outer sackcloth remained unchanged; but inside it was now worn this robe of white silk, a good deal ornamented. Inside this and over the deer's-fur in winter might be worn another robe of thin silk, through which the fur was seen. Inside the fur was what we should call the shirt, always worn.

² Tracing the Î tree, through the dictionaries from synonym to synonym, we come at last to identify it with the 'white aspen;' whether correctly or not I do not know.

The shell is of cypress wood, in pieces six cubits long, from the trunk near the root.

41. When the son of Heaven is wailing for a feudal prince, he wears the bird's-(head) cap¹, a headband of sackcloth, and black robes. Some one says, 'He employs an officer to wail for him.' While so engaged, he has no music at his meals.

42. When the son of Heaven is put into his coffin it is surrounded with boards plastered over, and (rests on the hearse), on whose shafts are painted dragons, so as to form a (kind of) shell. Then over the coffin is placed a pall with the axe-heads figured on it. This being done, it forms a plastered house. Such is the rule for (the confining of) the son of Heaven².

43. It is only at the mourning rites for the son of Heaven that the feudal princes are arranged for the wailing according to their different surnames.

44. Duke Âi of Lû eulogised Khung K'hiû in the words, 'Heaven has not left the old man, and there is no one to assist me in my place. Oh! Alas! Nî-fû³!'

45. When a state had lost a large tract of terri-

¹ This cap, it is said, was of leather, of the dark colour of a male sparrow's head. Hence its name.

² See Book XIX.

³ Confucius' death took place on the 18th of the fourth month of duke Âi's 16th year, B. C. 479. The eulogy is given somewhat differently in the *30 Kwan* under that year: 'Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged man, to support me, the One man, on my seat. Dispirited I am, and full of distress. Woe is me! Alas! O Nî-fû. There is no one now to be a rule to me!' K'hiû was Confucius' name, and Kung-nî his designation! After this eulogy, Nî-fû was for a time his posthumous title.

tory with its cities, the highest and other ministers, and the Great and other officers, all wailed in the grand ancestral temple, in mourning caps, for three days; and the ruler (for the same time) had no full meal with music. Some one says, 'The ruler has his full meals and music, but wails at the altar to the spirit of the land.'

46. Confucius disliked those who wailed in the open fields¹.

47. (A son) who has not been in office should not presume to give away anything belonging to the family. If he should have to do so², he ought to have the order of his father or elder brother for the act.

48. When the (ordinary) officers³ are all entered, then (the chief mourner and all the others) fall to their leaping, morning and evening.

49. After the service on the conclusion of the twenty-fourth month of mourning, the plain white cap is assumed. In that month the service on leaving off mourning is performed, and after another month (the mourners) may take to their music⁴.

50. The ruler may confer on any officer the small curtain (as a pall for his father's coffin).

¹ It was the rule to mourn in the open country for an acquaintance. See p. 134. There must have been some irregularity in the practice adverted to.

² That is, supposing him to have been in office; though some suppose that the necessity might arise, even in the case of a son who had not been in office.

³ Of course the higher officers must also be there. This refers to the mourning rites for a ruler.

⁴ See the note on page 130. It is difficult, notwithstanding all the references to it, to say definitely in what month the than sacrifice was performed.

SECTION II. PART I.

1. (At the funeral of) a ruler's eldest son by his acknowledged wife, who has died under age, there are three (small) carriages (with the flesh of sacrifice to be put in the grave). At that of an eldest son by one of his concubines, dying under age, there is one such carriage; as at the funeral of the eldest rightful son of a Great officer in the same circumstances¹.

2. At the mourning rites for a feudal lord, his chief officers who had received their appointments directly from him, carried their staffs.

3. When a Great officer of a state was about to be buried, its ruler (went to) condole with (his son) in the hall where the coffin was. When it was

¹ This refers to a strange custom which was practised at the burial of men of rank, or of others who were treated as such, as in the cases here. 'The carriages employed in it,' says Ying-tâ, 'were very small. When the funeral car was about to set off from the temple, and all to be done at the grave was arranged, they took portions of the bodies which had supplied the offerings put down by the coffin, broke them in small pieces, wrapped them up, and placed them in these carriages, to be conveyed after the car. At the grave the little bundles were placed one by one, inside the outer shell at its four corners.' The number of these small carriages varied according to the rank of the deceased. We shall find the practice mentioned again and again. It is not easy for a foreigner fully to understand it, and I have found great haziness in the attempts of native scholars to explain it. 'The eldest sons' would have died between sixteen and nineteen.

being taken out, he ordered some one to draw the (bier-carriage) for him. This moved on for three paces and stopped; in all for three times; after which the ruler retired. The same proceeding was gone through, when the bier entered the ancestral temple, and also at the place of (special) grief¹.

4. Men of fifty, who had no carriage, did not make visits of condolence beyond the boundaries (of their states).

5. When K'î Wû-ze was lying ill in his chamber, K'iao K'û entered and appeared before him without taking off the mourning with its even edges (which he happened to wear). 'This practice,' said he, 'has nearly fallen into disuse. But it is only at the gate of the ruler that an officer should take off such mourning as I have on.' Wû-ze replied, 'Is it not good that you should act thus²? A superior man illustrates the smallest points (of propriety).'

At the mourning rites for Wû-ze, Ǵǵng Tien leant against his gate and sang³.

6. If a Great officer pay a visit of condolence

¹ Where visitors had been lodged during the mourning rites, outside the great gate.

² Wû-ze was the posthumous title of K'î-sun Suh, the principal minister of Lî in the time of duke Hsiang (B.C. 572-543). He was arrogant, and made other officers pay to him the same observances as to the ruler; but he was constrained to express his approval of the bold rectitude of K'iao.

³ This is added by the writer, and implies a condemnation of Ǵǵng Tien, who did not know how to temper his censure of the minister, as K'iao K'û had done. But there must be an error in the passage. Tien (the father of Ǵǵng Shǵn) could have been but a boy when Wû-ze died.

(to an ordinary officer), and he arrive when (the latter) is occupied with the business of the occasion, an apology is made (for not coming to the gate to receive him).

7. When one has paid a visit of condolence, he should not on the same day show manifestations of joy¹.

8. A wife should not go beyond the boundaries of the state on a visit of condolence.

9. On the day when he has made a visit of condolence, one should not drink spirits nor eat flesh.

10. When one pays a visit of condolence, and the arrangements for the funeral are going on, he should take hold of the ropes (attached to the car). Those who follow to the grave should take hold of those attached to the coffin.

11. During the mourning rites, if the ruler send a message of condolence, there must be some one to acknowledge it, by bowing to the messenger. A friend, or neighbour, or even a temporary resident in the house, may perform the duty. The message is announced in the words:—‘Our unworthy ruler wishes to take part in your (sad) business.’ The chief mourner responds:—‘We acknowledge your presence with his message².’

12. When a ruler meets a bier on the way, he must send some one to present his condolences (to the chief mourner).

¹ Or it may be, ‘should not have music;’ toning one of the characters differently.

² It is supposed that the deceased had left no son to preside at the mourning rites.

13. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, a son by an inferior wife should not receive the condolences¹.

14. On the death of his wife's brother who was the successor of their father, (the husband) should wail for him in (the court of) the principal chamber². He should appoint his (own) son to preside (on the occasion). With breast unbared and wearing the cincture instead of the cap, he wails and leaps. When he enters on the right side of the gate, he should make some one stand outside it, to inform comers of the occasion of the wailing; and those who were intimate (with the deceased) will enter and wail. If his own father be in the house, the wailing should take place (before) his wife's chamber. If (the deceased) were not the successor of his father, the wailing should take place before a different chamber.

15. If a man have the coffin of a parent in his hall, and hear of mourning going on for a cousin of the same surname at a distance, he wails for him in a side apartment. If there be no such apartment, he should wail in the court on the right of the gate. If the deceased's body be in the same state, he should go to the place, and wail for him there.

16. When 3ze-kang died, 3äng-ze was in mourning for his mother, and went in his mourning dress

¹ But if there be no son by the wife proper, the oldest son by an inferior wife may receive the condolences. See the *Khien-lung* editors in loc.

² For some reason or other he has not gone to the house of the deceased, to wail for him there.

to wail for him. Some one said, 'That dress of sackcloth with its even edges is not proper for a visit of condolence.' ㄆㄤˋ-ㄓㄟ replied, 'Am I condoling (with the living)?'

17. At the mourning rites for Yü Zo, duke Táo¹ came to condole. ㄆㄤˋ-yü received him, and introduced him by (the steps on) the left².

18. When the news was sent from K'hi of the mourning for the king's daughter who had been married to the marquis, duke Kwang of Lü wore the nine months' mourning for her. Some have said, 'She was married from Lü³'; therefore he wore the same mourning for her as for a sister of his own.' Others have said, 'She was his mother's mother, and therefore he wore it.'

19. At the mourning rites for duke Hsien of Jin, duke Mû of K'hi sent a messenger to present his condolences to Hsien's son K'hung-r (who was then an exile), and to add this message:—'I have heard that a time like this is specially adapted to the

¹ B. C. 467-431. Yü Zo had been a disciple of Confucius, and here we find the greater follower of the sage, ㄆㄤˋ-yü, present and assisting at the mourning rites for him.

² That is, the prince went up to the hall by the steps on the east, set apart for the use of the master and father of the house. But the ruler was master everywhere in his state, as the king was in his kingdom. An error prevailed on this matter, and ㄆㄤˋ-yü took the opportunity to correct it.

³ That is, she had gone from the royal court to Lü, and been married thence under the superintendence of the marquis of that state, who also was of the royal surname. This was a usual practice in the marriage of kings' daughters; and it was on this account the lord of the officiating state wore mourning for them. The relationship assigned in the next clause is wrong; and so would have been the mourning mentioned, if it had been correct.

losing of a state, or the gaining of a state. Though you, my son, are quiet here, in sorrow and in mourning, your exile should not be allowed to continue long, and the opportunity should not be lost. Think of it and take your measures, my young son.' *Khung-r* reported the words to his maternal uncle Fan, who said, 'My son, decline the proffer. An exile as you are, nothing precious remains to you; but a loving regard for your father is to be considered precious. How shall the death of a father be told? And if you take advantage of it to seek your own profit, who under heaven will be able to give a good account of your conduct? Decline the proffer, my son.'

On this the prince replied to his visitor:—'The ruler has kindly (sent you) to condole with his exiled servant. My person in banishment, and my father dead, so that I cannot take any share in the sad services of wailing and weeping for him;—this has awakened the sympathy of the ruler. But how shall the death of a father be described? Shall I presume (on occasion of it) to think of any other thing, and prove myself unworthy of your ruler's righteous regard?' With this he laid his head to the ground, but did not bow (to the visitor); wailed and then arose, and after he had risen did not enter into any private conversation with him.

3ze-hsien reported the execution of his commission to duke Mû, who said, 'Truly virtuous is this prince *Khung-r*. In laying his forehead on the ground and not bowing (to the messenger), he acknowledged that he was not his father's successor, and therefore he did not complete the giving of thanks. In wailing before he rose, he showed how

he loved his father. In having no private conversation after he arose, he showed how he put from him the thought of gain¹.

20. The keeping the curtain up before the coffin with the corpse in it was not a custom of antiquity. It originated with the wailing of *King Kiang* for *Mû-po*².

21. The rites of mourning are the extreme expression of grief and sorrow. The graduated reduction of that expression in accordance with the natural changes (of time and feeling) was made by the superior men, mindful of those to whom we owe our being³.

22. Calling (the soul) back is the way in which love receives its consummation, and has in it the mind which is expressed by prayer. The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual beings. The turning the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region.

23. Bowing to the (condoling) visitor, and laying the forehead on the ground are the most painful demonstrations of grief and sorrow. The laying the forehead in the ground is the greatest expression of the pain (from the bereavement).

¹ Fully to understand this paragraph, one must know more particulars of the history of *Khung-r*, and his relations with his father and the duke of *K'in*, than can be given here in a note. He became the ablest of the five chiefs of the *K'un K'hiu* period.

² This was a prudish action of the young widow, but it changed an old custom and introduced a new one.

³ This has respect to the modifications adopted in regulating the mourning rites for parents.

24. Filling the mouth with rice uncooked and fine shells arises from a feeling which cannot bear that it should be empty. The idea is not that of giving food; and therefore these fine things are used.

25. The inscription¹ forms a banner to the eye of fancy. Because (the person of) the deceased can no longer be distinguished, therefore (the son) by this flag maintains the remembrance of him. From his love for him he makes this record. His reverence for him finds in this its utmost expression.

26. The first tablet for the spirit (with this inscription on it) serves the same purpose as that (subsequently) placed in the temple, at the conclusion of the mourning rites. Under the Yin dynasty the former was still kept. Under the *K'au*, it was removed¹.

27. The offerings to the unburied dead are placed in plain unornamented vessels, because the hearts

¹ This inscription contained the surname, name, and rank of the deceased. It was at first written, I suppose, on a strip of silk, and fastened up under the eaves above the steps on the east. In the meantime a tablet of wood called *K'ung*, the first character in the next paragraph, and for which I have given 'The first tablet for the spirit,' was prepared. The inscription was transferred to it, and it was set up on or by the coffin, now having the body in it, and by and by it was removed to the east of the coffin pit, where it remained till after the interment.

The observances in this paragraph and the next remain substantially the same at the present day. 'The bier,' writes Wang Tháo, 'is placed in the apartment, and the tablet with the inscription, as a resting-place for the spirit, is set up, while the offerings are set forth near it morning and evening. After the interment this tablet is burned, and the permanent tablet (神主) is made, before which the offerings are presented at the family sacrifices from generation to generation. Thus "the dead are served as the living have been."'

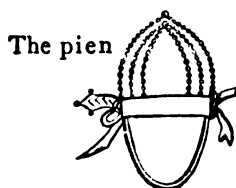
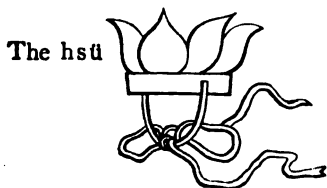
of the living are full of unaffected sorrow. It is only in the sacrifices (subsequent to the interment), that the principal mourner does his utmost (in the way of ornament). Does he know that the spirit will enjoy (his offerings)? He is guided only by his pure and reverent heart.

28. Beating the breast (by the women), and leaping (by the men) are extreme expressions of grief. But the number of such acts is limited. There are graduated rules for them.

29. Baring the shoulders and binding up the hair (with the band of sackcloth) are changes, (showing) the excited feeling which is a change in the grief. The removal of the (usual) ornaments and elegancies (of dress) has manifold expression, but this baring of the shoulders and the sackcloth band are the chief. But now the shoulders are quite bared, and anon they are covered (with a thin garment);—marking gradations in the grief.

30. At the interment they used the cap of plain white (silk), and the headband of dolichos fibre; thinking these more suitable for their intercourse with (the departed) now in their spirit-state. The feeling of reverence had now arisen. The people of Kâu use the pien cap at interments; those of Yin used the hsü¹.

¹ The 'Three Rituals Explained' (三禮通釋), ch. 238, give the figures of these caps thus:—



31. The gruel of the chief mourner (the son), the presiding wife¹, and the steward of the family (of a Great officer) is taken by them at the order of the ruler lest they should get ill.

32. On returning (from the grave) to wail, (the son) should ascend the hall (of the ancestral temple);—returning to the place where (the deceased) performed his rites. The presiding wife should enter the chamber;—returning to the place where he received his nourishment.

33. Condolences should be presented (to the son) when he returns (from the grave) and is wailing, at which time his grief is at its height. He has returned, and (his father) is not to be seen; he feels that he has lost him. (His grief is) then most intense. Under the Yin, they presented condolences immediately at the grave; under the K'áu, when the son had returned and was wailing. Confucius said, 'Yin was too blunt; I follow K'áu.'

34. To bury on the north (of the city), and with the head (of the dead) turned to the north, was the common practice of the three dynasties:—because (the dead) go to the dark region.

35. When the coffin has been let down into the grave, the chief mourner presents the (ruler's) gifts (to the dead in the grave²), and the officer of prayer (returns beforehand) to give notice of the sacrifice of repose³ to him who is to personate the departed.

¹ This would be the wife of the deceased, or the wife of his son.

² These were some rolls of purplish silks, sent by the ruler as his parting gifts, when the hearse-car reached the city gate on its way to the grave.

³ Where was the spirit of the departed now? The bones and

36. When he has returned and wailed, the chief mourner with the (proper) officer inspects the victim. (In the meantime other) officers have set out a stool and mat with the necessary offerings on the left of the grave¹. They return, and at midday the sacrifice of repose is offered².

37. The sacrifice is offered on the day of interment; they cannot bear that the departed should be left a single day (without a place to rest in).

38. On that day the offerings, (previously) set forth (by the coffin), are exchanged for the sacrifice of repose. The (continuous) wailing is ended, and they say, 'The business is finished.'

39. On that day the sacrifices of mourning were exchanged for one of joy. The next day the service of placing the spirit-tablet of the departed next to that of his grandfather was performed.

40. The change to an auspicious sacrifice took place on that day, and the placing the tablet in its place on the day succeeding:—(the son) was unable

flesh had returned to the dust, but the soul-spirit might be anywhere (魂魄氣無所不之 [= 至]). To afford it a resting-place, the permanent tablet was now put in the shrine, and this sacrifice of repose (虞 [= 安] 祭) was offered, so that the son might be able to think that his father was never far from him. For a father of course the personator was a male; for a mother, a female; but there are doubts on this point.

¹ For the spirit of the ground.

² If the grave were too far distant to allow all this to be transacted before midday, then the sacrifice was performed in the chamber where the coffin had rested. So says Wang Tháo on the authority of Zǎn Yì-shǎng (任翼聖).

to bear that (the spirit of the departed) should be a single day without a resting-place.

41. Under the Yin, the tablet was put in its place on the change of the mourning at the end of twelve months; under the *Kâu*, when the (continuous) wailing was over. Confucius approved the practice of Yin.

42. When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his reed-(brush), and a lance-bearer,—disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at any affair of) life¹. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this².

43. The ceremony in the mourning rites of (the coffined corpse) appearing in the court (of the ancestral temple) is in accordance with the filial heart of the deceased. He is (supposed to be) grieved at leaving his chamber, and therefore he is brought to the temple of his fathers, and then (the coffin) goes on its way.

Under the Yin, the body was thus presented and then coffined in the temple; under the *Kâu* the interment followed immediately after its presentation (in the coffin).

44. Confucius said, 'He who made the vessels

¹ When visiting a minister when alive, the ruler was accompanied by the lance-bearer, but not by those other officers;—there was the difference between life and death.

² I suspect that the sorcerer and exorcist were ancient superstitions, not established by the former kings, but with which they did not care to interfere by saying anything about them.

which are so (only) in imagination, knew the principles underlying the mourning rites. They were complete (to all appearance), and yet could not be used. Alas! if for the dead they had used the vessels of the living, would there not have been a danger of this leading to the interment of the living with the dead?’

45. They were called ‘vessels in imagination,’ (the dead) being thus treated as spiritual intelligences. From of old there were the carriages of clay and the figures of straw,—in accordance with the idea in these vessels in imagination. Confucius said that the making of the straw figures was good, and that the making of the (wooden) automaton was not benevolent.—Was there not a danger of its leading to the use of (living) men?

PART II.

1. Duke Mû¹ asked 3ze-sze whether it was the way of antiquity for a retired officer still to wear the mourning for his old ruler. ‘Princes of old,’ was the reply, ‘advanced men and dismissed them equally according to the rules of propriety; and hence there was that rule about still wearing mourning for the old ruler. But nowadays princes advance men as if they were going to take them on their knees, and dismiss them as if they were going to push them into an abyss. Is it not good if (men so treated) do not head rebellion? How should there be the observance of that rule about still wearing mourning (for old rulers)?’

¹ Of Lû, B. C. 409-377.

2. At the mourning rites for duke Tào¹, Kî Kào-ze asked Măng K'ing-ze what they should eat (to show their grief) for the ruler. K'ing-ze replied, 'To eat gruel is the general rule for all the kingdom.' (The other said), 'It is known throughout the four quarters that we three ministers² have not been able to live in harmony with the ducal house. I could by an effort make myself emaciated; but would it not make men doubt whether I was doing so in sincerity? I will eat rice as usual.'

3. When Sze-thû K'ing-ze of Wei died, Ze-hsiâ made a visit of condolence (to his house); and, though the chief mourner had not completed the slight dressing (of the corpse), he went in the head-band and robe of mourning. Ze-yû paid a similar visit; and, when the chief mourner had completed the slight dressing, he went out, put on the bands, returned and wailed. Ze-hsiâ said to him, 'Did you ever hear (that) that (was the proper method to observe)?' 'I heard the Master say,' was the reply, 'that until the chief mourner had changed his dress, one should not assume the mourning bands³.'

4. Jǎng-ze said, 'An-ze may be said to have known well the rules of propriety;—he was humble and reverent.' Yû Zo said, 'An-ze wore the same (robe of) fox-fur for thirty years. (At the burial of

¹ B. C. 467-431.

² The heads of the Kung-sun, Shû-sun, and Kî-sun families; whose power Confucius had tried in vain to break.

³ In this case Ze-yû was correct, according to rule, following the example of the chief mourner. Sze-thû was a name of office, —the ministry of Instruction; but it had become in this case the family name; from some ancestor of K'ing-ze, who had been minister of Instruction.

his father), he had only one small carriage (with the offerings to be put into the grave¹); and he returned immediately from the grave (without showing the usual attentions to his guests). The ruler of a state has seven bundles of the offerings, and seven such small carriages for them, and a Great officer five. How can it be said that An-ze knew propriety?' ǰǎng-ze replied, 'When a state is not well governed, the superior man is ashamed to observe all ceremonies to the full. Where there is extravagance in the administration of the state, he shows an example of economy. If the administration be economical, he shows an example of (the strict) observance of all rules.'

5. On the death of the mother of Kwo K'ao-ze, he asked ǰze-kang, saying, 'At the interment, when (all) are at the grave, what should be the places of the men and of the women?' ǰze-kang said, 'At the mourning rites for Sze-thû K'ing-ze, when the Master directed the ceremonies, the men stood with their faces to the west and the women stood with theirs to the east.' 'Ah!' said the other, 'that will not do;' adding, 'All will be here to see these mourning rites of mine. Do you take the sole charge of them. Let the guests be the guests, while I (alone) act as the host. Let the women take their places behind the men, and all have their faces towards the west².'

¹ See the note on paragraph 1, page 161. An-ze was the chief minister of K'hi.

² 'The master' here would seem to be Confucius; and yet he died before Sze-thû K'ing-ze. There are other difficulties in parts of the paragraph.

6. At the mourning for Mû-po (her husband), Kíng Kíang wailed for him in the daytime, and at that for Wăn-po (her son), she wailed for him both in the daytime and the night. Confucius said, 'She knows the rules of propriety¹.'

At the mourning for Wăn-po, Kíng Kíang (once) put her hand on the couch (where his body lay), and without wailing said, 'Formerly, when I had this son, I thought that he would be a man of worth. (But) I never went with him to the court (to see his conduct there); and now that he is dead, of all his friends, the other ministers, there is no one that has shed tears for him, while the members of his harem all wail till they lose their voices. This son must have committed many lapses in his observance of the rules of propriety!'

7. When the mother of Kí Khang-ze died, (her body was laid out with) her private clothes displayed. Kíng Kíang (Khang-ze's grand-uncle's wife) said, 'A wife does not dare to see her husband's parents without the ornament (of her upper robes); and there will be the guests from all quarters coming;—why are her under-clothes displayed here?' With this she ordered them to be removed.

8. Yû-ze and Ze-yû were standing together when they saw (a mourner) giving all a child's demonstrations of affection. Yû-ze said, 'I have never understood this leaping in mourning, and have long wished to do away with it. The sincere feeling (of sorrow) which appears here is right, (and

¹ It is said, 'She mourned for her husband according to propriety; for her son according to her feelings.'

should be sufficient).’ 3ze-yû replied, ‘In the rules of propriety, there are some intended to lessen the (display of) feeling, and there are others which purposely introduce things (to excite it). To give direct vent to the feeling and act it out as by a short cut is the way of the rude Zung and Tî. The method of the rules is not so. When a man rejoices, he looks pleased; when pleased, he thereon sings; when singing, he sways himself about; swaying himself about, he proceeds to dancing; from dancing, he gets into a state of wild excitement¹; that excitement goes on to distress; distress expresses itself in sighing; sighing is followed by beating the breast; and beating the breast by leaping. The observances to regulate all this are what are called the rules of propriety.

‘When a man dies, there arises a feeling of disgust (at the corpse). Its impotency goes on to make us revolt from it. On this account, there is the wrapping it in the shroud, and there are the curtains, plumes (and other ornaments of the coffin), to preserve men from that feeling of disgust. Immediately after death, the dried flesh and pickled meats are set out (by the side of the corpse). When the interment is about to take place, there are the things sent and offered (at the grave); and after the interment, there is the food presented (in the sacrifices of repose). The dead have never been seen to partake of these things. But from

¹ Evidently there is a lacuna in the text here; there should be some mention of stamping. Many of the critics have seen this, especially the *Khien-lung* editors; and various additions have been proposed by way of correction and supplement.

the highest ages to the present they have never been neglected;—all to cause men not to revolt (from their dead). Thus it is that what you blame in the rules of propriety is really nothing that is wrong in them.'

9. Wû made an incursion into *Khăn*, destroying the (places of) sacrifice, and putting to death those who were suffering from a pestilence (which prevailed). When the army retired, and had left the territory, Phî, the Grand-administrator of *Khăn*, was sent to the army (of Wû). Fû *Khâi* (king of Wû) said to his internuncius Î, 'This fellow has much to say. Let us ask him a question.' (Then, turning to the visitor), he said, 'A campaign must have a name. What name do men give to this expedition?' The Grand-administrator said, 'Anciently, armies in their incursions and attacks did not hew down (trees about the) places of sacrifice; did not slay sufferers from pestilence; did not make captives of those whose hair was turning. But now, have not you in this campaign slain the sufferers from pestilence? Do they not call it the sick-killing expedition?' The king rejoined, 'If we give back your territory, and return our captives, what will you call it?' The reply was, 'O ruler and king, you came and punished the offences of our poor state. If the result of the campaign be that you now compassionate and forgive it, will the campaign be without its (proper) name¹?'

¹ This incursion must be that mentioned in the 30 *Kwan* under B. C. 494. Various corruptions and disruptions of the text of the paragraph have to be rectified, however; and the interpretation is otherwise difficult.

10. Yen Ting¹ deported himself skilfully during his mourning. Immediately after the death (of his father), he looked grave and restless, as if he were seeking for something, and could not find it. When the coffining had taken place, he looked expectant, as if he were following some one and could not get up with him. After the interment he looked sad, and as if, not getting his father to return (with him), he would wait for him².

11. 3ze-kang asked, saying, 'The Book of History says, that Káo 3ung for three years did not speak; and that when he did his words were received with joy³. Was it so?' Kung-nt replied, 'Why should it not have been so? Anciently, on the demise of the son of Heaven, the king, his heir, left everything to the chief minister for three years.'

12. When Kih Táo-3ze died⁴, before he was buried, duke Phing was (one day) drinking along with the music-master Kwang and Lí Thiáo. The bells struck up; and when Tû Khwái, who was coming in from outside, heard them, he said, 'Where is the music?' Being told that it was in the (principal) apartment, he entered it; and having ascended the steps one by one, he poured out a cup of spirits, and said, 'Kwang, drink this.' He then poured out another, and said, 'Thiáo, drink this.' He poured out a third cup; and kneeling in the hall, with his face to the north, he drank it himself, went down the steps, and hurried out.

¹ An officer of Lú.

² Compare above, paragraph 17, p. 137 et al.

³ See vol. iii, p. 113. The Shû is not quoted exactly.

⁴ This was in B. C. 533. Kih Táo-3ze was a great officer of Jin. See the story in the 3o Kwan under that year.

Duke Phing called him in again, and said, 'Khwâi, just now I thought you had something in mind to enlighten me about, and therefore I did not speak to you. Why did you give the cup to Kwang?' 'On the days (*Kiâ-*)*ze* and (*Kt-*)*máo*,' was the reply, 'there should be no music; and now *Kih Táo-ze* is (in his coffin) in his hall, and this should be a great *ze* or *máo* day. Kwang is the grand music-master, and did not remind you of this. It was on this account that I made him drink.'

'And why did you give a cup to *Thiáo*?' *Tû Khwâi* said, '*Thiáo* is your lordship's favourite officer; and for this drinking and eating he forgot the fault you were committing. It was on this account I made him drink.'

'And why did you drink a cup yourself?' *Khwâi* replied, 'I am (only) the cook; and neglecting my (proper work of) supplying you with knives and spoons, I also presumed to take my part in showing my knowledge of what should be prohibited. It was on this account that I drank a cup myself.'

Duke Phing said, 'I also have been in fault. Pour out a cup and give it to me.' *Tû Khwâi* then rinsed the cup, and presented it. The duke said to the attendants, 'When I die, you must take care that this cup is not lost.' Down to the present day, (at feasts in *3in*), when the cups have been presented all round, they then raise up this cup, and say, 'It is that which *Tû* presented.'

13. When *Kung-shû Wăn-ze* died, his son *Shû* begged the ruler (of the state) to fix his honorary title, saying, 'The sun and moon have brought the time;—we are about to bury him. I beg that you will fix the title, for which we shall change his name.'

The ruler said, 'Formerly when our state of Wei was suffering from a severe famine, your father had gruel made, and gave it to the famishing ;—was not this a proof of how kind he was? Moreover, in a time of trouble¹, he protected me at the risk of his own life ;—was not this a proof of how faithful he was? And while he administered the government of Wei, he so maintained the regulations for the different classes, and conducted its intercourse with the neighbouring states all round, that its altars sustained no disgrace ;—was not this a proof of how accomplished he was? Therefore let us call him "The Faithful, Kind, and Accomplished."' "

14. Shih Tâi-kung died, leaving no son by his wife proper, and six sons by concubines. The tortoise-shell being consulted as to which of them should be the father's successor, it was said that by their bathing and wearing of their girdle-pendants the indication would be given. Five of them accordingly bathed and put on the girdle-pendants with their gems. Shih Kht-ze, however, said, 'Whoever, being engaged with the mourning rites for a parent, bathed his head or his body, and put on his girdle-pendants?' and he declined to do either, and this was considered to be the indication. The people of Wei considered that the tortoise-shell had shown a (true) knowledge.

15. Kăn 3ze-kü having died in Wei, his wife and the principal officer of the family consulted together

¹ This was in B. C. 512. Twice in the Analects (XIV, 14, 19) Kung-shuh Wân-ze, 'Kung-shu, the accomplished,' is mentioned. Whether he received the long honorary title given in the conclusion of this paragraph is considered doubtful.

about burying some living persons (to follow him). When they had decided to do so, (his brother), *Khân 3ze-khang* arrived¹, and they informed him about their plan, saying, 'When the master was ill, (he was far away) and there was no provision for his nourishment in the lower world; let us bury some persons alive (to supply it).' 3ze-khang said, 'To bury living persons (for the sake of the dead) is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward? If the thing can be done without, I wish it to be so. If it cannot be done without, I wish you two to be the parties for it.' On this the proposal was not carried into effect.

16. 3ze-lû said, 'Alas for the poor! While (their parents) are alive, they have not the means to nourish them; and when they are dead, they have not the means to perform the mourning rites for them.' Confucius said, 'Bean soup, and water to drink, while the parents are made happy, may be pronounced filial piety. If (a son) can only wrap the body round from head to foot, and inter it immediately, without a shell, that being all which his means allow, he may be said to discharge (all) the rites of mourning.'

17. Duke Hsien of Wei having (been obliged to) flee from the state, when he returned², and had

¹ *Khân 3ze-khang* was one of the disciples of Confucius, mentioned in the *Analects* I, 10; VII, 25. It is difficult to follow the reasoning of the wife and steward in justification of their proposals.

² Duke Hsien fled from Wei in B.C. 559, and returned to it in 547.

reached the suburbs (of the capital), he was about to grant certain towns and lands to those who had attended him in his exile before entering. Liû Kwang said, 'If all had (remained at home) to guard the altars for you, who would have been able to follow you with halter and bridle? And if all had followed you, who would have guarded the altars? Your lordship has now returned to the state, and will it not be wrong for you to show a partial feeling?' The intended allotment did not take place.

18. There was the grand historiographer of Wei, called Liû Kwang, lying ill. The duke said¹, 'If the illness prove fatal, though I may be engaged at the time in sacrificing, you must let me know.' (It happened accordingly, and, on hearing the news), the duke bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, and begged permission from the personator of the dead, saying, 'There was the minister Liû Kwang,—not a minister of mine (merely), but a minister of the altars of the state. I have heard that he is dead, and beg leave to go (to his house).' On this, without putting off his robes, he went; and on the occasion presented them as his contribution (to the mourning rites). He also gave the deceased the towns of *Khiû-shih* and *Hsien-fan-shih* by a writing of assignment which was put into the coffin, containing the words:—'For the myriads of his descendants, to hold from generation to generation without change.'

19. When *Khân Kan-hsi* was lying ill, he assembled his brethren, and charged his son *Jun-êi*,

¹ The same duke Hsien of Wei. *Khân Hào* and others condemn his action in this case. Readers may not agree with them.

saying, 'When I am dead, you must make my coffin large, and make my two concubines lie in it with me, one on each side.' When he died, his son said, 'To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!' Accordingly he did not put the two ladies to death.

20. Kung Sui died in *K'ui*; and on the next day, which was *Zăn-wû*, the sacrifice of the previous day was notwithstanding repeated (in the capital of *Lû*). When the pantomimes entered, however, they put away their flutes. Kung-nî said, 'It was contrary to rule. When a high minister dies, the sacrifice of the day before should not be repeated¹.'

21. When the mother of *K'î Khang-ze* died, Kung-shû Zo was still young. After the dressing², Pan asked leave to let the coffin down into the grave by a mechanical contrivance. They were about to accede, when Kung-ên *Kiâ* said, 'No. According to the early practice in Lu, the ducal house used (for this purpose) the arrangement looking like large stone pillars, and the three families that like large wooden columns. Pan, you would, in the case of another man's mother, make trial of your ingenuity;—could you not in the case of your own mother do so? Would that distress you? Bah!' They did not allow him to carry out his plan³.

¹ See this incident in the Chinese Classics, V, i, pp. 301, 302, where the account of it is discussed in a note.

² This must be the greater dressing.

³ Pan and Zo were probably the same man; but we know that Pan lived at a later period. The incident in this paragraph therefore is doubted.

22. During the fight at Lang¹, Kung-shu Zü-zǎn saw (many of) the men, carrying their clubs on their shoulders, entering behind the shelter of the small wall, and said, 'Although the services required of them are distressing, and the burdens laid on them heavy, (they ought to fight); but though our superiors do not form (good) plans, it is not right that soldiers should not be prepared to die. This is what I say.' On this along with Wang Í, a youth, (the son) of a neighbour, he went forward, and both of them met their death.

The people of Lû wished to bury the lad Wang Í not as one who had died prematurely, and asked Kung-ní about the point. He said, 'As he was able to bear his shield and spear in the defence of our altars, may you not do as you wish, and bury him as one who has not died prematurely?'

23. When 3ze-lû was going away from Lû, he said to Yen Yüan, 'What have you to send me away with?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that, when one is leaving his state, he wails at the graves (of his fathers), and then takes his journey, while on his return to it, he does not wail, but goes to look at the graves, and (then) enters (the city).' He then said to 3ze-lû, 'And what have you to leave with me here?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that, when you pass by a grave, you should bow forward to the cross-bar, and, when you pass a place of sacrifice, you should dismount.'

24. Shang Yang, director of Works (in *K'û*), and

¹ The fight at Lang is mentioned in the *K'un K'hiu* under B. C. 484. 3o's description of the battle gives the incident mentioned here, but somewhat differently.

*Khăn K'hi-k'î*¹ were pursuing the army of Wû, and came up with it. The latter said to Shang Yang, 'It is the king's² business. It will be well for you to take your bow in hand.' He did so, and *K'hi-k'î* told him to shoot, which he did, killing a man, and returning immediately the bow to its case. They came up with the enemy again, and being told as before to shoot, he killed other two men; whenever he killed a man, he covered his eyes. Then stopping the chariot, he said, 'I have no place at the audiences; nor do I take part in the feasts. The death of three men will be sufficient for me to report.' Confucius said, 'Amidst his killing of men, he was still observant of the rules of propriety³.'

25. The princes were engaged in an invasion of *K'hin*, when duke Hwan of *Zhào* died at their meeting⁴. The others asked leave to (see) the plugging of his teeth with the jade, and they were made to enshroud (his corpse)⁵.

Duke Hsiang being in attendance at the court of King, king Khang died⁶. The people of King said to him, 'We must beg you to cover (the corpse

¹ *K'hi-k'î* was a son of the king of *K'ho*, and afterwards became king Phing. *K'ho*, in B. C. 534, reduced *Khăn* to be a dependency of itself, and put it under *K'hi-k'î*, who became known as *K'hi-k'î* of *Khăn*.

² 'The king's business;' that is, the business of the count of *K'ho*, who had usurped the title of king.

³ It is not easy to discover the point of Confucius' reply. Even *Ze-lû* questioned him about it (as related in the Narratives of the School), and got an answer which does not make it any clearer.

⁴ In B. C. 578.

⁵ Probably by the marquis of *Shin*—duke Wăn—as 'lord of Meetings and Covenants.'

⁶ In B. C. 545.

with your gift of a robe).' The men of Lû (who were with him) said, 'The thing is contrary to propriety.' They of *Khû*, however, obliged him to do what they asked; and he first employed a sorcerer with his reed-brush to brush (and purify) the bier. The people of *King* then regretted what they had done¹.

26. At the mourning rites for duke *Khăng* of *Thăng*², *Ze-shû King-shû* was sent (from Lû) on a mission of condolence, and to present a letter (from duke *Âi*), *Ze-fû Hui-po* being assistant-commissioner. When they arrived at the suburbs (of the capital of *Thăng*), because it was the anniversary of the death of *Î-po*, (*Hui-po*'s uncle), *King-shû* hesitated to enter the city. *Hui-po*, however, said, 'We are on government business, and should not for the private affair of my uncle's (death) neglect the duke's affairs.' They forthwith entered.

PART III.

1. Duke *Âi* sent a message of condolence to *Khwâi Shang*, and the messenger met him (on the way to the grave). They withdrew to the way-side, where *Khwâi* drew the figure of his house, (with the coffin in it), and there received the condolences³.

Žang-ze said, '*Khwâi Shang*'s knowledge of the

¹ *King* was another name for *Khû*. Duke *Hsiang* went from Lû in B.C. 545; and it was in the spring of the next year, probably, that the incident occurred. The sorcerer and his reed-brush were used when a ruler went to the mourning for a minister (see Part i. 42), so that *Khû* intending to humiliate Lû was itself humiliated.

² Duke *Khăng* of *Thăng* died in B.C. 539.

³ This must have been a case for which the rule is given in Part i. 12.

rules of ceremony was not equal to that of the wife of *Khí* Liang. When duke *Kwang* fell on *Kü* by surprise at *Thui*, *Khí* Liang met his death. His wife met his bier on the way, and wailed for him bitterly. Duke *Kwang* sent a person to convey his condolences to her; but she said, 'If his lordship's officer had been guilty of any offence, then his body should have been exposed in the court or the market-place, and his wife and concubines apprehended. If he were not chargeable with any offence, there is the poor cottage of his father. This is not the place where the ruler should demean himself to send me a message¹.'

2. At the mourning rites for his young son *Tun*, duke *Âi* wished to employ the (elm-juice) sprinklers, and asked *Yû Zo* about the matter, who said that it might be done, for his three ministers even used them. *Yen Liû* said, 'For the son of Heaven dragons are painted on (the shafts of) the funeral carriage, and the boards surrounding the coffin, like the shell, have a covering over them. For the feudal princes there is a similar carriage (without the painted dragons), and the covering above. (In both cases) they prepare the elm-juice, and therefore employ sprinklers. The three ministers, not employing (such a carriage), and yet employing the sprinklers, thus appropriate a ceremony which is not suitable for them; and why should your lordship imitate them²?'

¹ See the *So Kwan*, under B.C. 550, the twenty-third year of duke *Hsiang*. The name of the place in the text (*To*, read *Thui* by *K'ang Hsüan*) seems to be a mistake. See the *Khang-hsi* dictionary on the character *To* (奪).

² There is a good deal of difficulty and difference of opinion in

3. After the death of the mother of (his son, who became) duke Táo, duke Âi wore for her the one year's mourning with its unfrayed edges. Yû Zo asked him, if it was in rule for him to wear that mourning for a concubine. 'Can I help it?' replied the duke. 'The people of Lô will have it that she was my wife.'

4. When Kî 3ze-káo buried his wife, some injury was done to the standing corn, which Shăn-hsiang told him of, begging him to make the damage good. 3ze-káo said, 'The Măng has not blamed me for this, and my friends have not cast me off. I am here the commandant of the city. To buy (in this manner a right of) way in order to bury (my dead) would be a precedent difficult to follow¹.'

5. When one receives no salary for the official duties which he performs², and what the ruler sends to him is called 'an offering,' while the messenger charged with it uses the style of 'our unworthy ruler;' if such an one leave the state, and afterwards the ruler dies, he does not wear mourning for him.

6. At the sacrifice of Repose a personator of the

the interpretation of this paragraph. According to the common view, the funeral carriage used by the king and princes was very heavy, and difficult to drag along. To ease its transit, a juice was prepared from the elm bark, and sprinkled on the ground to make it slippery. But this practice was because of the heaviness of the carriage; and was not required in the case of lighter conveyances.

¹ This Kî 3ze-káo was Káo K'ái, one of the disciples of Confucius. Shăn-hsiang was the son of 3ze-kang; see paragraph 3, page 132.

² Such was 3ze-sze in Lô, and Mencius in K'hi. They were 'guests,' not ministers. Declining salary, they avoided the obligations incurred by receiving it.

dead is appointed, and a stool, with a mat and viands on it, is placed (for him). When the wailing is over, the name of the deceased is avoided. The service of him as living is over, and that for him in his ghostly state has begun. When the wailing is over, the cook, with a bell having a wooden clapper, issues an order throughout the palace, saying, 'Give up disusing the names of the former rulers, and henceforth disuse (only) the name of him who is newly deceased.' This was done from the door leading to the chambers to the outer gate.

7. When a name was composed of two characters they were not avoided when used singly. The name of the Master's mother was *Kǎng-3âi*. When he used *3âi*, he did not at the same time use *Kǎng*; nor *3âi*, when he used *Kǎng*.

8. When any sad disaster occurred to an army, (the ruler) in plain white robes wailed for it outside the *Khû* gate¹. A carriage conveying the news of such disaster carried no cover for buff-coats nor case for bows.

9. When the (shrine-)apartment of his father was burned, (the ruler) wailed for it three days. Hence it is said, 'The new temple took fire;' and also, 'There was a wailing for three days².'

10. In passing by the side of mount *Thái*, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave. The Master bowed forward to the cross-bar, and hastened to her; and then sent

¹ The *Khû* (arsenal or treasury gate) was the second of the palace gates, and near the ancestral temple. Hence the position selected for the wailing.

² See the *Khün Khiû*, under B. C. 588.

3ze-lû to question her. 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed (by another), and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave the place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said (to the disciples), 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'

11. In Lû there was one *Kâu Făng*¹, to whom duke Âi went, carrying an introductory present, and requesting an interview, which, however, the other refused. The duke said, 'I must give it up then.' And he sent a messenger with the following questions:—'(Shun), the lord of Yü, had not shown his good faith to the people, and yet they put confidence in him. The sovereign of Hsiâ had not shown his reverence for the people, and yet the people revered him:—what shall I exhibit that I may obtain such things from the people?' The reply was:—'Ruins and graves express no mournfulness to the people, and yet the people mourn (amidst them). The altars of the spirits of the land and grain and the ancestral temples express no reverence to the people, and yet the people revere them. The kings of Yin made their solemn proclamations, and yet the people began to rebel; those of *Kâu* made their covenants, and the people began to distrust them. If there be not the heart

¹ This *Kâu Făng* must have been a worthy who had withdrawn from public life.

observant of righteousness, self-consecration, good faith, sincerity, and guilelessness, though a ruler may try to knit the people firmly to him, will not all bonds between them be dissolved ?'

12. While mourning (for a father), one should not be concerned about (the discomfort of) his own resting-place¹, nor, in emaciating himself, should he do so to the endangering of his life. He should not be the former;—he has to be concerned that (his father's spirit-tablet) is not (yet) in the temple. He should not do the latter, lest (his father) should thereby have no posterity.

13. Kĭ-ze of Yen-ling² had gone to Kĕi; and his eldest son having died, on the way back (to Wû), he buried him between Ying and Po. Confucius (afterwards) said, 'Kĭ-ze was the one man in Wû most versed in the rules of propriety, so I went and saw his manner of interment. The grave was not so deep as to reach the water-springs. The grave-clothes were such as (the deceased) had ordinarily worn. After the interment, he raised a mound over the grave of dimensions sufficient to cover it, and high enough for the hand to be easily placed on it. When the mound was completed, he bared his left arm;

¹ Referring, I think, to the discomfort of the mourning shed. But other interpretations of the paragraph are to be found in Kĕn Hào's work, and elsewhere.

² This Kĭ-ze is better known as Kĭ Kĕ (季札), a brother of the ruler of Wû. Having declined the state of Wû, he lived in the principality of Yen-ling. He visited the northern states Lû, Kĕi, Jin, and the others, in B.C. 515; and his sayings and doings in them are very famous. He was a good man and able, whom Confucius could appreciate. Ying and Po were two places in Kĕi.

and, moving to the right, he went round it thrice, crying out, "That the bones and flesh should return again to the earth is what is appointed. But the soul in its energy can go everywhere; it can go everywhere." And with this he went on his way.' Confucius (also) said, 'Was not *K'î-jze* of Yen-ling's observance of the rules of ceremony in accordance with (the idea of them)?'

14. At the mourning rites for the duke Khâu of *K'û-lü*¹, the ruler of Hsü sent Yung *K'ü* with a message of condolence, and with the articles to fill the mouth of the deceased. 'My unworthy ruler,' said he, 'hath sent me to kneel and put the jade for a marquis which he has presented into your (deceased) ruler's mouth. Please allow me to kneel and do so.' The officers of *K'ü* replied, 'When any of the princes has deigned to send or come to our poor city, the observances have been kept according to their nature, whether simple and easy, or troublesome and more difficult; but such a blending of the easy and troublesome as in your case, we have not known.' Yung *K'ü* replied, 'I have heard that in the service of his ruler one should not forget that ruler, nor be oblivious of his ancestral (rules). Formerly, our ruler, king *K'ü*, in his warlike operations towards the west, in which he crossed the Ho, everywhere used this style of speech. I am a plain, blunt man, and do not presume to forget his example².'

¹ Khâu should probably be Ting. Duke Khâu lived after the period of the *K'îun K'hiû*, during which the power of Hsü had been entirely broken.

² Here was Yung *K'ü*, merely a Great officer, wishing to do what only a prince could do, according to the rules of propriety.

15. When the mother of 3ze-sze died in Wei, and news of the event was brought to him, he wailed in the ancestral temple. His disciples came to him and said, 'Your mother is dead, after marrying into another family¹; why do you wail for her in the temple of the Khung family?' He replied, 'I am wrong, I am wrong.' And thereon he wailed in one of the smaller apartments of his house.

16. When the son of Heaven died, three days afterwards, the officers of prayer² were the first to assume mourning. In five days the heads of official departments did so; in seven days both males and females throughout the royal domain; and in three months all in the kingdom.

The foresters examined the trees about the various altars, and cut down those which they thought suitable for the coffins and shell. If these did not come up to what was required, the sacrifices were abolished, and the men had their throats cut³.

17. During a great dearth in *K'hi*, *K'hiên* Áo had food prepared on the roads, to wait the approach of hungry people and give to them. (One day), there came a famished man, looking as if he could

He defends himself on the ground that the lords of Hsü claimed the title of King. The language of the officers of *K'hi* shows that they were embarrassed by his mission.

¹ Literally, 'The mother of the Shû family is dead,' but the interpretation of the text is disputed. The *K'hiên-lung* editors and many others question the genuineness of the whole paragraph.

² The officers of prayer were divided into five classes; the first and third of which are intended here. See the Official Book of *K'áu*, ch. 25.

³ Great efforts are made to explain away this last sentence.

hardly see, his face covered with his sleeve, and dragging his feet together. *Khien Ao*, carrying with his left hand some rice, and holding some drink with the other, said to him, 'Poor man! come and eat.' The man, opening his eyes with a stare, and looking at him, said, 'It was because I would not eat "Poor man come here's" food, that I am come to this state.' *Khien Ao* immediately apologised for his words, but the man after all would not take the food and died.

When *Jäng-ze* heard the circumstances, he said, 'Was it not a small matter? When the other expressed his pity as he did, the man might have gone away. When he apologised, the man might have taken the food.'

18. In the time of duke Ting of *Kû-lü*¹, there occurred the case of a man killing his father. The officers reported it; when the duke, with an appearance of dismay, left his mat and said, 'This is the crime of unworthy me!' He added, 'I have learned how to decide on such a charge. When a minister kills his ruler, all who are in office with him should kill him without mercy. When a son kills his father, all who are in the house with him should kill him without mercy. The man should be killed; his house should be destroyed; the whole place should be laid under water and reduced to a swamp. And his ruler should let a month elapse before he raises a cup to his lips.'

¹ This duke Ting became ruler of *Kû* in B.C. 613. Some interpret the paragraph as if it said that all the officers, as well as the whole family of a regicide or parricide, should be killed with him. But that cannot be, and need not be, the meaning.

19. (The ruler of) 3in having congratulated Wăn-ze on the completion of his residence, the Great officers of the state went to the house-warming¹. Kang Láo said, 'How elegant it is, and lofty! How elegant and splendid! Here will you have your songs! Here will you have your wailings! Here will you assemble the representatives of the great families of the state!' Wăn-ze replied, 'If I can have my songs here, and my wailings, and assemble here the representatives of the great families of the state, (it will be enough). I will then (only) seek to preserve my waist and neck to follow the former Great officers of my family to the Nine Plains.' He then bowed twice, laying his head also on the ground.

A superior man will say (of the two), that the one was skilful in the expression of his praise and the other in his prayer.

20. The dog kept by Kung-ní having died, he employed 3ze-kung to bury it, saying, 'I have heard that a worn-out curtain should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a horse in; and that a worn-out umbrella should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a dog in. I am poor and have no umbrella. In putting the dog into the grave, you can use my mat; and do not

¹ It is doubtful how this first sentence should be translated. Most naturally we should render Hsien-wăn-ze of 3in having completed his house, but binomial honorary titles were not yet known; and the view seems to be correct that this Wăn-ze was Káo Wú, a well-known minister of 3in. The 'Nine Plains' below must have been the name of a burying-place used by the officers of 3in. There seems to be an error in the name in the text, which is given correctly in paragraph 25.

let its head get buried in the earth. When one of the horses of the ruler's carriage dies, it is buried in a curtain (in good condition)¹.

21. When the mother of K'î-sun died, duke Âi paid a visit of condolence to him. (Soon after) ǰǎng-ǰze and ǰze-kung arrived for the same purpose; but the porter declined to admit them, because the ruler was present. On this they went into the stable, and adjusted their dress more fully. (Shortly) they entered the house, ǰze-kung going first². The porter said to him, 'I have already announced your arrival;' and when ǰǎng-ǰze followed, he moved on one side for him. They passed on to the inner place for the droppings from the roof, the Great officers all moving out of their way, and the duke descending a step and bowing to them. A superior man has said about the case, 'So it is when the toilet is complete! Immediately its influence extends far³.'

22. A man-at-arms at the Yang gate (of the capital of Sung) having died, ǰze-han, the superintendent of Works, went to (his house), and wailed for him bitterly. The men of ǰin who were in Sung as spies returned, and reported the thing to

¹ The concluding sentence is found also in the 'Narratives of the School,' and may have been added to the rest by the compiler of this 'Than Kung. We are not prepared for the instance which Confucius gives of his poverty; but perhaps we like him better for keeping a dog, and seeing after its burial.

² Because he was older than ǰǎng-ǰze.

³ This concluding sentence is much objected to; seeming, as it does, to attribute to their toilet what was due to the respectful demeanour of the two worthies, and their established reputation. But the text must stand as it is.

the marquis of 3in, saying, 'A man-at-arms at the Yang gate having died, 3ze-han wailed for him bitterly, and the people were pleased; (Sung), we apprehend, cannot be attacked (with success).'

When Confucius heard of the circumstances, he said, 'Skilfully did those men do their duty as spies in Sung. It is said in the Book of Poetry,—

"If there was any mourning among the people,
I did my utmost to help them."

Though there had been other enemies besides 3in, what state under the sky could have withstood one (in the condition of Sung)¹?

23. At the mourning rites for duke K'wang of Lû, when the interment was over, (the new ruler) did not enter the outer gate with his girdle of dolichos cloth. The ordinary and Great officers, when they had finished their wailing, also did not enter in their sackcloth².

24. There was an old acquaintance of Confucius, called Yüan Zang. When his mother died, the Master assisted him in preparing the shell for the coffin. Yüan (then) got up on the wood, and said, 'It is long since I sang to anything;' and (with this he struck the wood), singing:—

'It is marked like a wild cat's head;

It is (smooth) as a young lady's hand which you hold.'

The Master, however, made as if he did not hear, and passed by him.

¹ The whole narrative here is doubted. See the Shih, I. iii. Ode 10. 4. The reading of the poem, but not the meaning, is different from the text. The application is far-fetched.

² The time was one of great disorder; there may have been reasons for the violations of propriety, which we do not know.

The disciples who were with him said, 'Can you not have done with him?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that relations should not forget their relationship, nor old acquaintances their friendship¹.'

25. *Kào Wăn-ze* and *Shû-yü* were looking about them at the Nine Plains², when *Wăn-ze* said, 'If these dead could arise, with whom would I associate myself?' *Shû-yü* asked, 'Would it be with *Yang Khû-fû*³?' 'He managed by his course,' was the reply, 'to concentrate in himself all the power of *Ûin*, and yet he did not die a natural death. His wisdom does not deserve to be commended.'

'Would it be with uncle *Fan*⁴?' *Wăn-ze* said, 'When he saw gain in prospect, he did not think of his ruler; his virtue does not deserve to be commended⁴. I think I would follow *Wû-ze* of *Sui*⁵. While seeking the advantage of his ruler, he did not forget himself; and while consulting for his own advantage, he was not forgetful of his friends.'

The people of *Ûin* thought that *Wăn-ze* knew men. He carried himself in a retiring way, as if he could not bear even his clothes. His speech

¹ We have another instance of Confucius's relations with *Yüan Zang* in the *Analects*, XIV, 46. He was evidently 'queer,' with a sort of craze. It gives one a new idea of Confucius to find his interest in, and kindly feeling for, such a man.

² See paragraph 19 and note.

³ Master of duke *Hsiang* B.C. 627-621, and an important minister afterwards.

⁴ See in paragraph 19, Part i. But scant measure is dealt here to 'uncle *Fan*.'

⁵ *Wû-ze* of *Sui* had an eventful life, and played an important part in the affairs of *Ûin* and *K'in* in his time. See a fine testimony to him in the *30 Kwan*, under B.C. 546.

was low and stuttering, as if he could not get his words out. The officers whom he advanced to responsible charges in the depositories of 3in were more than seventy. During his life, he had no contentions with any of them about gain, and when dying he required nothing from them for his sons.

26. Shû-kung Phî instructed (his son) 3ze-liû (in the rules of ceremony); and when he died, 3ze-liû's wife, who was a plain, blunt woman, wore for him the one year's mourning and the headband with its two ends tied together. (Phî's brother), Shû-kung K'hien spoke to 3ze-liû about it, and requested that she should wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband; saying, 'Formerly, when I was mourning for my aunts and sisters, I wore this mourning, and no one forbade it.' When he withdrew, however, (3ze-liû) made his wife wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband¹.

27. There was a man of K'häng, who did not go into mourning on the death of his elder brother. Hearing, however, that 3ze-kão was about to become governor of the city, he forthwith did so. The people of K'häng said, 'The silkworm spins

¹ Shû-kung Phî was the first of a branch of the Shû-sun clan, descended from the ruling house of Lî. The object of the paragraph seems to be to show, that 3ze-liû's wife, though a plain simple woman, was taught what to do, by her native feeling and sense, in a matter of ceremony, more correctly than the two gentlemen, mere men of the world, her husband and his uncle. The paragraph, however, is not skilfully constructed, nor quite clear. K'häng Hsüan thought that 3ze-liû was Phî's son, which, the K'hien-lung editors say, some think a mistake. They do not give definitely their own opinion.

its cocoons, but the crab supplies the box for them; the bee has its cap, but the cicada supplies the strings for it. His elder brother died, but it was 3ze-káo who made the mourning for him¹.

28. When Yo K'ang, 3ze-kun's mother, died, he was five days without eating. He then said, 'I am sorry for it. Since in the case of my mother's death, I could not eat according to my feelings, on what occasion shall I be able to do so?'

29. In a year of drought duke Mû² called to him Hsien-ze, and asked him about it. 'Heaven,' said he, 'has not sent down rain for a long time. I wish to expose a deformed person in the sun (to move its pity), what do you say to my doing so?' 'Heaven, indeed,' was the reply, 'does not send down rain; but would it not be an improper act of cruelty, on that account to expose the diseased son of some one in the sun?'

'Well then,' (said the duke), 'I wish to expose in the sun a witch; what do you say to that?' Hsien-ze said, 'Heaven, indeed, does not send down rain; but would it not be wide of the mark to hope anything from (the suffering of) a foolish woman, and by means of that to seek for rain³?'

¹ The 3ze-káo here was the same as Káo K'ái; see the note on paragraph 4. The incident here shows the influence of his well-known character. He is the crab whose shell forms a box for the cocoons, and the cicada whose antennae form the strings for the cap.

² 'Duke Mû and Hsien-ze;' see Section I. Part iii. 5.

³ In the 3o Kwan, under B. C. 639, duke Hsi of Lû makes a proposal about exposing a deformed person and a witch like that which is recorded here. Nothing is said, however, about changing the site of the market. Reference is made, however, to that

‘What do you say then to my moving the market-place elsewhere?’ The answer was, ‘When the son of Heaven dies, the market is held in the lanes for seven days; and it is held in them for three days, when the ruler of a state dies. It will perhaps be a proper measure to move it there on account of the present distress.’

30. Confucius said, ‘The people of Wei, in burying husband and wife together (in the same grave and shell), leave a space between the coffins. The people of Lû, in doing the same, place them together;—which is the better way.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

THE reader will have been struck by the many references in the *Than Kung* to the degrees and dress of mourning; and no other subject occupies so prominent a place in many of the books of the *Lî Kî* that follow. It is thought well, therefore, to introduce here, by way of appendix to it, the following passage from a very valuable paper on ‘Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China,’ contributed, on February 8th, 1853, to the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Mr. W. H. Medhurst, jun., now Sir Walter H. Medhurst. The information and subjoined illustrative tables were taken by him mainly from the *Ritual and Penal Code of China*, a preliminary chapter of which is devoted to the subject of ‘The Dress of Mourning:’—

‘The ideas of the Chinese as to nearness of kin, whether by

practice in a work of Tung Kung-shu (second century, B.C.), of which Wang Tháo ventures to give a geomantic explanation. The narrative in the text is probably taken from the *30 Kwan*, the compiler having forgotten the time and parties in the earlier account.

blood or marriage, differ widely from our own. They divide relationships into two classes, *Nêi k'hin* (內親) and *Wâi yin* (外因), terms analogous to our "consanguinity" and "affinity," but conveying, nevertheless, other associations than those which we attach to these words. The former (*Nêi k'hin*) comprehends all kindred derived from common stock with the individual, but only by descent through the male line; the latter (*Wâi yin*) includes what the Chinese designate *mû tang* (母黨), *k'hi tang* (妻黨), and *nü tang* (女黨), three terms best translated, perhaps, by "mother's kin," "wife's kin," and "daughter's kin," and understood by them to mean a mother's relatives, relatives of females received into one's kindred by marriage, and members of families into which one's kinswomen marry. Thus, for example, a first cousin twice removed, lineally descended from the same great-great-grandfather through the male line, is a *nêi-k'hin* relative; but a mother's parents, wife's sister, and a sister's husband or child, are all equally *wâi-yin* kindred. The principle on which the distinction is drawn appears to be, that a woman alienates herself from her own kin on marriage, and becomes a part of the stock on which she is grafted; and it will be necessary to keep this principle distinctly in mind in perusing any further remarks that may be made, as otherwise it will be found impossible to reconcile the many apparent contradictions in the theory and practice of the Chinese Code.

'The indication of the prohibited degrees (in marriage) depends then upon a peculiar genealogical disposition of the several members of a family with respect to the mourning worn for deceased relatives; and this I shall now proceed to explain. The Ritual prescribes five different kinds of mourning, called *wû fû* (五服), to be worn for all relatives within a definite proximity of degree, graduating the character of the habit in proportion to the nearness of kin. These habits are designated by certain names, which by a species of metonymy come to be

applied to the relationships themselves, and are used somewhat as we apply the terms "1st degree," "2nd degree," and so on; and plans, similar to our genealogical tables, are laid down, showing the specific habit suitable for each kinsman. The principal one of these tables, that for a married or unmarried man, comprises cousins twice removed, that is, derived by lineal descent from a common great-great-grandfather, that ancestor himself, and all relatives included within the two lines of descent from him to them; below the individual, it comprehends his own descendants (in the male line) as far as great-great-grandchildren, his brother's as far as great-grandchildren, his cousin's as far as grandchildren, and the children of his cousin once removed. In this table *nêi-k'hin* relationships will alone be found; mourning is worn for very few of the *wâi-yin*, and these, though actually, that is, in our eyes, ties of consanguinity, and deserving far more consideration than many for which a deeper habit is prescribed, are classed among the very lowest degrees of mourning.

'Six tables are given in the Ritual to which the five habits are common; they prescribe the mourning to be worn by

- 1st, A man for his kinsmen and kinswomen;
- 2nd, A wife for her husband's kinsfolk;
- 3rd, A married female for her own kinsfolk;
- 4th, A man for his mother's kinsfolk;
- 5th, A man for his wife's kinsfolk;
- 6th, A concubine for her master's kinsfolk.

'A seventh table is given, exhibiting the mourning to be worn for step-fathers and fathers by adoption, and for step- and foster-mothers, &c.; but I have not thought it necessary to encumber my paper by wandering into so remote a portion of the field.

'To render these details more easily comprehensible, I shall class the relationships in each table under their appropriate degrees of mourning, and leave the reader to examine the tables at his leisure. It need only be borne

in mind, that, excepting where otherwise specified, the relationship indicated is male, and only by descent through the male line, as, for example, that by "cousin" a father's brother's son alone is meant, and not a father's sister's son or daughter.

'The five kinds of mourning, the names of which serve, as has been said, to indicate the degrees of relationship to which they belong, are:—

1st, *Kan-jui* (斬衰), nominally worn for three years, really for twenty-seven months;

2nd, *Ze-jui* (齊衰), worn for one year, for five months, or for three months;

3rd, *Tâ-kung* (大功), worn for nine months;

4th, *Hsiào-kung* (小功), worn for five months;

5th, *Sze-mâ* (緦麻), worn for three months.

'The character of each habit, and the relatives for whom it is worn, are prescribed as follows:—

'1st, *Kan-jui* indicates relationships of the first degree. The prescribed habit for it is composed of the coarsest hempen fabric, and left unhemmed at the borders. It is worn:—

'By a man, for his parents; by a wife, for her husband, and husband's parents; and by a concubine, for her master.

'2nd, *Ze-jui* indicates relationships of the second degree. The prescribed habit for it is composed of coarse hempen fabric, with hemmed borders. It is worn for one year:—

'By a man, for his grandparents; uncle; uncle's wife; spinster aunt; brother; spinster sister; wife; son (of wife or concubine); daughter-in-law (wife of first-born); nephew; spinster niece; grandson (first-born son of first-born); by a wife, for her husband's nephew, and husband's spinster niece; by a married woman, for her parents, and grandparents; and by a concubine, for her master's wife; her master's parents; her master's sons (by wife or other concubine), and for sons. It is worn for five months:—

'By a man, for his great-grandparents; and by a married woman, for her great-grandparents. It is worn for three months :—

'By a man, for his great-great-grandparents; and by a married woman, for her great-great-grandparents.

'3rd, Tâ-kung indicates relationships of the third degree. The prescribed habit for it is composed of coarse cotton fabric¹. It is worn :—

'By a man, for his married aunt; married sister; brother's wife; first cousin; spinster first cousin; daughter-in-law (wife of a younger son, or of a son of a concubine); nephew's wife; married niece; and grandson (son of a younger son, or of a concubine's son); by a wife, for her husband's grandparents; husband's uncle; husband's daughter-in-law (wife of a younger son, or of a concubine's son); husband's nephew's wife; husband's married niece; and grandson; by a married woman, for her uncle; uncle's wife; spinster aunt; brother; sister; nephew; spinster niece; and by a concubine, for her grandson.

'4th, Hsiào-kung indicates relationships of the fourth degree. The habit prescribed for it is composed of rather coarse cotton fabric. It is worn :—

'By a man, for his grand-uncle; grand-uncle's wife; spinster grand-aunt; father's first cousin; father's first cousin's wife; father's spinster first cousin; married female first cousin; first cousin once removed; spinster female first cousin once removed; second cousin; spinster female second cousin; grand-daughter-in-law (wife of first-born of first-born son); grand-nephew; spinster grand-niece; mother's parents; mother's brother; mother's

¹ In the very brief account of this preliminary chapter in the Penal Code, given by Sir George Staunton, in his translation of the Code (page lxxv), he gives for the material 'coarse' linen cloth. The Chinese character is simply 'cloth.' I suppose the material originally was linen; but since the use of cotton, both of native and foreign manufacture, has increased in China, it is often substituted for linen. I have seen some mourners wearing linen, and others wearing cotton.

sister¹; by a wife, for her husband's aunt; husband's brother; husband's brother's wife; husband's sister; husband's second cousin; spinster female second cousin of husband; husband's grand-nephew; and spinster grand-niece of husband; by a married woman, for her spinster aunt; married sister; first cousin; and married niece; and by a concubine, for her master's grand-parents.

'5th, Sze-mâ indicates relationships of the fifth degree. The prescribed dress for it is composed of rather fine cotton cloth. It is worn :—

'By a man, for his great-grand-uncle; great-grand-uncle's wife; spinster great-grand-aunt; married grand-aunt; grandfather's first cousin; grandfather's first cousin's wife; spinster first cousin of grandfather; married female first cousin of father; father's first cousin once removed; wife of father's first cousin once removed; father's spinster first cousin once removed; first cousin's wife; married female first cousin once removed; first cousin twice removed; spinster first cousin twice removed; married female second cousin; second cousin once removed; spinster second cousin once removed; grand-daughter-in-law (wife of son of a younger son, or of son of a concubine); grand-nephew's wife; married grand-niece; third cousin; spinster third cousin; great-grandson; great-grand-nephew; spinster great-grand-niece; great-great-grandson; aunt's son; mother's brother's son; mother's sister's son; wife's parents; son-in-law; daughter's child: by a wife, for her husband's great-great-grand-parents; husband's great-grand-parents; husband's grand-uncle; husband's spinster grand-aunt; father-in-law's first cousin; father-in-law's first cousin's wife; spinster first cousin of father-in-law; female first cousin of husband; husband's second cousin's wife; married female second cousin of husband; husband's second cousin once removed; husband's

¹ These names and others farther on, printed with spaced letters, all belong to the Wâi-yin relationships.

spinster second cousin once removed ; grand-daughter-in-law (wife of own or a concubine's grandson) ; husband's grand-nephew's wife ; husband's married grand-niece ; husband's third cousin ; spinster third cousin of husband ; great-grandson ; great-grand-daughter-in-law ; husband's great-grand-nephew ; spinster great-grand-niece of husband ; and great-great-grandson : and by a married woman, for her grand-uncle ; spinster grand-aunt ; father's first cousin ; spinster first cousin of father ; spinster first cousin ; second cousin ; spinster second cousin.'

TABLE No. 1.

SELF.

1st Degree. 3 years.	2nd Degree. 1 year, 5 months, or 8 months.
3rd Degree. 9 months.	4th Degree. 8 months.
5th Degree. 3 months.	No Mourning.

TABLE No. 2.
Mourning worn by a Wife for her Husband's Kinsfolk.

									Husband's Great-grand-mother.	
									Husband's Great-grand-mother.	
									Husband's Grand-aunt.	
								Married.	Single.	Husband's Grand-mother.
										Husband's Aunt.
										Mother-in-law.
										(Husband for Wife.) (1 year.)
										Daughter-in-law (younger Son and Son of younger Son.)
										Daughter-in-law (eldest Son.)
										Daughter-in-law of younger or inferior Son.
										Eldest Wife's Daughter-in-law (eldest Son.)
										Great-grand-son's Daughter-in-law.
										Great-grand-son's Daughter-in-law.

Husband's Great-great-grand-father.					
Husband's Great-grand-father.					
Husband's Grand-father.		Husband's Grand-uncle.			
Father-in-law.		Husband's Uncle.		Father-in-law's 1st Cousin and W/fe.	
Husband.		Brother-in-law and W/fe.		Husband's 1st Cousin and W/fe.	
Son. (1 year.)		Husband's Nephew's W/fe.	Husband's Nephew. (1 year.)	Husband's 2nd Cousin's W/fe.	Husband's 2nd Cousin once removed.
Grand-son.		Husband's Grand-nephew's W/fe.	Husband's Grand-nephew.	Husband's 3rd Cousin.	
Great-grand-son.		Husband's Great-grand-nephew.			
Great-grand-son's Son.					

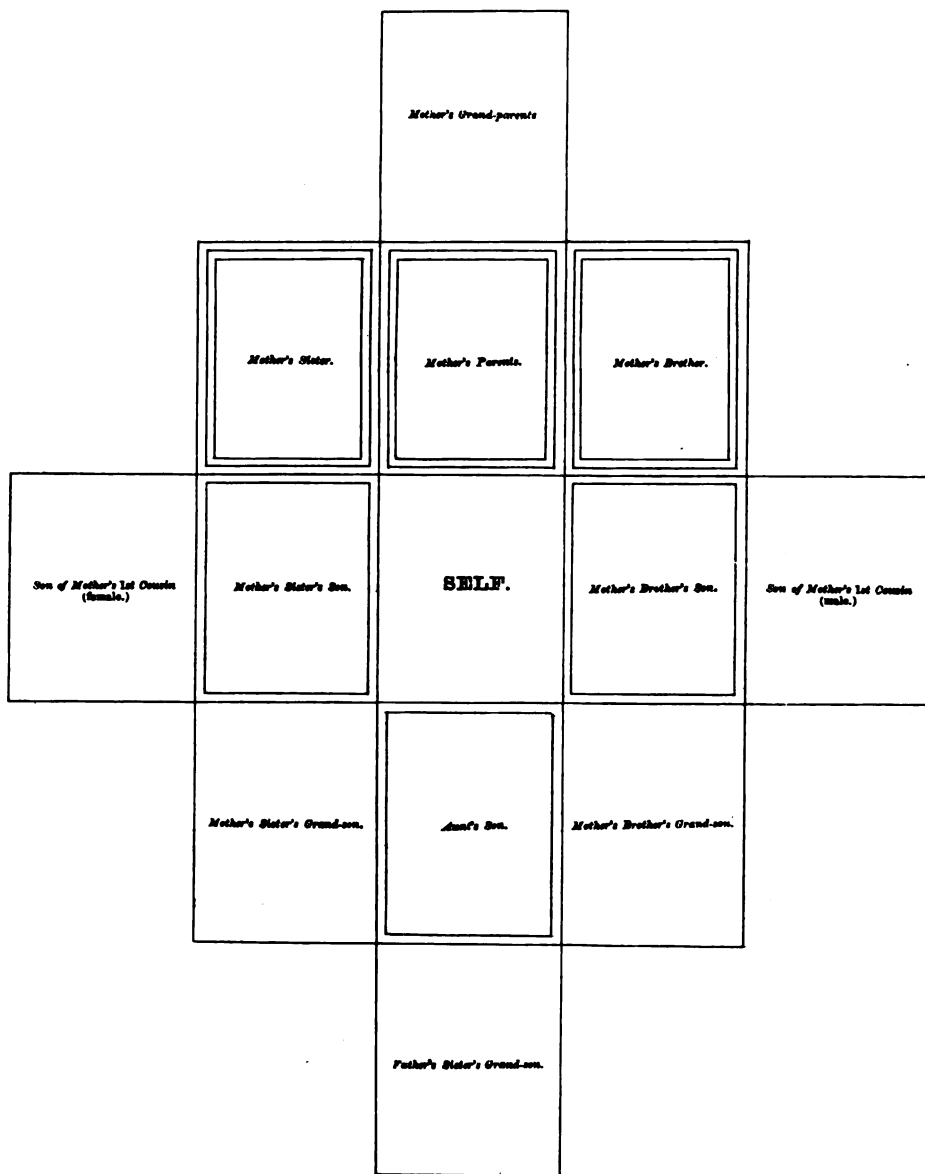
TABLE No. 3.
*Mourning worn by a married Female
 for her own Kinfolk.*

showing work by a woman from
for her own Kinsfolk.

Great-great-grand-parents. (3 months.)							
Great-grand-parents. (3 months.)							
Grand-aunt.		Grand-parents. (1 year.)		Grand-uncle.			
Married.	Single.						
Father's 1st Cousin. (female.)		Aunt.		Parents. (1 year.)		Uncle and Neph.	
Married.	Single.	Married.	Single.			Father's 1st Cousin.	
1st Cousin (female).		Sister.		SELF.		Brother.	
Married.	Single.	Married.	Single.				
2nd Cousin (female).		Niece.		Nephew.		2nd Cousin.	
Married.	Single.	Married.	Single.				

TABLE No. 4.

Mourning worn by a Man for his Mother's Kinsfolk.



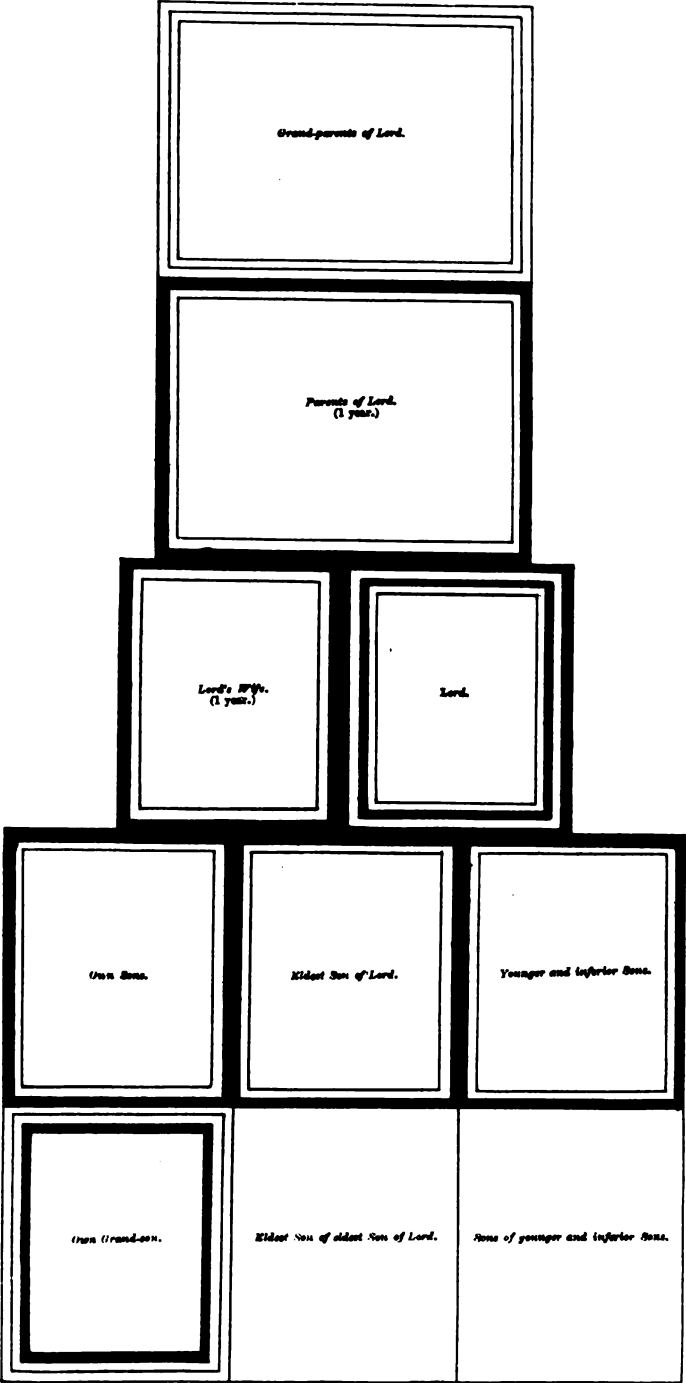
Note.—Father's Sister's Son and Grand-son, though not relatives by the Mother's side, are yet properly 外親, and therefore are inserted here.

TABLE No. 5.
Mourning worn by a Man for his Wife's Kinsfolk.

		TABLE No. 5. Mourning worn by a Man for his Wife's Kinsfolk.	
		Wife's Grand-parents.	
Wife's Father's Sister.	Father-in-law, Mother-in-law.	Wife's Father's Brother.	
Wife's Sister.	SELF.	Wife's Brother and Wife.	Wife's Mother's Parents.
	Son-in-law.		
Wife's Sister's Son.	Daughter's CHILD.	Wife's Brother's Son.	
		Daughter's Grand-son and Grand-daughter.	
Note.—Son-in-law, and Grand-children and Great-grand-children by Daughter and Grand-daughter, are not Wife's relations but are included here.			

Note.—Son-in-law, and Grand-children and Great-grand-children by Daughter and Grand-daughter, are not Wife's relations, but are included herein.

TABLE No. 8.
Mourning worn by a Concubine for her Mother's Kinfolk.



BOOK III. THE ROYAL REGULATIONS¹.

SECTION I.

1. According to the regulations of emolument and rank framed by the kings, there were the duke; the marquis; the earl; the count; and the baron²:—in all, five gradations (of rank). There were (also), in the feudal states, Great officers³ of the highest grade,—the ministers; and Great officers of the lowest grade; officers of the highest, the middle, and the lowest grades:—in all, five gradations (of office).

2. The territory of the son of Heaven amounted to 1000 li square; that of a duke or marquis to 500 li square; that of an earl to 70 li square; and that of a count or baron to 50 li square⁴. (Lords) who could not number 50 li square, were not

¹ See the Introduction, chapter iii, pages 18–20.

² Most sinologists have adopted these names for the Chinese terms. Callery says, 'Les ducs, les marquis, les comtes, les vicomtes, et les barons.' See the note on Mencius, V, i, 2, 3, for the meaning given to the different terms.

³ 'Great officers' are in Chinese Tâ Fû, 'Great Sustainers.' The character fû (夫) is different from that for 'officer,' which follows. The latter is called shih (士), often translated 'scholar,' and is 'the designation of one having a special charge.' Callery generally retains the Chinese name Tâ Fû, which I have not liked to do.

⁴ A li is made up of 360 paces. At present 27.8 li = 10 English miles, and one geographical li = 1458.53 English feet. The territories were not squares, but when properly measured, 'taking the length with the breadth,' were equal to so many li square. The Chinese term rendered 'territory' is here (田), meaning 'fields;' but it is not to be supposed that that term merely denotes 'ground that could be cultivated,' as some of the commentators maintain.

admitted directly to (the audiences of) the son of Heaven. Their territories were called 'attached,' being joined to those of one of the other princes.

3. The territory assigned to each of the ducal ministers of the son of Heaven was equal to that of a duke or marquis; that of each of his high ministers was equal to that of an earl; that of his Great officers to the territory of a count or baron; and that of his officers of the chief grade to an attached territory.

4. According to the regulations, the fields of the husbandmen were in portions of a hundred acres¹. According to the different qualities of those acres, when they were of the highest quality, a farmer supported nine individuals; where they were of the next, eight; and so on, seven, six, and five. The pay of the common people, who were employed in government offices², was regulated in harmony with these distinctions among the husbandmen.

5. The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states had an emolument equal to that of the husbandmen whose fields were of the highest quality; equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. Those of the middle grade had double that of the lowest grade; and those of the highest grade double that of the middle. A Great officer of the lowest grade had double that of an officer of the highest. A high minister had four times that of

¹ The mǎu is much less than an English acre, measuring only 733½ square yards. An English acre is rather more than 6 mǎu.

² But held their appointments only from the Head of their department, and were removable by him at pleasure, having no commission from the king, or from the ruler of the state in which they were.

a Great officer; and the ruler had ten times that of a high minister. In a state of the second class, the emolument of a minister was three times that of a Great officer; and that of the ruler ten times that of a minister. In small states, a high minister had twice as much as a Great officer; and the ruler ten times as much as a minister.

6. The highest minister, in a state of the second class, ranked with the one of the middle grade in a great state; the second, with the one of the lowest grade; and the lowest, with a Great officer of the highest grade. The highest minister in a small state ranked with the lowest of a great state; the second, with the highest Great officer of the other; and the lowest, with one of the lower grade.

7. Where there were officers of the middle grade and of the lowest, the number in each was three times that in the grade above it¹.

8. Of the nine provinces embracing all within the four seas², a province was 1000 li square, and there were established in it 30 states of 100 li (square) each; 60 of 70 li; 120 of 50 li:—in all, 210 states. The famous hills and great meres were not included in the investitures³. The rest of the

¹ Some of the critics think that this sentence is out of place, and really belongs to paragraph 5 of next section. As the text stands, and simple as it appears, it is not easy to construe.

² The expression 'the four seas' must have originated from an erroneous idea that the country was an insular square, with a sea or ocean on each side. The explanation of it in the *R Ya* as denoting the country surrounded by 'The 9 *Î*, the 8 *Ti*, the 7 *Zung*, and the 6 *Man*,' was an attempt to reconcile the early error with the more accurate knowledge acquired in the course of time. But the name of 'seas' cannot be got over.

³ That is, these hills and meres were still held to belong to all

ground formed attached territories and unoccupied lands of the eight provinces (apart from that which formed the royal domain), each contained (the above) 210 states¹.

9. Within the domain² of the son of Heaven there were 9 states of 100 li square; 21 of 70 li; and 63 of 50 li:—in all, 93 states. The famous hills and great meres were not assigned³. The rest of the ground served to endow the officers, and to form unoccupied lands.

10. In all, in the nine provinces, there were 1773 states, not counting in (the lands of) the officers of the chief grade of the son of Heaven, nor the attached territories in the feudal states.

SECTION II.

1. (The contributions from) the first hundred li (square) of the son of Heaven served to supply (the needs of) the (various) public offices; (those from the rest of) the thousand li were for his own special use⁴.

2. Beyond his thousand li, chiefs of regions were appointed. Five states formed a union, which had

the people, and all had a right to the game on the hills and the fish of the waters. The princes could not deny to any the right of access to them; though I suppose they could levy a tax on what they caught.

¹ This statement must be in a great degree imaginary, supposing, as it does, that the provinces were all of the same size. They were not so; nor are the eighteen provinces of the present day so.

² The character in the text here is different from that usually employed to denote the royal domain.

³ The term is different from the 'invested' of the previous paragraph. The tenures in the royal domain were not hereditary.

⁴ Such seems to be the view of the *K'ien-lung* editors. Callery translates the paragraph substantially as I have done.

a President. Ten formed a combination, which had a Leader. Thirty formed a confederation, which had a Director. Two hundred and ten formed a province, which had a Chief. In the eight provinces there were eight Chiefs, fifty-six Directors, one hundred and sixty-eight Leaders, and three hundred and thirty-six Presidents. The eight Chiefs, with those under them, were all under the two Ancients of the son of Heaven. They divided all under the sky between them, one having charge of the regions on the left and the other of those on the right, and were called the two (Great) Chiefs¹.

3. All within the thousand li (of the royal domain) was called the Tien (or field Tenure). Outside that domain there were the ʒhâi (or service territories) and the Liû (or territory for banished persons).

4. The son of Heaven had three dukes², nine high ministers², twenty-seven Great officers, and eighty-one officers of the chief grade.

5. In a great state there were three high ministers³, all appointed by the son of Heaven; five Great

¹ Of these two great chiefs, we have an instance in the dukes of K'âu and Shão, at the rise of the K'âu dynasty, the former having under his jurisdiction all the states west of the Shen river, and the other, all east of it. But in general, this constitution of the kingdom is imaginary.

² Compare the Shû V, xx. The three dukes (Kung) were the Grand Tutor, Grand Assistant, and Grand Guardian. The nine ministers were the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Instruction, Religion, War, Crime, and Works, with the Junior Tutor, Junior Assistant, and Junior Guardian added. The six ministers exist still, substantially, in the six Boards. The titles of the three Kung and their Juniors also still exist.

³ These appear to have been the Ministers of Instruction, War, and Works. The first had also the duties of Premier, the second those of minister of Religion, and the third those of minister of Crime.

officers of the lower grade ; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a state of the second class there were three high ministers, two appointed by the son of Heaven and one by the ruler ; five Great officers of the lower grade ; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a small state there were two high ministers, both appointed by the ruler ; five Great officers of the lower grade ; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade.

6. The son of Heaven employed his Great officers as the Three Inspectors,—to inspect the states under the Chiefs of Regions¹. For each state there were three Inspectors.

7. Within the domain of the son of Heaven the princes enjoyed their allowances ; outside it they had their inheritances².

8. According to the regulations, any one of the three ducal ministers might wear one additional symbol of distinction,—that of the descending dragon³.

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors think that this was a department first appointed by the Han dynasty, and that the compilers of this Book took for it the name of 'the Three Inspectors,' from king Wû's appointment of his three brothers to watch the proceedings of the son of the last sovereign of Yin, in order to give it an air of antiquity. Was it the origin of the existing Censorate?

² Outside the royal domain, the feudal states were all hereditary. This is a fact of all early Chinese history. In the domain itself the territories were appanages rather than states. Yet they were in some sense hereditary too. The descendants of all who had served the country well, were not to be left unprovided for. Compare Mencius I, ii, 5, 3.

³ See the *Shih*, Part I, xv, Ode 6. 1, with the note in my edition of 'the Chinese Classics.' The old symbols of distinction gave rise to 'the Insignia of Civil and Military Officers' of the present dynasty, called *K'iu phin* (九品). See Williams' Dictionary, p. 698. This paragraph is in the expurgated edition

But if such an addition were made (to his eight symbols), it must be by special grant. There were only nine symbols (in all). The ruler of a state of the second class wore only seven of them, and the ruler of a small state only five.

9. The high minister of a great state could not wear more than three of the symbols, and the ministers below him only two. The high ministers of a small state, and Great officers of the lowest class, wore only one.

10. The rule was that the abilities of all put into offices over the people should first be discussed. After they had been discussed with discrimination, the men were employed. When they had been (proved) in the conduct of affairs, their rank was assigned; and when their position was (thus) fixed, they received salary.

11. It was in the court that rank was conferred, the (already existing) officers being (thus) associated in the act¹. It was in the market-place that punishment was inflicted; the multitude being (thus) associated in casting the criminals off. Hence, neither the ruler, nor (the head of) a clan, would keep a criminal who had been punished about him; a Great officer would not maintain him; nor would an officer, meet-

of the *Lî Kî*, used by Callery, and he gives for it, unfortunately, the following version:—‘Il est de règle que les trois ministres (qui d’habitude n’appartiennent qu’au 8^e ordre de dignitaires), en montant un degré portent l’habit des dragons en broderie. Si, après cela, il y a lieu de leur accorder de nouvelles récompenses, on leur donne des objets de valeur, car on ne va pas au delà du 9^e ordre.’

¹ The presence of the officers generally would be a safeguard against error in the appointments, as they would know the individuals.

ing him on the road, speak to him. Such men were sent away to one of the four quarters, according to the sentence on each. They were not allowed to have anything to do with affairs of government, to show that there was no object in allowing them to live¹.

12. In their relation to the son of Heaven, the feudal princes were required to send every year a minor mission to the court, and every three years a greater mission; once in five years they had to appear there in person.

13. The son of Heaven, every five years, made a tour of Inspection through the fiefs².

14. In the second month of the year, he visited those on the East, going to the honoured mountain of Tái. There he burnt a (great) pile of wood, and announced his arrival to Heaven; and with looks directed to them, sacrificed to the hills and rivers. He gave audience to the princes; inquired out those who were 100 years old, and went to see them: ordered the Grand music-master to bring him the poems (current in the different states)³, that he might see the manners of the people; ordered the superintendents of markets to present (lists of prices), that he might see what the people liked and disliked, and whether they were set on extravagance and loved

¹ It has been said that these were rules of the Yin or Shang dynasty. The *K'ien-lung* editors maintain that they were followed by all the three feudal dynasties.

² Compare vol. iii, pp. 39, 40.

³ These would include ballads and songs. Perhaps 'Grand music-master' should be in the plural, meaning those officers of each state. Probably these would have given them to the king's Grand music-master.

what was bad; he ordered the superintendent of rites to examine the seasons and months, and fix the days, and to make uniform the standard tubes, the various ceremonies, the (instruments of) music, all measures, and (the fashions of) clothes. (Whatever was wrong in these) was rectified.

15. Where any of the spirits of the hills and rivers had been unattended to, it was held to be an act of irreverence, and the irreverent ruler was deprived of a part of his territory. Where there had been neglect of the proper order in the observances of the ancestral temple, it was held to show a want of filial piety, and the rank of the unfilial ruler was reduced. Where any ceremony had been altered, or any instrument of music changed, it was held to be an instance of disobedience, and the disobedient ruler was banished. Where the statutory measures and the (fashion of) clothes had been changed, it was held to be rebellion, and the rebellious ruler was taken off. The ruler who had done good service for the people, and shown them an example of virtue, received an addition to his territory and rank.

16. In the seventh month, (the son of Heaven) continued his tour, going to the south, to the mountain of that quarter¹, observing the same ceremonies as in the east. In the eighth month, he went on to the west, to the mountain of that quarter², observing the

¹ Mount Hăng; in the present district of Hăng-shan, dept. Hăng-kâu, Hu-nan.

² Mount Hwa; in the present district of Hwa-yin, dept. Thung-kâu, Shen-hsi.

same ceremonies as in the south. In the eleventh month, he went on to the north, to the mountain of that quarter¹, observing the same ceremonies as in the west. (When all was done), he returned (to the capital), repaired (to the ancestral temple) and offered a bull in each of the fanes, from that of his (high) ancestor to that of his father².

17. When the son of Heaven was about to go forth, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God, offered the Í sacrifice at the altar of the earth, and the 3hào in the fane of his father³. When one of the feudal princes was about to go forth, he offered the Í sacrifice to the spirits of the land, and the 3hào in the fane of his father.

18. When the son of Heaven received the feudal princes, and there was no special affair on hand, it was (simply) called an audience. They examined their ceremonies, rectified their punishments, and made uniform what they considered virtuous; thus giving honour to the son of Heaven⁴.

19. When the son of Heaven gave (an instrument of) music to a duke or marquis, the presentation was

¹ Mount Hăng; in the present district of K'ü-yang, dept. Ting-kâu, Kih-lí.

² I have followed here the view of Khung Ying-tá. It seems to me that all the seven fanes of the son of Heaven were under one roof, or composed one great building, called 'the Ancestral Temple.' See p. 224.

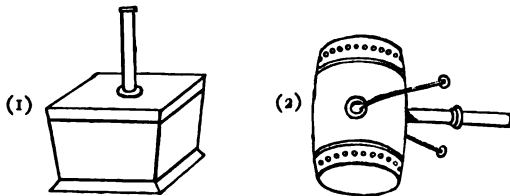
³ The meaning of the names of the different sacrifices here is little more than guessed at.

⁴ The second sentence of this paragraph is variously understood.

preceded by a note from the signal box¹; when giving one to an earl, count, or baron, the presentation was preceded by shaking the hand-drum. When the bow and arrows were conferred on a prince, he could proceed to execute the royal justice. When the hatchet and battle-axe were conferred, he could proceed to inflict death. When a large libation-cup was conferred, he could make the spirits from the black millet for himself. When this cup was not conferred, he had to depend for those spirits (as a gift) from the son of Heaven.

20. When the son of Heaven ordered a prince to institute instruction, he proceeded to build his schools; the children's², to the south of his palace, on the left of it; that for adults, in the suburbs. (The college of) the son of Heaven was called (the palace of) Bright Harmony, (and had a circlet of water). (That of) the princes was called the Palace with its semicircle of water.

¹ A representation of the signal box is here given (1). The note was made by turning the upright handle, which then struck on some arrangement inside. The hand-drum is also represented (2). It was merely a sort of rattle; only that the noise was



made by the two little balls striking against the ends of the drum. It is constantly seen and heard in the streets of Chinese cities at the present day, in the hands of pedlers and others.

² That is, the children of the princes; but an impulse was thus given to the education of children of lower degree.

21. When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God ; offered the Í sacrifice at the altar of the Earth, and the 3háo in the fane of his father. He offered sacrifice also to the Father of War (on arriving) at the state which was the object of the expedition. He had received his charge from his ancestors, and the complete (plan) for the execution of it in the college. He went forth accordingly, and seized the criminals ; and on his return he set forth in the college his offerings, and announced (to his ancestors) how he had questioned (his prisoners), and cut off the ears (of the slain)¹.

22. When the son of Heaven and the princes had no (special) business in hand, they had three huntings² in the year. The first object in them was to supply the sacrificial dishes with dried flesh ; the second, to provide for guests and visitors ; and the third, to supply the ruler's kitchen.

23. Not to hunt when there was no (special) business in the way was deemed an act of irreverence³. To hunt without observing the rules (for hunting) was deemed cruelty to the creatures of Heaven.

24. The son of Heaven did not entirely surround (the hunting ground)⁴ ; and a feudal prince did not

¹ Compare paragraph 17, and vol. iii, pp. 392, 393.

² The huntings were in spring, summer, and winter, for each of which there was its proper name. In autumn the labours of the field forbade hunting.

³ Irreverence, in not making provision for sacrifices ; disrespect, in not providing properly for guests.

⁴ He left one opening for the game. This paragraph contains some of the rules for hunting.

take a (whole) herd by surprise. When the son of Heaven had done killing, his large flag was lowered; and when the princes had done, their smaller flag. When the Great officers had done, the auxiliary carriages were stopped¹; and after this, the common people fell a hunting (for themselves).

25. When the otter sacrificed its fish², the foresters entered the meres and dams. When the wolf sacrificed its prey, the hunting commenced. When the dove changed into a hawk, they set their nets, large and small. When the plants and trees began to drop their leaves, they entered the hills and forests (with the axe). Until the insects had all withdrawn into their burrows, they did not fire the fields. They did not take fawns nor eggs. They did not kill pregnant animals, nor those which had not attained to their full growth. They did not throw down nests³.

26. The chief minister determined the expenditure of the states, and it was the rule that he should do so at the close of the year. When the five kinds of grain had all been gathered in, he then determined the expenditure;—according to the size of each territory, as large or small, and the returns of the year, as abundant or poor. On the average of thirty years he determined the expenditure, regulating the outgoing by the income.

¹ These were light carriages used in driving and keeping the game together.

² See the next Book, where all these regulations are separately mentioned.

³ The Chinese have a reputation for being callous in the infliction of punishment and witnessing suffering; and I think they are so. But these rules were designed evidently to foster kindness and sympathy.

27. A tenth of the (year's) expenditure was for sacrifices. During the three years of the mourning rites (for parents), the king did not sacrifice (in person), excepting to Heaven, Earth, and the Spirits of the land and grain; and when he went to transact any business, the ropes (for his chariot) were made of hemp (and not of silk)¹. A tithe of three years' expenditure was allowed for the rites of mourning. When there was not sufficient for the rites of sacrifice and mourning, it was owing to lavish waste; when there was more than enough, the state was described as affluent. In sacrifices there should be no extravagance in good years, and no niggardliness in bad.

28. If in a state there was not accumulated (a surplus) sufficient for nine years, its condition was called one of insufficiency; if there was not enough for six years, one of urgency. If there was not a surplus sufficient for three years, the state could not continue. The husbandry of three years was held to give an overplus of food sufficient for one year; that of nine years, an overplus sufficient for three years. Going through thirty years (in this way), though there might be bad years, drought, and inundations, the people would have no lack or be reduced to (eating merely) vegetables, and then the son of Heaven would every day have full meals and music at them.

SECTION III.

I. The son of Heaven was encoffined on the seventh day (after his death), and interred in the seventh month. The prince of a state was en-

¹ Such is the meaning of the text here given by the *K'ien-lung* editors. It is found also in the *Khang-hsî* dictionary, under the character 越, called in this usage hwo.

coffined on the fifth day, and interred in the fifth month. A Great officer, (other) officers, and the common people were encoffined on the third day, and interred in the third month. The mourning rites of three years (for parents) extended from the son of Heaven to all.

2. The common people let the coffin down into the grave by ropes, and did not suspend the interment because of rain. They raised no mound, nor planted trees over the grave. That no other business should interfere with the rites of mourning was a thing extending from the son of Heaven to the common people.

3. In the mourning rites they followed (the rank of) the dead; in sacrificing to them, that of the living. A son by a concubine did not (preside at) the sacrifices¹.

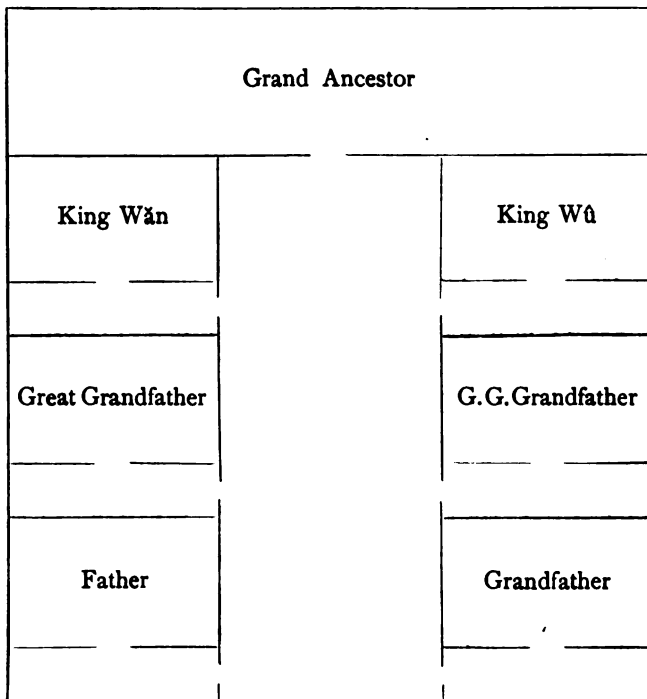
4. (The ancestral temple of) the son of Heaven embraced seven fanes (or smaller temples); three on the left and three on the right, and that of his great ancestor (fronting the south):—in all, seven. (The temple of) the prince of a state embraced five such fanes: those of two on the left, and two on the right, and that of his great ancestor:—in all, five. Great officers had three fanes:—one on the left, one on the right, and that of his great ancestor:—in all, three. Other officers had (only) one. The common people presented their offerings in their (principal) apartment².

¹ Even though he might attain to higher rank than the son of the wife proper, who represented their father.

² The technical terms (as they may be called) in the text make it impossible to translate this paragraph concisely, so as to make it intelligible to a foreign reader unacquainted with the significance of

5. The sacrifices in the ancestral temples of the son of Heaven and the feudal princes were that of

those terms. The following ground-plan of an ancestral temple of a king of *K'au* is given in the plates of the *K'ien-lung* edition of the *Lî K'Ī*:—after *K'ū Hsf.* I introduce it here with some condensations.



Entering at the gate on the south, we have, fronting us, at the northern end, the fane of the grand ancestor to whom, in the distant past, the family traced its line. South of his fane, on the right and left, were two fanes dedicated to kings Wăn and Wû, father and son, the joint founders of the dynasty. The four below them, two on each side, were dedicated to the four kings preceding the reigning king, the sacrificer. At the back of each fane was a comparatively dark apartment, called *khin* (寢), where the spirit tablet was kept during the intervals between the

spring, called *Y o* ; that of summer, called *T t* ; that of autumn, called *K h a n g* ; and that of winter, called *K h a n g*¹.

6. The son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth ; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain ; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house). The son of Heaven sacrificed to all the famous hills and great streams under the sky, the five mountains² receiving (sacrificial) honours like the honours paid (at court) to the three ducal ministers, and the four rivers² honours like those paid to the princes of states ; the princes sacrificed to the famous hills and great streams which were in their own territories.

7. The son of Heaven and the feudal lords sacrificed to the ancient princes who had no successors to

sacrifices. When a sacrifice was offered, the tablet was brought out and placed in the centre of a screen, in the middle of the fane. As the line lengthened, while the tablets of the grand ancestor and joint ancestors always remained untouched, on a death and accession, the tablet of the next oldest occupant was removed and placed in a general apartment for the keeping of all such tablets, and that of the newly deceased king was placed in the father's fane, and the other three were shifted up, care being always taken that the tablet of a son should never follow that of his father on the same side. The number of the lower fanes was maintained, as a rule, at four. Those on the east were called *K á o* (昭), and on the west *M ú* (穆), the names in the text here. See the Chinese Classics, I, pp. 266, 267, and the note there.

¹ The names of some of these sacrifices and their order are sometimes given differently.

² For four of these mountains, see pages 217, 218, notes. The fifth was that of the centre, mount Sung, in the present district of Sung, department Ho-nan, Ho-nan. The four rivers were the *K i a n g*, the *H w á i*, the *H o*, and the *K í*.

preside over the sacrifices to them, and whose possessions now formed part of the royal domain or of their respective states.

8. The son of Heaven offered the spring sacrifice apart and by itself alone, but his sacrifices of all the other seasons were conducted on a greater scale in the fane of the high ancestor. The princes of the states who offered the spring sacrifice omitted that of the summer; those who offered that of the summer omitted that of the autumn; those who sacrificed in autumn did not do so in winter; and those who sacrificed in winter did not do so in spring¹.

In spring they offered the sacrifice of the season by itself apart; in summer, in the fane of the high ancestor²; in autumn and winter both the sacrifices were there associated together.

9. In sacrificing at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, the son of Heaven used in each case a bull, a ram, and a boar; the princes, (only) a ram and a boar. Great and other officers, at the sacrifices in their ancestral temples, if they had lands, sacrificed an animal; and, if they had no lands, they only presented fruits. The common people, in the spring, presented scallions; in summer, wheat; in autumn, millet; and in winter, rice unhulled. The scallions were set forth with eggs; the wheat with

¹ The princes who omitted one sacrifice in the year would probably be absent in that season, attending at the royal court. They paid that attendance in turns from the several quarters.

² If in this summer service the seasonal and the sacrifice in the fane of the high sacrifice were associated together, the rule for the princes was the same as for the king. There was the ordinary associate sacrifice, and 'the great;' about which the discussions and different views have been endless.

fish ; the millet with a sucking-pig ; and the rice with a goose.

10. Of the bulls used in sacrificing to Heaven and Earth, the horns were (not larger than) a cocoon or a chestnut¹. Those of the one used in the ancestral temple could be grasped with the hand ; those of the ox used for (feasting) guests were a foot long.

Without sufficient cause, a prince did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor another officer a dog or a pig, nor a common person eat delicate food.

The various provisions (at a feast) did not go beyond the sacrificial victims killed ; the private clothes were not superior to the robes of sacrifice ; the house and its apartments did not surpass the ancestral temple.

11. Anciently, the public fields were cultivated by the united labours of the farmers around them, from the produce of whose private fields nothing was levied. A rent was charged for the stances in the market-places, but wares were not taxed. Travellers were examined at the different passes, but no duties were levied from them. Into the forests and plains at the foot of mountains the people went without hindrance at the proper seasons. None of the produce was levied from the fields assigned to the younger sons of a family, nor from the holy fields. Only three days' labour was required (by the state) from the people in the course of a year. Fields and residences in the hamlets, (when once assigned), could

¹ The victims must all have been young animals ; 'to show,' says Wang Tháo, 'that the sincerity of the worshipper is the chief thing in the view of Heaven.'

not be sold. Ground set apart for graves could not be sought (for any other purpose)¹.

12. The minister of Works with his (various) instruments measured the ground for the settlements of the people. About the hills and rivers, the oozy ground and the meres, he determined the periods of the four seasons. He measured the distances of one spot from another, and commenced his operations in employing the labour of the people. In all his employment of them, he imposed (only) the tasks of old men (on the able-bodied), and gave (to the old) the food-allowance of the able-bodied.

13. In all their settlements, the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be according to the sky and earthly influences, as cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and the rivers large, the ground was differently laid out; and the people born in them had different customs. Their temperaments,

¹ Compare Mencius III, i, 3, 6-9, et al.; II, i, 5, 2-4; I, i, 3, 3, 4; III, i, 3, 15-17; with the notes. I give here also the note of P. Callery on the first sentence of this paragraph:—'Sous les trois premières dynasties, époque éloignée où il y avait peu de terrains cultivés dans l'empire, le gouvernement concédait les terres incultes par carrés équilatères ayant 900 mâu, ou arpents, de superficie. Ces carrés, qu'on nommait *3ing* (井), d'après leur analogie de tracé avec le caractère *3ing*, "a well," étaient divisés en neuf carrés égaux de 100 mâu chacun, au moyen de deux lignes médianes que deux autres lignes coupaient à angle droit à des distances égales. Il résultait de cette intersection de lignes une sorte de damier de trois cases de côté, ayant huit carrés sur la circonférence, et un carré au milieu. Les huit carrés du pourtour devenaient la propriété de huit colons; mais celui du centre était un champ de réserve dont la culture restait bien à la charge des huit voisins, mais dont les produits appartenaient à l'empereur.'

as hard or soft, light or grave, slow or rapid, were made uniform by different measures; their preferences as to flavours were differently harmonised; their implements were differently made; their clothes were differently fashioned, but always suitably. Their training was varied, without changing their customs; and the governmental arrangements were uniform, without changing the suitability (in each case).

14. The people of those five regions—the Middle states, and the Zung, Î, (and other wild tribes round them)—had all their several natures, which they could not be made to alter. The tribes on the east were called Î. They had their hair unbound, and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the south were called Man. They tattooed their foreheads, and had their feet turned in towards each other. Some of them (also) ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the west were called Zung. They had their hair unbound, and wore skins. Some of them did not eat grain-food. Those on the north were called Tî. They wore skins of animals and birds, and dwelt in caves. Some of them also did not eat grain-food.

The people of the Middle states, and of those Î, Man, Zung, and Tî, all had their dwellings, where they lived at ease; their flavours which they preferred; the clothes suitable for them; their proper implements for use; and their vessels which they prepared in abundance. In those five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different. To make what was in their minds apprehended, and to communicate their likings and desires, (there were officers),—in the

east, called transmitters; in the south, representationists; in the west, Tî-tîs¹; and in the north, interpreters.

15. In settling the people, the ground was measured for the formation of towns, and then measured again in smaller portions for the allotments of the people. When the division of the ground, the cities, and the allotments were thus fixed in adaptation to one another, so that there was no ground unoccupied, and none of the people left to wander about idle, economical arrangements were made about food; and its proper business appointed for each season. Then the people had rest in their dwellings, did joyfully what they had to do, exhorted one another to labour, honoured their rulers, and loved their superiors. This having been secured, there ensued the institution of schools.

SECTION IV.

1. The minister of Instruction defined and set forth the six ceremonial observances²:—to direct and control the nature of the people; clearly illustrated the seven lessons (of morality)³ to stimulate their virtue; inculcated uniformity in the eight objects of government², to guard against all excess; taught the

¹ I cannot translate Tî-tî. It was the name of a region (Williams says, 'near the Koko-nor'), the people of which had a reputation for singing.

² See the last paragraph of these Regulations, at the end of next Section.

³ It has become the rule, apparently with all sinologists, to call the minister in the text here, Sze Thû, by the name of 'The minister

sameness of the course (of duty) and virtue, to assimilate manners; nourished the aged, to secure the completion of filial piety; showed pity to orphans and solitaries, to reach those who had been bereaved; exalted men of talents and worth, to give honour to virtue; and dealt summarily with the unworthy, to discountenance wickedness.

2. He commanded that, throughout the districts¹, there should be marked and pointed out to him those who were disobedient to his lessons. (This having been done), the aged men were all assembled in the school², and on a good day archery was practised and places were given according to merit. (At the same time) there was a feast, when places were given according to age. The Grand minister of Instruction³ conducted thither the eminent scholars of the state and along with them superintended the business.

of Instruction.' Callery describes him as 'Le ministre qui a dans ses attributions l'instruction publique et les rites.' And this is correct according to the account of his functions here, in the *Kâu Lî*, and in the *Shû* (V, xx, 8); but the characters (司徒) simply denote 'superintendent of the multitudes.' This, then, was the conception anciently of what government had to do for the multitudes,—to teach them all moral and social duties, how to discharge their obligations to men living and dead, and to spiritual beings. The name is now applied to the president and vice-president of the board of Revenue.

¹ That is, the six districts embraced in the royal domain, each nominally containing 12,500 families.

² The great school of the district. The aged men would be good officers retired from duty, and others of known worth.

³ Here we have 'the Grand minister of Instruction;' and it may be thought we should translate the name in the first paragraph in the plural. No doubt, where there is no specification of 'the grand,' it means the board or department of Education.

If those (who had been reported to him) did not (now) change, he gave orders that they who were noted as continuing disobedient in the districts on the left should be removed to those on the right, and those noted on the right to the districts on the left. Then another examination was held in the same way, and those who had not changed were removed to the nearest outlying territory. Still continuing unchanged, they were removed, after a similar trial, to the more distant territory. There they were again examined and tried, and if still found defective, they were cast out to a remote region, and for all their lives excluded from distinction.

3. Orders were given that, throughout the districts, the youths who were decided on as of promising ability should have their names passed up to the minister of Instruction, when they were called 'select scholars.' He then decided which of them gave still greater promise, and promoted them to the (great) college¹, where they were called 'eminent scholars².' Those who were brought to the notice of the minister were exempted from services in the districts; and those who were promoted to the (great) school, from all services under his own department, and (by and by) were called 'complete scholars².'

4. The (board for) the direction of Music gave all honour to its four subjects of instruction³, and

¹ This would be the college at the capital.

² Have we not in these the prototypes of the 'Flowering Talents' (Hsiû Shai 秀才) and 'Promoted Men' (K'ü Z'an 舉人) of to-day?

³ In the text these are called 'the four Arts' and 'the four Teachings;' but the different phrases seem to have the same meaning.

arranged the lessons in them, following closely the poems, histories, ceremonies, and music of the former kings, in order to complete its scholars. The spring and autumn were devoted to teaching the ceremonies and music; the winter and summer to the poems and histories¹. The eldest son of the king and his other sons, the eldest sons of all the feudal princes, the sons, by their wives proper, of the high ministers, Great officers, and officers of the highest grade, and the eminent and select scholars from (all) the states, all repaired (to their instruction), entering the schools according to their years.

5. When the time drew near for their quitting the college, the smaller and greater assistants², and the inferior director of the board, put down those who had not attended to their instructions, and reported them to the Grand director, who in turn reported them to the king. The king ordered the three ducal ministers, his nine (other) ministers, the Great officers, and the (other) officers, all to enter the school (and hold an examination). If this did not produce the necessary change; the king in person inspected the school; and if this also failed, for three days he took no full meal nor had music, after which the (culprits) were cast out to the remote regions. Sending them to those of the west was called 'a (temporary) expul-

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors say that 'in spring and autumn the temperature is equable and the bodily spirits good, well adapted for the practice of ceremonies and moving in time to the music, whereas the long days of summer and long nights of winter are better adapted for the tasks of learning the poems and histories.'

² The smaller assistants of the Grand director of Music were eighteen, and the greater four. See the *K'au Li*, XVII, 21. Their functions are described in XXII, 45-53.

sion;’ to the east, ‘a temporary exile.’ But all their lives they were excluded from distinction.

6. The Grand director of Music, having fully considered who were the most promising of the ‘completed scholars,’ reported them to the king, after which they were advanced to be under the minister of War, and called ‘scholars ready for employment’¹.

7. The minister of War gave discriminating consideration (to the scholars thus submitted to him), with a view to determine the offices for which their abilities fitted them. He then reported his decisions concerning the best and ablest of them to the king, to have that judgment fixed². When it was, they were put into offices. After they had discharged the duties of these, rank was given them; and, their positions being thus fixed, they received salary.

8. When a Great officer was dismissed as incompetent from his duties, he was not (again) employed in any office to the end of his life. At his death, he was buried as an (ordinary) officer.

¹ Exactly the name to the candidates of to-day who have succeeded at the triennial examinations at the capital; ‘the Metropolitan Graduates,’ as Mayers (page 72) calls them.

² It is strange to find the minister of War performing the services here mentioned, and only these. The *K’ien-lung* editors say that the compilers of this Book had not seen the *K’au Lî* nor the *Shû*. It has been seen in the Introduction, pages 4, 5, how the *K’au Lî* came to light in the reign of *Wû*, perhaps fifty years after this Book was made, and even then did not take its place among the other restored monuments till the time of *Liû Hsin*. To make the duties here ascribed to the minister of War (literally, ‘Master of Horse,’ 司馬) appear less anomalous, *K’ang* and other commentators quote from the *Shû* (V, xx, 14) only a part of the account of his functions.

9. If any expedition of war were contemplated, orders were given to the Grand minister of Instruction to teach the scholars the management of the chariot and the wearing of the coat of mail.

10. In the case of all who professed any particular art, respect was had to their strength. If they were to go to a distant quarter, they had to display their arms and legs, and their skill in archery and charioteering was tested. All who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, such as prayer-makers, writers, archers, carriage-drivers, doctors, diviners, and artizans,—all who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, were not allowed to practise any other thing, or to change their offices; and when they left their districts, they did not take rank with officers. Those who did service in families (also), when they left their districts, did not take rank with officers.

11. The minister of Crime adapted the punishments (to the offences for which they were inflicted), and made the laws clear in order to deal with criminal charges and litigations. He required the three references as to its justice (before the infliction of a capital punishment)¹. If a party had the intention, but there were not evidence of the deed, the charge was not listened to. Where a case appeared as doubtful, it was lightly dealt with; where it might be pardoned, it was (still) gravely considered.

12. In all determining on the application of any of the five punishments², it was required to decide

¹ See the *K'âu Lî*, XXXVII, 45, 46.

² Branding; cutting off the nose; cutting off the feet; castration; death. See vol. iii, p. 40.

according to the judgment of Heaven. Inadvertent and redeemable offences were determined by (the circumstances of) each particular case¹.

13. When hearing a case requiring the application of any of the five punishments, (the judge) was required to have respect to the affection between father and son², or the righteousness between ruler and minister³ (which might have been in the mind of the defendant), to balance his own judgment. He must consider the gravity or lightness (of the offence), and carefully try to fathom the capacity (of the offender) as shallow or deep, to determine the exact character (of his guilt). He must exert his intelligence to the utmost, and give the fullest play to his generous and loving feeling, to arrive at his final judgment. If the criminal charge appeared to him doubtful, he was to take the multitude into consultation with him; and if they also doubted, he was to pardon the defendant. At the same time he was to examine analogous cases, great and small, and then give his decision.

14. The evidence in a criminal case having thus been all taken and judgment given, the clerk reported it all to the director (of the district), who heard it and reported it to the Grand minister of Crime. He also heard it in the outer court⁴, and then reported it to the king, who ordered the three ducal ministers,

¹ Vol. iii, pp. 260-263. The compilers in this part evidently had some parts of the Shû before them.

² Which might make either party conceal the guilt of the other.

³ Which might in a similar way affect the evidence.

⁴ The text says, 'Under the Zizyphus trees.' These were planted in the outer court of audience, and under them the different ministers of the court had their places.

with the minister and director, again to hear it. When they had (once more) reported it to the king, he considered it with the three mitigating conditions¹, and then only determined the punishment.

15. In all inflictions of punishments and fines, even light offenders (that were not doubtful) were not forgiven. Punishment may be compared to the body. The body is a complete thing ; when once completed, there cannot be any subsequent change in it². Hence the wise man will do his utmost (in deciding on all these inflictions).

16. Splitting words so as to break (the force of) the laws ; confounding names so as to change what had been definitely settled ; practising corrupt ways so as to throw government into confusion : all guilty of these things were put to death. Using licentious music ; strange garments ; wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes : all who used or formed such things were put to death. Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and disputatious in hypocritical speeches ; who studied what was wrong, and went on to do so more and more, and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong so as to bewilder the multitudes : these were put to death. Those

¹ Callery gives for this, 'qui pardonne trois fois.' The conditions were—ignorance, mistake, forgetfulness.

² There is here a play upon the homophonous names of different Chinese characters, often employed, as will be pointed out, in the *Lî Kî*, and in which the scholars of Han set an example to future times. Callery frames a French example of the reasoning that results from it: 'Un saint est un ceint ; or, la ceinture signifiant au figuré la continence, il s'ensuit que la vertu de continence est essentielle à la sainteté !'

who gave false reports about (appearances of) spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death. These four classes were taken off, and no defence listened to.

17. All who had charge of the prohibitions for the regulation of the multitudes¹ did not forgive transgressions of them.

Those who had rank-tokens, the long or the round, and gilt libation-cups were not allowed to sell them in the market-places; nor were any allowed to sell robes or chariots, the gift of the king; or vessels of an ancestral temple; or victims for sacrifice; or instruments of war; or vessels which were not according to the prescribed measurements; or chariots of war which were not according to the same; or cloth or silk, fine or coarse, not according to the prescribed quality, or broader or narrower than the proper rule; or of the illegitimate colours, confusing those that were correct²; or cloth, embroidered or figured; or vessels made with pearls or jade; or clothes, or food, or drink, (in any way extravagant); or grain which was not in season, or fruit which was unripe; or wood which was not fit for the axe; or birds, beasts, fishes, or reptiles, which were not fit to be killed. At the frontier gates, those in charge of the prohibitions, examined travellers, forbidding such as wore strange clothes, and taking note of such as spoke a strange language.

18. The Grand recorder had the superintendence of

¹ These would be, especially, the superintendents of the markets.

² The five correct colours were—black, carnation, azure, white, and yellow.

ceremonies. He was in charge of the tablets of record, and brought before the king what (names) were to be avoided¹, and what days were unfavourable (for the doing of particular affairs)¹. The son of Heaven received his admonitions with reverence².

19. (The office of) the accountants³ prepared the complete accounts of the year to be submitted to the son of Heaven which were reverently received by the chief minister. The Grand director of Music, the Grand minister of Crime, and the (chief) superintendent of the markets, these three officers, followed with the completed accounts of their departments to be submitted to the son of Heaven. The Grand minister of Instruction, the Grand minister of War, and the Grand minister of Works, reverently received the completed accounts of their several departments from their various subordinates, and examined them, then presenting them to the son of Heaven. Those subordinates then reverently received them after being so examined and adjudicated on. This being done, the aged were feasted and the royal sympathy shown to the husbandmen. The business of the year was concluded, and the expenditure of the states was determined.

¹ See pages 93, 180, et al.

² Some of the functions here belonged to the assistant recorder, according to the *K'âu Lî*, but the two were of the same department.

³ This office was under the board of the chief minister, and consisted of sixty-two men of different grades under the *K'âu* dynasty (the *K'âu Lî*, I, 38; their duties are described in Book VI). It is not easy to understand all the text of the rest of the paragraph, about the final settlement of the accounts of the year.

SECTION V.

1. In nourishing the aged, (Shun), the lord of Yü, used the ceremonies of the drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Hsiâ, those at entertainments (after) a reverent sacrifice or offering¹; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of K'âu cultivated and used all the three.

2. Those of fifty years received their nourishment in the (schools of the) districts; those of sixty, theirs in the (smaller school of the) state; and those of seventy, theirs in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's message, by kneeling once and bringing his head twice to the ground. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him).

3. For those of fifty the grain was (fine and) different (from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, flesh was kept in store. For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. For those of eighty, there was a constant supply of delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers. Wherever they wandered (to another place), it was required that savoury meat and drink should follow them.

¹ The commentators make this to have been a Barmecide feast, merely to show respect for the age; and Callery, after them, gives for the text: 'La dynastie des Hsiâ faisait servir un repas qu'on ne mangeait point.' But Ying-tâ's authorities adduced to support this view do not appear to me to bear it out. See the commencing chapter of Book X, Section ii, where all this about nourishing the aged is repeated.

4. After sixty, (the coffin and other things for the mourning rites) were seen to be in readiness, (once) in the year ; after seventy, once in the season ; after eighty, once in the month ; and after ninety, every day they were kept in good repair. But the bandages, sheet, and coverlets and cases (for the corpse) were prepared after death.

5. At fifty, one begins to decay ; at sixty, he does not feel satisfied unless he eats flesh ; at seventy, he does not feel warm unless he wears silk ; at eighty, he does not feel warm unless there be some one (to sleep) with him ; and at ninety, he does not feel warm even with that.

6. At fifty, one kept his staff always in his hand in his family ; at sixty, in his district ; at seventy, in the city ; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (an officer) of ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him.

7. At seventy, (an officer) did not wait till the court was over (before he retired) ; at eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive ; at ninety, he (had delicate food sent) regularly to him every day.

8. At fifty, a (common) man was not employed in services requiring strength ; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others ; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors ; and at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning.

9. When one was fifty, he received the rank (of a
[27] R

Great officer)¹; at sixty, he did not go in person to the college; at seventy, he retired from the service of the government; and in mourning, he used only the dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).

10. (Shun), the lord of Yü, nourished the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher hsiang, and the aged of the common people (and officers who had not obtained rank) in (the school called) the lower hsiang. The sovereigns of Hsiâ nourished the former in (the school called) the hsü on the east, and the latter in (that called) the hsü on the west. The men of Yin nourished the former in the school of the right, and the latter in that of the left. The men of K'âu entertained the former in (the school called) the eastern k'iao, and the latter in (what corresponded to) the hsiang of Yü. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west².

11. The lord of Yü wore the hwang cap in sacri-

¹ See Book X, Section ii, 1. This was, say the *K'ien-lung* editors, a lesson against forwardness in seeking office and rank, as retirement at seventy was a lesson against cleaving to these too long.

² It is wearisome to try and thread one's way through the discussions about the schools, called by all these different names. One thing is plain, that there were the lower schools which boys entered when they were eight, and the higher schools into which they passed from these. But in this paragraph these institutions are mentioned not in connexion with education, but as they were made available for the assembling and cherishing of the aged. They served various purposes. A school-room with us may do the same, occasionally; it was the rule in ancient China that the young should be taught and the old ministered to in the same buildings.

ficing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in nourishing the aged. The sovereigns of Hsiâ used the shâu cap in sacrificing, and the upper and lower dark garments of undress in nourishing the aged. During the Yin, they used the hsü cap in sacrificing, and the upper and lower garments, both of white thin silk, in nourishing the aged. During the K'âu dynasty, they used the mien cap in sacrificing, and the dark-coloured upper and lower garments in nourishing the aged.

12. The kings of the three dynasties¹, in nourishing the old, always had the years of those connected with them brought to their notice. Where (an officer) was eighty, one of his sons was free from all duties of government service ; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were set free from them. In cases of parties who were disabled or ill, and where the attendance of others was required to wait upon them, one man was discharged from those duties (for the purpose). Parties mourning for their parents had a discharge for three years. Those mourning for one year or nine months had a discharge for three months. Where an officer was about to move to another state, he was discharged from service for three months beforehand. When one came from another state, he was not required to take active service for a round year.

13. One who, while quite young, lost his father was called an orphan ; an old man who had lost his sons was called a solitary. An old man who had lost his wife was called a pitiable (widower); an old woman who had lost her husband was called a poor

¹ Hsiâ, Shang or Yin, and K'âu.

(widow). These four classes were the most forlorn of Heaven's people, and had none to whom to tell their wants; they all received regular allowances.

14. The dumb, the deaf, the lame, such as had lost a member, pigmies, and mechanics, were all fed according to what work they were able to do.

15. On the roads, men took the right side and women the left; carriages kept in the middle. A man kept behind another who had a father's years; he followed one who might be his elder brother more closely, but still keeping behind, as geese fly after one another in a row. Friends did not pass by one another, when going the same way. (In the case of an old and a young man, carrying burdens,) both were borne by the younger; and if the two were too heavy for one, he took the heavier. A man with grey hair was not allowed to carry anything, though he might do it with one hand.

16. An officer of superior rank, of the age of sixty or seventy, did not walk on foot. A common man, at that age, did not go without flesh to eat.

17. A Great officer, (having land of his own), was not permitted to borrow the vessels for sacrifice; nor to make vessels for his own private use before he had made those for sacrifice.

18. A space of one lí square contained fields amounting to 900 mǎu¹. Ten lí square were equal to 100 spaces of one lí square, and contained 90,000 mǎu. A hundred lí square were equal to 100 spaces of ten lí square, and contained 9,000,000 mǎu. A

¹ See note as to the size of the mǎu on page 218.

thousand *l*t square were equal to 100 spaces of 100 *l*t square, and contained 900,000,000 *mâu*.

19. From mount Hăng¹ to the southernmost point of the Ho was hardly 1000 *l*t. From that point to the Kiang was hardly 1000 *l*t. From the Kiang to mount Hăng in the south was more than 1000 *l*t. From the Ho on the east to the eastern sea was more than 1000 *l*t. From the Ho on the east to the same river on the west was hardly 1000 *l*t; and from that to the Moving Sands² was more than 1000 *l*t. (The kingdom) did not pass the Moving Sands on the west, nor mount Hăng on the south. On the east it did not pass the eastern sea, nor on the north did it pass (the other) mount Hăng. All within the four seas, taking the length with the breadth, made up a space of 3000 *l*t square, and contained eighty trillions of *mâu*³.

20. A space of 100 *l*t square contained ground to the amount of 9,000,000 *mâu*. Hills and mounds, forests and thickets, rivers and marshes, ditches and canals, city walls and suburbs, houses, roads, and

¹ See notes on pages 217, 218. I have said below '(the other) mount Hăng;' but the names, or characters for the names, of the two mountains are different in Chinese.

² What is now called the desert of Gobi.

³ As it is in the text = $80 \times 10000 \times 100000 \times 10000 \times 100000$ *mâu*. A translator, if I may speak of others from my own experience, is much perplexed in following and verifying the calculations in this and the other paragraphs before and after it. The K'ien-lung editors and Wang Tháo use many pages in pointing out the errors of earlier commentators, and establishing the correct results according to their own views, and I have thought it well to content myself with simply giving a translation of the text.

lanes took up one third of it, leaving 6,000,000 mǎu.

21. Anciently, according to the cubit of *Kâu*, eight cubits formed a pace. Now, according to the same, six cubits and four inches make a pace. One hundred ancient mǎu were equal to 146 of the present day and thirty paces. One hundred ancient lǐ were equal to 121 of the present day, sixty paces, four cubits, two inches and two-tenths.

22. A space of 1000 lǐ square contained 100 spaces of 100 lǐ square each. In this were constituted thirty states of 100 lǐ square, leaving what would have been enough for other seventy of the same size. There were also constituted sixty states of 70 lǐ square, twenty-nine of 100 lǐ square, and forty spaces of 10 lǐ square; leaving enough for forty states of 100 lǐ square, and sixty spaces of 10 lǐ square. There were also constituted a hundred and twenty states of 50 lǐ square, and thirty of 100 lǐ square, leaving enough for ten of the same size, and sixty spaces of 10 lǐ square.

The famous hills and great meres were not included in the fiefs; and what remained was assigned for attached territories and unoccupied lands. Those unappropriated lands were taken to reward any of the princes of acknowledged merit, and what was cut off from some others (because of their demerit) became unappropriated land.

23. The territory of the son of Heaven, amounting to 1000 lǐ square, contained 100 spaces of 100 lǐ square each. There were constituted nine appanages of 100 lǐ square, leaving ninety-one spaces of the same size. There were also constituted twenty-one

appanages of 70 *li* square, ten of 100 *li*, and twenty-nine spaces of 10 *li* square; leaving enough for eighty of 100 *li* square, and seventy-one of 10 *li*. There were further constituted sixty-three appanages of 50 *li* square, fifteen of 100 *li*, and seventy-five spaces of 10 *li*, while there still remained enough for sixty-four appanages of 100 *li* square, and ninety-six spaces of 10 *li* each.

24. The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states received salary sufficient to feed nine individuals; those of the second grade, enough to feed eighteen; and those of the highest, enough for thirty-six. A Great officer could feed 72 individuals; a minister, 288; and the ruler, 2880.

In a state of the second class, a minister could feed 216; and the ruler, 2160.

A minister of a small state could feed 144 individuals; and the ruler, 1440.

In a state of the second class, the minister who was appointed by its ruler received the same emolument as the minister of a small state.

25. The Great officers of the son of Heaven acted as 'the three inspectors.' When they were inspecting a state, their salary was equal to one of its ministers, and their rank was that of a ruler of a state of the second class. Their salaries were derived from the territories under the chiefs of regions¹.

26. The chiefs of regions, on occasion of their appearing at the court of the son of Heaven, had cities assigned them for purification² within his domain like those of his officers of the chief grade.

¹ See page 212, paragraph 2, and note 1, page 213.

² The text says, 'Cities for bathing and washing the hair;'

27. The (appointed) heir-sons¹ of the feudal princes inherited their states. Great officers (in the royal domain) did not inherit their rank. They were employed as their ability and character were recognised, and received rank as their merit was proved. Till their rank was conferred (by the king), (the princes) were in the position of his officers of the chief grade, and so they ruled their states. The Great officers of the states did not inherit their rank and emoluments.

28. The six ceremonial observances were :—capping; marrying; mourning rites; sacrifices; feasts; and interviews. The seven lessons (of morality) were :—(the duties between) father and son; elder brother and younger; husband and wife; ruler and minister; old and young; friend and friend; host and guest. The eight objects of government were :—food and drink; clothes; business (or, the profession); maintenance of distinctions; measures of length; measures of capacity; and definitely assigned rules².

but preparing by mental exercises for appearing before the king is also intimated by the phrase.

¹ A son, generally the eldest son by the wife proper, had to be recognised by the king before he could be sure of succeeding to his father.

² See page 230, paragraph 1.

BOOK IV. THE YÜEH LING

OR

PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT MONTHS.

SECTION I. PART I.

1. In the first month of spring the sun is in Shih, the star culminating at dusk being ʒhan, and that culminating at dawn Wei¹.

2. Its days are *kîâ* and *yî*².

¹ In this month the conjunction of the sun and moon took place in Shih or α Markab Pegasi. ʒhan is a constellation embracing Betelgeuse, Bellatrix, Rigel, γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , of Orion; and Wei is ϵ , μ , of Scorpio. Shih is called in the text Ying Shih, 'the Building Shih,' because this month was the proper time at which to commence building.

² *Kîâ* and *yî* are the first two of the 'ten heavenly stems,' which are combined with the 'twelve earthly branches,' to form the sixty binomial terms of 'the cycle of sixty,' that was devised in a remote antiquity for the registration of successive days, and was subsequently used also in the registration of successive years. The origin of the cycle and of the names of its terms is thus far shrouded in mystery; and also the application of those terms to the various purposes of divination. The five pairs of the stems correspond, in the jargon of mysterious speculation, to the five elements of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, and, as will be seen in this Book, to the seasons of spring, summer, the intermediate centre, autumn, and winter. Whether there be anything more in this short notice than a declaration of this fact, or any indication of the suitability of 'the days' for certain 'undertakings' in them, as even the *Khien-lung* editors seem to think, I cannot say.

3. Its divine ruler is Thái Hào, and the (attending) spirit is Kâu-mang¹.
4. Its creatures are the scaly².
5. Its musical note is K'io, and its pitch-tube is the Thái 3hâu³.
6. Its number is eight⁴; its taste is sour; its smell is rank.

¹ Thái Hào, 'the Grandly Bright,' is what is called 'the dynastic designation' of Fû-hsî and his line. By the time that the observances described in this Book had come into use, Fû-hsî and other early personages had been deified (帝), and were supposed to preside over the seasons of the year. To him as the earliest of them was assigned the presidency of the spring, and the element of wood, the phenomena of vegetation being then most striking. He was the 'divine ruler' of the spring, and sacrificed to in its months; and at the sacrifices there was associated with him, as assessor, an inferior personage called Kâu-mang (literally, 'curling fronds and spikelets'), said to have been a son of Sháo Hào, another mythical sovereign, founder of the line of K'in Thien (金天氏). But Sháo Hào was separated from Thái Hào by more than 1000 years. The association at these sacrifices in the spring months of two personages so distant in time from each other as Fû-hsî and Kâu-mang, shows how slowly and irregularly the process of deification and these sacrifices had grown up.

² The character for which I have given 'creatures' is often translated by 'insects;' but fishes, having scales, must form a large portion of what are here intended. 'The seven (zodiacal) constellations of the east,' says Wú K'ăng, 'make up the Azure Dragon, and hence all moving creatures that have scales belong to (the element of) wood.'

³ K'io is the name of the third of the five musical notes of the Chinese scale, corresponding to our B (?); and Thái 3hâu is the name of one of the twelve tubes by which, from a very early date, music was regulated. The Thái 3hâu, or 'Great Pipe,' was the second of the tubes that give the 'six upper musical accords.'

⁴ The 'number' of wood is three, which added to five, the

7. Its sacrifice is that at the door¹, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place¹.

8. The east winds resolve the cold. Creatures that have been torpid during the winter begin to move. The fishes rise up to the ice. Otters sacrifice fish. The wild geese make their appearance².

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the *K'ing Yang* (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix (bells), drawn by the azure-dragon (horses), and carrying the green flag; wears the green

'number' of earth, gives eight, the 'number' of the months of spring; but this, to me at least, is only a jargon.

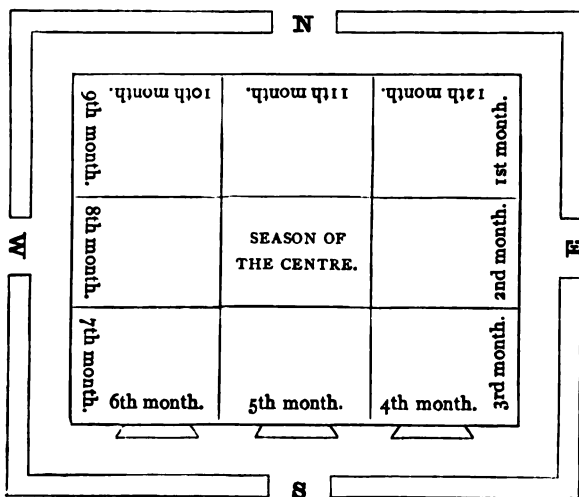
¹ This was one of the sacrifices of the house; see paragraph 6, page 116, and especially the seventh paragraph of Book XX. As the door is the place of exodus, it was the proper place for this sacrifice in the spring, when all the energies of nature begin to be displayed afresh. Among the five viscera,—the heart, the liver, the spleen, the lungs, and the kidneys,—the spleen corresponds to the element of earth, and therefore it was made prominent in this service, in the season when the earth seems to open its womb beneath the growing warmth of the year.

² These are all phenomena of the spring. The third of them is differently expressed in Hwai-nan 3ze, the T'aoist grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty (see Book V of his works), and in the Hsiâ Hsiâo K'ang, showing that this text of the *Lî K'î* was taken from Lü P'ü-wei, if the whole Book were not written by him. They read 魚陟負水, which Professor Douglas renders, 'Fish mount (to the surface of) the water, bearing on their backs pieces of ice.' But the meaning of the longer text is simply what I have given. Ying-tâ says, 'Fishes, during the intense cold of winter, lie close at the bottom of the water, attracted by the greater warmth of the earth; but, when the sun's influence is felt, they rise and swim near to the ice.' 負冰 = 'with their backs near to the ice.' What is said about the otter is simply a superstitious misinterpretation of its habit of eating only a small part of its prey, and leaving the rest on the bank. The geese come from the south on the way to their quarters during the warmer season in the north.

robes, and the (pieces of) green jade (on his cap and at his girdle pendant). He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the shooting forth (of plants)¹.

¹ The *Khing Yang* ('Green and Bright') was one of the principal divisions in the Hall of Distinction of Book XII. We must suppose that the sovereign went there (among other purposes) to give out the first day of the month, and did so in the apartment indicated, and in the style and robes and ornaments of the text, in the first month of spring. The ancient Shun, it is said, set the example of the carriage with bells, whose tinkling was supposed to resemble the notes of the *lwan*, a bird at which we can only guess, and which has been called the phoenix, and the argus pheasant. Horses above eight feet high were called dragon steeds. The predominating green colour suits the season and month; but what made wheat and mutton then peculiarly suitable for the royal mat, I do not know the fancies of Tâoism sufficiently to be able to understand.

In the plates to the *Khien-lung* edition of our classic, the following rude ground-plan of the structure is given to illustrate the various references to it in this Book:—



10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of spring. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such and such a day is the inauguration of the spring. The energies of the season are fully seen in wood.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification, and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (who are at court), and his Great officers, to meet the spring in the eastern suburb¹;

The building is made to consist of nine large apartments or halls; three fronting the different points of the compass, and one in the centre; making nine in all. That in the centre was called 'The Grand Apartment of the Grand Fane;' south from it was 'The Ming Thang Grand Fane;' on the east 'The K'ing Yang Grand Fane;' on the west 'The Jung Yang Grand Fane;' and on the north 'The Hsüan Thang Grand Fane.'

In the second month of the seasons, the king went the round of the Grand Fanes. The four corner apartments were divided into two each, each one being named from the Grand Fane on the left or right of which it was. Commencing with the half on the left of the K'ing Yang Fane, the king made the circuit of all the others and of the Fanes, returning to the other half on the right of the Hsüan Thang Fane in the twelfth month. The Grand Apartment in the centre was devoted to the imaginary season of the centre, between the sixth and seventh months, or the end of summer and beginning of autumn.

¹ We are not told what the ceremonies in the inauguration of the spring were. The phrase *li k'un* (立春) is the name of the first of the twenty-four terms into which the Chinese year is divided, dating now from the sun's being in the fifteenth degree of Aquarius. K'ang Hsüan thought that the meeting of the spring in the eastern suburb was by a sacrifice to the first of 'the five planetary gods,' corresponding to Jupiter, 'the Azure T'i, called Ling-wei-jang' (靈威仰). But where he found that name, and what is its significance, is a mystery; and the whole doctrine

and on their return, he rewards them all in the court¹.

11. He charges his assistants² to disseminate (lessons of) virtue, and harmonise the governmental orders, to give effect to the expressions of his satisfaction and bestow his favours; down to the millions of the people. Those expressions and gifts thereupon proceed, every one in proper (degree and direction).

12. He also orders the Grand recorder to guard the statutes and maintain the laws, and (especially) to observe the motions in the heavens of the sun and moon, and of the zodiacal stars in which the conjunctions of these bodies take place, so that there should be no error as to where they rest and what they pass over; that there should be no failure in the record of all these things, according to the regular practice of early times.

13. In this month the son of Heaven on the first (hsin)³ day prays to God for a good year; and afterwards, the day of the first conjunction of the sun and moon having been chosen, with the handle and share of the plough in the carriage, placed between the man-at-arms who is its third occupant and the driver, he conducts his three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes and his Great officers, all with their own hands to plough the field of

of five planetary T'is is held to be heresy, and certainly does not come from the five King.

¹ This rewarding, it is understood, was that mentioned in paragraph 15, p. 217.

² These assistants are supposed to be the 'three ducal ministers.'

³ This took and takes place on the first hsin (辛) day, the first day commencing with that character, the eighth of the 'stems.'

God. The son of Heaven turns up three furrows, each of the ducal ministers five, and the other ministers and feudal princes nine¹. When they return, he takes in his hand a cup in the great chamber, all the others being in attendance on him and the Great officers, and says, 'Drink this cup of comfort after your toil.'

14. In this month the vapours of heaven descend and those of the earth ascend. Heaven and earth are in harmonious co-operation. All plants bud and grow.

15. The king gives orders to set forward the business of husbandry. The inspectors of the fields are ordered to reside in the lands having an eastward exposure, and (see that) all repair the marches and divisions (of the ground), and mark out clearly the paths and ditches. They must skilfully survey the mounds and rising grounds, the slopes and defiles, the plains and marshes, determining what the different lands are suitable for, and where the different grains will grow best. They must thus instruct and lead on the people, themselves also engaging in the tasks. The business of the fields being thus ordered, the guiding line is first put in requisition, and the husbandry is carried on without error².

16. In this month orders are given to the chief director of Music to enter the college, and practise the dances (with his pupils)³.

¹ The services described here are still performed, in substance, by the emperors of China and their representatives throughout the provinces. The field is generally called 'the imperial field,' through error. The grain produced by it was employed in the sacrifices or religious services of which God (Shang Tî) was the object, and hence arose the denomination.

² Compare vol. iii, pp. 320-322, 370-373.

³ 'The chief director of Music' would be the same as the Tâ

17. The canons of sacrifice are examined and set forth, and orders are given to sacrifice to the hills and forests, the streams and meres, care being taken not to use any female victims¹.

18. Prohibitions are issued against cutting down trees.

19. Nests should not be thrown down; unformed insects should not be killed, nor creatures in the womb, nor very young creatures, nor birds just taking to the wing, nor fawns, nor should eggs be destroyed.

20. No congregating of multitudes should be allowed, and no setting about the rearing of fortifications and walls².

21. Skeletons should be covered up, and bones with the flesh attached to them buried.

22. In this month no warlike operations should be undertaken; the undertaking of such is sure to be followed by calamities from Heaven. The not undertaking warlike operations means that they should not commence on our side³.

Sze Yo of the *K'áu Lî*, Book XXII. There were dances of war (wan), and dances of peace (wân); but neither is in the text. But either term may include both classes of dancing. Callery translates by 'faire des évolutions.'

¹ Not to destroy the life unborn. At 'the great sacrifices,' those to Heaven and Earth, and in the ancestral temple, only male victims were used, females being deemed 'unclean.' The host of minor sacrifices is intended here.

² Such operations would interfere with the labours of husbandry.

³ War is specially out of time in the genial season of spring; but a state, when attacked, must, and might, defend itself even then.

23. No change in the ways of heaven is allowed ; nor any extinction of the principles of earth ; nor any confounding of the bonds of men¹.

24. If in the first month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to summer were carried out, the rain would fall unseasonably, plants and trees would decay prematurely, and the states would be kept in continual fear. If the proceedings proper to autumn were carried out, there would be great pestilence among the people ; boisterous winds would work their violence ; rain would descend in torrents ; orach, fescue, darnel, and southernwood would grow up together. If the proceedings proper to winter were carried out, pools of water would produce their destructive effects, snow and frost would prove very injurious, and the first sown seeds would not enter the ground².

PART II.

1. In the second month of spring, the sun is in Khwei, the star culminating at dusk being Hû, and that culminating at dawn Kien-hsing³.

2. Its days are *kiâ* and *yî*. Its divine ruler is Thái Hào, the attending spirit is Kâu-mang. Its

¹ Compare what is said in the fifth Appendix to the Yî King, paragraph 4 (vol. xvi, pp. 423, 424). The next paragraph is the sequel of this.

² Such government would be comparable to the inversion of the seasons in the course of nature. Compare Proverbs xxvi. 1.

³ The constellation Khwei contains β (Mirac), δ , ϵ , ζ , μ , ν , π of Andromeda, and some stars of Pisces. Hû or Hû Kih contains δ , ϵ , η , κ , of Canis Major ; and δ , ω , of Argo ; and Kien-hsing ν , ξ , π , ρ , σ , of Sagittarius' head.

creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is *K'io*, and its pitch-tube is the *K'ia Kung*¹.

3. Its number is eight; its taste is sour; its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

4. The rain begins to fall². The peach tree begins to blossom. The oriole sings. Hawks are transformed into doves³.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the *K'ing Yang* Grand Fane⁴; rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat

¹ *K'ia Kung*, 'the double tube,' is the second tube of the six lower accords.

² Literally, 'There commence the rains.' 'The rains' is now the name of the second of the twenty-four terms (February 15 to March 4).

³ This is the converse of the phenomenon in page 277, paragraph 3. Both are absurd, but the natural rendering in the translation is the view of K'ang, Ying-tâ, K'ao Yü (the glossarist of Hwâi-nan 3ze), and the *K'ien-lung* editors. Seeking for the actual phenomenon which gave rise to the superstitious fancy, Professor Douglas renders the corresponding sentence of the Hsiâ K'ang by 'hawks become crested hawks,' and thinks that the notice is based on the appearance of the hawks when 'the rearing instinct becomes excessive, and birds of prey become excited.' It may be so, but this meaning cannot be brought out of the text, and should not be presented as that of the writer of the Book.

⁴ See the note on p. 252. The three apartments (two of them subdivided) on the east of the Hall of Distinction, all received the general designation of *K'ing Yang*, 'the Green and Bright,' as characteristic of the season of Spring. It was now the second month of that season, and the king takes his place in the principal or central apartment, 'the Grand Fane.'

and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

6. In this month, they keep both the young buds and those more advanced from being disturbed; they nourish both the young animals and those not fully grown; they especially watch over all orphans.

7. The fortunate day is chosen, and orders are given to the people to sacrifice at their altars to the spirits of the ground¹.

8. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to examine the prisons; to remove fetters and handcuffs; that there shall be no unregulated infliction of the bastinado; and that efforts shall be made to stop criminal actions and litigations.

9. In this month the swallow makes its appearance². On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker.

10. In this month day and night are equal³. Thunder utters its voice, and the lightning begins

¹ The sacrifice here was not that to Earth, which it was competent to the king alone to offer; nor to the spirits of the territories of the different states. It was offered by the people generally to the spirits presiding over their fields.

² The swallow is 'the dark-coloured bird,' of the third sacrificial ode of the Shang dynasty; see vol. iii, p. 307.

³ The vernal equinox.

to be seen. Insects in their burrows are all in motion, opening their doors and beginning to come forth.

11. Three days before the thunder¹, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded, to give notice to all the people. 'The thunder,' it is said, 'is about to utter its voice. If any of you be not careful of your behaviour, you shall bring forth children incomplete; there are sure to be evils and calamities.'

12. At the equinox they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; the weight of 30 catties, the steelyard, and the weight of 120 catties. They correct the peck and bushel, the steelyard weights and the bushel-scraper².

13. In this month few of the husbandmen remain in their houses in the towns. They repair, however, their gates and doors, both of wood and wattles; and put their sleeping apartments and temples all in good repair. No great labours, which would interfere with the work of husbandry, should be undertaken³.

14. In this month (the fishermen) should not let the streams and meres run dry, nor drain off all the water from the dams and ponds, (in order to catch all the fish), nor should (the hunters) fire the hills and forests.

¹ We are not told how they knew this third day.

² A catty (*k'in*) at present = 1½ lb. avoirdupois. The *k'hün*, or 30 catties, = 40 lbs. av.; and the *shih*, or 120 catties, = 160 lbs. av.; see Williams' Commercial Guide, pp. 278-231. The *tâu* (or peck, in use in the market) contains 10 catties of dry, cleaned rice, and measures 316 cubic *hün*, or inches; and the *hû*, or bushel, = 5 *tâu*. The bushel-scraper is a piece of wood or roller used to level the top of the *hû*. But see Williams, pp. 281, 282.

³ Compare vol. iii, pp. 368-373.

15. The son of Heaven at this time offers a lamb (to the ruler of cold), and opens the (reservoirs of) ice. Before (using it generally), they offer some in their principal apartment or in the ancestral temple¹.

16. On the first ting day² orders are given to the chief director of Music to exhibit the civil dances and unfold the offerings of vegetables³ (to the inventor of music). The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his Great officers, goes in person to see the ceremony. On the second ting² day orders are given again to the same chief to enter the college, and practise music (with his pupils).

17. In this month at the (smaller) services of supplication⁴ they do not use victims. They use offerings of jade, square and round, and instead (of victims) skins and pieces of silk.

18. If in this second month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed,

¹ Compare vol. iii, page 445. Where there was an ancestral temple, the ice would be presented there. The people who had no such temple might present it before the spirit-tablets of their deceased in their principal apartment, where these were set up.

² The fourth and fourteenth cycle days.

³ The offerings were small and scanty in this month, fruits not yet being ready for such a use. Cress and tussel-pondweed are mentioned among the vegetables which were presented on this occasion.

⁴ The received text here means not 'services of supplication,' but sacrifices. That which I have adopted is found in 3hâi Yung, and is approved by the *Khien-lung* editors. It is a necessary alteration, for in paragraphs 9 and 15 we have instances of victims used this month at sacrifices. The change in the text is not great in Chinese, the character 祈 for 祀.

there would be great floods in the states; cold airs would be constantly coming; and plundering attacks would be frequent. If those of winter were observed, the warm and genial airs would be insufficient; the wheat would not ripen; and raids and strifes would be rife among the people. If those of summer were observed, there would be great droughts among the people; the hot airs would come too early; and caterpillars and other insects would harm the grain¹.

PART III.

1. In the last month of spring, the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being *K'ih-hsing*, and that culminating at dawn *K'hien-niû*².

2. Its days are *kîâ* and *yî*. Its divine ruler is *Thâi Hâo*, and the attending spirit is *Kâu-mang*. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is the *K'io*, and its pitch-tube is the *Kû Hsien*³. Its number is eight. Its taste is sour. Its smell is rank.

3. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

¹ Before this and the corresponding paragraphs in the Parts of the Book that follow, we must always understand paragraph 23 of the last Part, of which these concluding paragraphs are supposed to be the natural sequence.

² Wei is the seventeenth of the twenty-eight Chinese constellations (longitude in 1800, 44° 8' 17'') corresponding to *Musca borealis*. *K'ih-hsing* is understood to be α (Alphard) of *Hydra*, and small stars near it. *K'hien-niû* corresponds to certain stars (ϵ , μ , ν) in the neck of *Aquila*.

³ *Kû Hsien*, 'the lady bathes,' is the third of the tubes that give the six upper musical accords.

4. The *Elaeococca* begins to flower¹. Moles are transformed into quails². Rainbows begin to appear. Duckweed begins to grow.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the *K'ing Yang* (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

6. In this month the son of Heaven presents robes yellow as the young leaves of the mulberry tree to the ancient divine ruler (and his queen)³.

7. Orders are given to the officer in charge of the boats to turn a boat bottom up. Five times he does so, and five times he turns it back again, after which he reports that it is ready for the son of Heaven, who

¹ This would probably be the *Elaeococca vernicia*, or *Aleurites cordata*.

² This statement, perhaps, arose from seeing quails running about among the mole-hills. The *K'ien-lung* editors say that the quails fly at night, and in the day keep hidden among the grass; but they seem to admit the transformation. Professor Douglas explains the error from a want of recognition of the migration of quails.

³ Callery translates this by:—'L'empereur offre de la belle jaune de céréales (aux empereurs anciens et modernes qui l'ont précédé),' following a different reading for the article offered. The general view is what I have followed. The offering is supposed to have been in connexion with a sacrifice preparatory to the silkworm season. The rearing of silkworms was due, it was supposed, to Hsü-ling, the wife of the Yellow Ti. He is the 'Ancient T'í' intended here, I suppose. The name is not to be taken as in the plural. See the *Khang-hsü* dictionary on the character *shü* (壽).

then gets into it for the first time (this spring). He offers a snouted sturgeon (which he has caught) in the rear apartment of the ancestral temple, and also prays that the wheat may yield its produce¹.

8. In this month the influences of life and growth are fully developed; and the warm and genial airs diffuse themselves. The crooked shoots are all put forth, and the buds are unfolded. Things do not admit of being restrained.

9. The son of Heaven spreads his goodness abroad, and carries out his kindly promptings. He gives orders to the proper officers to distribute from his granaries and vaults, giving their contents to the poor and friendless, and to relieve the needy and destitute; and to open his treasuries and storehouses, and to send abroad through all the nation the silks and other articles for presents, thus stimulating the princes of states to encourage the resort to them of famous scholars and show courtesy to men of ability and virtue.

10. In this month, he charges the superintendents of works, saying, 'The rains of the season will be coming down, and the waters beneath will be swelling up. Go in order over the states and visit the towns, inspecting everywhere the low and level grounds. Put the dykes and dams in good repair, clear the ditches and larger channels, and open all paths, allowing no obstruction to exist.'

¹ The five times repeated inspection of the boat does seem rather ridiculous. We must regard the king's taking to the boat as an encouragement to the fishermen, as his ploughing was to the husbandmen. The long-snouted sturgeon has always been called 'the royal sturgeon.' How the praying for a good wheat harvest seems to be connected with this ceremony I do not know.

11. The nets used in hunting animals and birds, hand nets, archers' disguises, and injurious baits should not (in this month) issue from (any of) the nine gates¹.

12. In this month orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silk-worm oaks. About these the cooing doves clap their wings, and the crested birds light on them². The trays and baskets with the stands (for the worms and cocoons) are got ready. The queen, after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to work on the mulberry trees. She orders the wives and younger women (of the palace) not to wear their ornamental dresses, and to suspend their woman's-work, thus stimulating them to attend to their business with the worms. When this has been completed, she apports the cocoons, weighs out (afterwards) the silk, on which they go to work, to supply the robes for the solstitial and other great religious services, and for use in the ancestral temple. Not one is allowed to be idle.

13. In this month orders are given to the chiefs of works, to charge the workmen of their various departments to inspect the materials in the five store-houses:—those of iron and other metals; of skins

¹ 'On each side of the wall of the royal city,' says Lû Tien (early in the Sung dynasty), 'there were three gates.' Wû K'ang says, 'The three gates on the south were the chief gates. Generally, such things as are mentioned here might issue from the other gates, but not from these; but in this month they could not issue from any of the nine.' Other explanations of 'the nine gates' have been attempted. The 'baits' (or medicines) were used to attract and to stupefy.

² Perhaps the hoopoe.

and hides and sinews; of horn and ivory; of feathers, arrows and wood (for bows); and of grease, glue, cinnabar, and varnish. (They are to see) that all these things be good. The workmen then labour at their several tasks. (The chiefs) inspect their work, and daily give them their orders. They must not produce anything contrary to what the time requires; nor can they practise a licentious ingenuity, which would dissipate the minds of their superiors.

14. In the end of this month a fortunate day is chosen for a grand concert of music. The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his great officers, goes in person to witness it.

15. In this month they collect the large, heavy bulls, and fiery stallions, and send them forth to the females in the pasture grounds. They number and make a list of the animals fit for victims, with the foals and calves.

16. Orders are given for the ceremonies against pestilence throughout the city; at the nine gates (also) animals are torn in pieces in deprecation (of the danger):—to secure the full development of the (healthy) airs of the spring¹.

17. If, in this last month of spring, the governmental

¹ Compare Analects X, 10, 2. The ceremonies there referred to were the same as those here, carried out in the villages and, indeed, throughout the land. Diseases prevailing were attributed by superstition to the action of evil spirits, and ridiculous measures adopted to drive them away. Confucius and others, even the government itself, gave countenance to these, seeing, perhaps, that in connexion with them the natural causes of disease would be in a measure dispelled.

proceedings proper to winter were observed, cold airs would constantly be prevailing; all plants and trees would decay; and in the states there would be great terrors. If those proper to summer were observed, many of the people would suffer from pestilential diseases; the seasonable rains would not fall; and no produce would be derived from the mountains and heights. If those proper to autumn were observed, the sky would be full of moisture and gloom; excessive rains would fall early; and warlike movements would be everywhere arising.

SECTION II. PART I.

1. In the first month of summer, the sun is in Pĭ; the constellation culminating at dusk being Yĭ, and that culminating at dawn Wû-nü¹.

2. Its days are ping and ting².

3. Its divine ruler is Yen Tĭ, and the (attending) spirit is Kû-yung³.

4. Its creatures are the feathered.

5. Its musical note is Kih, and its pitch-tube is the Kung Lü⁴.

6. Its number is seven⁵. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning.

¹ Pĭ is the name for the Hyades, or, more exactly, of six stars in Hyades, with μ and ν of Taurus; it is the nineteenth of the Chinese constellations. Yĭ is crater. Wû-nü is not so well identified. Williams says that it is 'a star near the middle of Capricorn,' but others say in Hercules. The *R* Yâ makes it the same as Hsü-nü (須女). Probably it was a star in the constellation Nü of Aquarius.

² The third and fourth stem characters of the cycle.

³ Yen Tĭ ('the blazing Tĭ') is the dynastic designation of Shān Nāng, generally placed next to Fû-hsĭ in Chinese chronology, and whose date cannot be assigned later than the thirty-first century B.C. Kû-yung in one account is placed before Fû-hsĭ; in a second, as one of the ministers of Hwang Tĭ; and in a third, as a son of K'wan-hsü (B.C. 2510-2433). He was 'the Director of Fire,' and had the presidency of summer.

⁴ Kih is the fourth of the notes of the Chinese scale, and Kung Lü ('the middle Spine') the third of the tubes that give the six lower accords.

⁵ The number of fire is 2, which + 5, that of earth, = 7.

7. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace¹; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

8. The green frogs croak. Earth-worms come forth. The royal melons grow². The sow-thistle is in seed.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Ming Thang (Grand Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation jade. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of summer. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of summer. The energies of the season are most fully seen in fire.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification; and on the day, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers, he proceeds to meet the summer in the southern suburbs. On their return, rewards are distributed. He grants to the feudal princes (an increase of) territory. Congratulations and gifts proceed, and all are joyful and pleased.

11. Orders are also given to the chief master of

¹ It was natural that they should sacrifice here in the summer. 'The lungs' is the fourth of the five viscera, and 'metal' the fourth of the five elements; but 'fire subdues metal.' This is supposed to account for the prominence given to the lungs in this sacrifice.

² According to Williams this is the 'common cucumber.'

music to teach the practice of ceremonies and music together.

12. Orders are given to the Grand Peace-maintainer¹ to recommend men of eminence, allow the worthy and good to have free course and bring forward the tall and large. His conferring of rank and regulation of emolument must be in accordance with the position (of the individual).

13. In this month what is long should be encouraged to grow longer, and what is high to grow higher. There should be no injuring or overthrowing of anything; no commencing of works in earth; no sending forth of great multitudes (on expeditions); no cutting down of large trees.

14. In this month the son of Heaven begins to wear thin dolichos cloth.

15. Orders are given to the foresters throughout the country to go forth over the fields and plains, and, for the son of Heaven, to encourage the husbandmen, and stimulate them to work, and not let the season slip by unimproved.

Orders are (also) given to the minister of Instruction to travel in order through the districts to the borders, charging the husbandmen to work vigorously, and not to rest in the towns.

16. In this month they chase away wild animals to prevent them from doing harm to any of the

¹ The 'Grand Peace-maintainer' (大尉) was a title under the *K'in* dynasty, and instituted by it, of the Minister of War. The functions of the latter, as described in the last Book, page 234, are in harmony with what is said here. The occurrence of the name bears out the attributing of this Book to Lū Pū-wei.

(growing) grain ; but they should not have a great hunting.

17. When the husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their wheat, the son of Heaven tastes it along with some pork, first offering a portion in the apartment behind (the hall of the) ancestral temple.

18. In this month they collect and store up the various medicinal herbs. Delicate herbs (now) die ; it is the harvest time (even) of the wheat. They decide cases for which the punishments are light ; they make short work of small crimes, and liberate those who are in prison for slight offences¹.

19. When the work with the silk-worms is over, the queen presents her cocoons ; and the tithe-tax of cocoons generally is collected, according to the number of mulberry trees ; for noble and mean, for old and young there is one law. The object is with such cocoons to provide materials for the robes to be used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and in the ancestral temple.

20. In this month the son of Heaven (entertains his ministers and princes) with strong drink and with (much) observance of ceremony and with music².

¹ There does not appear to be any connexion between the first sentence of this paragraph and the remainder of it. The medicinal herbs are collected while all their vigour is in them. For the things in the second sentence the 'summer heats' make a premature harvest ; and this seems to lead to the third topic,—the saving those charged with slight offences from the effects of that heat in confinement.

² The *K'ien-lung* editors have a note here, which is worth quoting, to the effect that as the great solstitial sacrifices and the seasonal sacrifices of the ancestral temple do not appear in this Book, the drinking here was at court entertainments.

21. If, in this first month of summer, the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, pitiless rains would be frequent; the five esculent plants¹ would not grow large, and in all the borders people would have to enter the places of shelter. If those proper to winter were observed, all plants and trees would wither early, and afterwards there would be great floods, destroying city and suburban walls. If those proper to spring were observed, there would be the calamity of locusts, violent winds would come, and plants in flower would not go on to seed.

PART II.

1. In the second month of summer the sun is in the eastern 3ing, the constellation culminating at dusk being Khang, and that culminating at dawn Wei².

2. Its days are ping and ting. Its divine ruler is Yen Ti, and the (attending) spirit is *K'û-yung*. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is *K'ih*, and its pitch-tube is *Sui Pin*³.

3. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

4. The (period of) slighter heat arrives; the praying mantis is produced; the shrike begins to give its notes; the mocking-bird ceases to sing⁴.

¹ Hemp or flax, millet, rice, bearded grain, and pulse.

² 3ing comprehends γ, ε, ζ, λ, μ, ν, Gemini; Khang, ι, κ, λ, μ, ρ, Virgo; and Wei corresponds to α, Aquarius, and ε, θ, Pegasus.

³ *Sui Pin*, 'the flourishing Guest,' is the fourth of the tubes that give the six upper musical accords.

⁴ This is here 'the inverted Tongue.' The *Khang-hsi* dictionary

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Ming Thang Grand Fane; rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

6. They encourage the (continued) growth of what is strong and beautiful¹.

7. In this month orders are given to the music-masters to put in repair the hand-drums, smaller drums, and large drums; to adjust the lutes, large and small, the double flutes, and the pan-pipes; to teach the holding of the shields, pole-axes, lances, and plumes; to tune the organs, large and small, with their pipes and tongues; and to put in order the bells, sonorous stones, the instrument to give the symbol for commencing, and the stopper².

8. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to pray for the people and offer sacrifice to the (spirits of the) hills, streams, and all springs. (After that) comes the great summer sacrifice for rain to God, when all

says it is the same as 'the hundred Tongues;' the Chinese mocking-bird.

¹ K'ü Hsî would remove this paragraph to the thirteenth of the last Part. It seems to me to be in its proper place.

² See vol. iii, p. 324. The stopper is represented thus:—



It was made to sound by a metal rod drawn along the spinous back. I have seen a similar instrument, used for the same purpose, brought from Madras.

the instruments of music are employed. Then orders are given throughout all the districts to sacrifice to the various princes, high ministers, and officers who benefited the people; praying that there may be a good harvest of grain¹.

9. The husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their millet; and in this month the son of Heaven partakes of it along with pullets, and with cherries set forth beside them, first offering a portion in the apartment behind the ancestral temple.

10. The people are forbidden to cut down the indigo plant to use it in dyeing²,

11. Or to burn wood for charcoal, or to bleach cloth in the sun.

12. The gates of cities and villages should not be shut³, nor should vexatious inquiries be instituted at the barrier gates or in the markets.

¹ The first and last of the three sacrificial services in the paragraph were subsidiary to the second, the great praying for rain to God by the sovereign; the motive is not mentioned in the text, but only he could conduct a service to God. Callery renders:—*'En même temps l'empereur invoque le ciel avec grand appareil (afin d'obtenir de la pluie), et cette cérémonie est accompagnée de grande musique.'* All Chinese commentators admit that the performer was the sovereign. K'ang Khang-k'hang says: 'For this sacrifice to God, they made an altar (or altars) by the side of the (grand altar in the) southern suburb, and sacrificed to the five essential (or elemental) gods with the former rulers as their assessors.' But the K'ien-lung editors insist on the text's having 'God,' and not 'five gods,' and that the correct view is that the sacrifice was to the one God dwelling in the bright sky, or, as Williams renders the phrase, 'the Shang Tí of the glorious heaven.'

² The plant would not yet be fully fit for use.

³ Every facility should be afforded for the circulation of air during the summer heats.

13. Leniency should be shown to prisoners charged (even) with great crimes, and their allowance of food be increased¹.

14. Impregnated mares are collected in herds by themselves, and the fiery stallions are tied up. The rules for the rearing of horses are given out.

15. In this month the longest day arrives. The influences in nature of darkness and decay and those of brightness and growth struggle together; the tendencies to death and life are divided². Superior men give themselves to vigil and fasting. They keep retired in their houses, avoid all violent exercise, restrain their indulgence in music and beautiful sights, eschew the society of their wives, make their diet spare, use no piquant condiments, keep their desires under rule, and maintain their spirits free from excitement. The various magistrates keep things quiet and inflict no punishments³;—to bring about that state of settled quiet in which the influence of darkness and decay shall obtain its full development.

16. Deer shed their horns. Cicadas begin to sing. The midsummer herb is produced. The tree hibiscus flowers⁴.

17. In this month fires should not be lighted (out of doors) in the southern regions (of the country).

¹ The leniency would be seen in the lightening of their fetters for one thing,—in consequence of the exhaustion produced by the season.

² Decay begins to set in, while growth and vigour seek to maintain their hold.

³ The *Khien-lung* editors approve a reading here, which means, instead of 'no punishments,' 'no rash or hurried action.'

⁴ The 'tree hibiscus' is the 'hibiscus syriacus.' The 'half-summer herb' is medicinal. It is 'white, with round seeds, and of a hot and pungent taste.'

18. People may live in buildings high and bright. They may enjoy distant prospects. They may ascend hills and heights. They may occupy towers and lofty pavilions¹.

19. If, in the second month of summer, the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and cold would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable; and violent assaults of war would come. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the grains would be late in ripening; all kinds of locusts would continually be appearing; and there would be famine in the states. If those proper to autumn were observed, herbs and plants would drop their leaves; fruits would ripen prematurely; and the people would be consumed by pestilence.

PART III.

1. In the third month of summer the sun is in Liû, the constellation culminating at dusk being Kwo, and that culminating at dawn Khwei².

2. Its days are ping and ting. Its divine ruler is Yen Ti, and the (assisting) spirit is K'kû-yung. Its musical note is Kih, and its pitch-tube is Lin Kung³.

¹ At the beginning of this paragraph there should be—'In this month.'

² Liû comprehends δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ρ , σ , and ω Hydræ; Hwo is the same as Hsin, the fifth of the Chinese zodiacal constellations comprehending Antares, σ , τ , and two c. 2584, 2587, Scorpio; Khwei (as stated above, p. 257) comprehends β (Mirac), δ , ϵ , ζ , μ , ν , π of Andromeda, and some stars of Pisces.

³ The fourth of the tubes that give the six lower musical accords.

3. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

4. Gentle winds begin to blow. The cricket takes its place in the walls. (Young) hawks learn to practise (the ways of their parents)¹. Decaying grass becomes fire-flies.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Ming Thang (Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

6. Orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to attack the alligator, to take the gavia, to present the tortoise, and to take the great turtle².

7. Orders are given to the superintendent of the Meres to collect and send in the rushes available for use.

8. In this month orders are given to the four

¹ Compare what is said about hawks in paragraph 4, page 258. 'Here,' says Wang Thao, 'we have the turtle-doves transformed back to hawks, showing that the former notice was metaphorical.' What is said about the fire-flies is, of course, a mistaken fancy.

² The first of these animals—the *k'iao*—is, probably, the alligator or crocodile; it was taken only after a struggle or fight. The second—the *tho*—had a skin used in making drums; and its flesh, as well as that of the fourth—the *yüan*—was used in making soup.

inspectors¹ to make a great collection over all the districts of the different kinds of fodder to nourish the sacrificial victims; and to require all the people to do their utmost towards this end;—to supply what is necessary for (the worship of) God (who dwells in) the great Heaven, and for the spirits of the famous hills, great streams, and four quarters, and for the sacrifices to the Intelligences of the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain; that prayer may be made for blessing to the people.

9. In this month orders are given by the officers of women's (work), on the subject of dyeing². (They are to see) that the white and black, the black and green, the green and carnation, the carnation and white be all according to the ancient rules, without error or change; and that their black, yellow, azure, and carnation be all genuine and good, without any presumptuous attempts at imposition. These furnish the materials for the robes used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and the ancestral temple; for flags and their ornaments; and for marking the different degrees of rank as high or low.

10. In this month the trees are luxuriant; and orders are given to the foresters to go among the hills and examine the trees, and see that the people do not cut any down or lop their branches³.

¹ Of hills, forests, rivers, and meres.

² We find full details of the number and duties of the superintendents of women's work, with its tailoring, dyeing, and other things, in the *Kâu Lî*, Books I and VII.

³ The *Khien-lung* editors say that this was to let the process of growth have its full course; and, besides, that wood cut down in spring and summer will be found full of insects.

11. There should not be any work in earth¹ (now) undertaken; nor any assembling of the princes of the states; nor any military movements, causing general excitement. There should be no undertaking of (such) great affairs, which will disturb the nourishing growth that is proceeding, nor any issuing of orders to be hereafter carried into effect. All these things will interfere with the business of husbandry, (which is specially dear to) the Spirits². The floods are now great and overflow the roads; husbandry (dear to) the Spirits has to take in hand its various tasks. The curse of Heaven will come on the undertaking of great affairs (at this time).

¹ Such as building walls and fortifications, or laying out the ground.

² The text is—'will interfere with the business of Shǎn Nǎng (妨神農之事).' How is it that 'husbandry' has here the epithet of Shǎn, or 'spiritual,' 'mysterious,' applied to it? The *K'ien-lung* editors say:—'Zhāi Yung (our second century) makes Shǎn Nǎng to be Yen Tî (the divine ruler of the summer). K'ang made the name to be that of "the spirit of the ground." K'ao Yü (second century) took it as a name for the minister of Husbandry. To some extent each of these views might be admitted, but none of them is very certain. Looking carefully at the text it simply says that no great undertakings should be allowed to interfere with husbandry. That it does not plainly say husbandry, but calls it the Shǎn husbandry, is from a sense of its importance, and therefore making it out to be Spirit-sanctioned. Heaven produced the people, and the grain to nourish them; is not sowing and reaping the business of Heaven? When a ruler knows this, he feels that he is under the inspection of Heaven in his reverent regard of the people, and the importance which he attaches to husbandry. He will not dare lightly to use the people's strength, so as to offend against Heaven.' I have tried to bring out their view in my version.

12. In this month the ground lies steaming and wet beneath the heats, for great rains are (also) continually coming. They burn the grass lying cut upon the ground¹ and bring the water over it. This is as effectual to kill the roots as hot water would be; and the grass thus serves to manure the fields of grain and hemp, and to fatten the ground which has been but just marked out for cultivation.

13. If, in the last month of summer, the governmental proceedings proper to spring were observed, the produce of grain would be scanty and fail; in the states there would be many colds and coughs; and the people would remove to other places. If the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, even the high grounds would be flooded; the grain that had been sown would not ripen; and there would be many miscarriages among women. If those proper to winter were observed, the winds and cold would come out of season; the hawks and falcons would prematurely attack their prey; and all along the four borders people would enter their places of shelter.

SUPPLEMENTARY SECTION.

1. Right in the middle (between Heaven and Earth, and the other elements) is earth.
2. Its days are wû and 𠄎1.
3. Its divine ruler is Hwang T1; and the (attending) spirit is Hâu-thû.

¹ Compare what is said on the duties of those who cut the grass, as is here assumed to be done, in the *Kâu Lî*, Book XXXVII, paragraphs 80, 81 (薙氏).

4. Its creature is that without any natural covering but the skin.

5. Its musical note is *Kung*, and its pitch-tube gives the *kung* note from the tube *Hwang Kung*.

6. Its number is five. Its taste is sweet. Its smell is fragrant.

7. Its sacrifice is that of the middle court ; and of the parts of the victim the heart has the foremost place.

8. The son of Heaven occupies the Grand apartment of the Grand fane ; rides in the great carriage drawn by the yellow horses with black tails, and bearing the yellow flag ; is clothed in the yellow robes, and wears the yellow gems. He eats panicked millet and beef. The vessels which he uses are round, (and made to resemble) the capacity (of the earth)¹.

¹ I have called this a supplementary section. It is dropt in, in all its brevity, without mention of any proceedings of government, between the end of summer and the beginning of autumn. It has all the appearance of an after-thought, suggested by the superstitious fancies of the compiler. Callery says on it :—

‘This passage can only be comprehended by help of the intimate affinities which Chinese philosophers have attributed to the different beings of nature. According to them, the four seasons are related to the four cardinal points : spring to the east, summer to the south, autumn to the west, and winter to the north. Each of the cardinal points is related to an element : the east to wood, the south to fire, the west to metal, and the north to water. But as there is a fifth element, that of earth, and the four cardinal points have no reason for being distinguished as they are, but that there is a point in the middle between them, which is still the earth, it follows from this that the earth ought to have its place in the midst of the four seasons, that is, at the point of separation

between summer and autumn. Here a difficulty presented itself. The bamboo flutes to which the Chinese months are referred being but twelve, where shall be found the musical affinities of the earth? But the Chinese philosopher did not find himself embarrassed. See how he reasoned. The sound of the first flute, that is, of the longest and largest, is the strongest and most grave, and, like a bass, harmonizes with all the other sounds more acute. So the earth, likewise, is the most important of all the elements; it extends towards all the cardinal points, and intervenes in the products of each season. Hence the earth ought to correspond to the sound of the first flute! These affinities extend to colours, tastes, and a crowd of other categories.'

The *K'ien-lung* editors say:—

'Speaking from the standpoint of Heaven, then the earth is in the midst of Heaven; that is, (the element of) earth. Speaking from the standpoint of the Earth, then wood, fire, metal, and water are all supported on it. The manner in which the way of Earth is affected by that of Heaven cannot be described by reference to one point, or one month. Speaking from the standpoint of the heavenly stems, then wû and k'î occupy the middle places, and are between the stems for fire and metal, to convey the system of mutual production. Speaking from the standpoint of the "earthly branches," the k'h'ăn, hsü, k'h'âu, and wî occupy the corners of the four points; wood, fire, metal, and water, all turn to earth. This is what the idea of reciprocal ending, and that of elemental flourishing, arise from. This may be exhibited in the several points, and reckoned by the periods of days. The talk about the elements takes many directions, but the underlying principle comes to be the same!'

I shall be glad if my readers can understand this.

SECTION III. PART I.

1. In the first month of autumn, the sun is in Yî; the constellation culminating at dusk being *Kien-hsing*, and that culminating at dawn Pî¹.

2. Its days are *käng* and *hsin*.

3. Its divine ruler is *Sháo Hào*, and the (attending) spirit is *Zû-shâu*².

4. Its creatures are the hairy.

5. Its musical note is *Shang*; its pitch-tube is *Î 3eh*³.

6. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank.

7. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

8. Cool winds come; the white dew descends⁴; the cicada of the cold chirps⁵. (Young) hawks at this

¹ Yî corresponds to Crater. *Kien-hsing* comprehends stars in *Sagittarius* (see page 257). Pî corresponds to the *Hyades*.

² *Sháo Hào* follows *Hwang Tî*, whose eldest son he was, as the fourth in the list of the five Tî, or divine rulers (B.C. 2594). His capital was at *K'ü-fâu*, the city of Confucius; and I have seen, at a little distance from it, perhaps the only pyramid in China, which is in memory of him, and said to be on or near his grave. His personal appellation is *Kin-thien* (金天), or *Thien-kin*, the element to which he and his reign are assigned being *kin*, or metal. *Zû-shâu* was one of his sons.

³ *Î 3eh*, 'the equalization of the Laws,' is the tube giving the fifth of the upper musical accords.

⁴ White dew is a name for hoar-frost.

⁵ This cicada (Williams thinks the *cicada viridis*) is called

time sacrifice birds, as the first step they take to killing (and eating) them¹.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the *3ung-kang* (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, and going on to be deep².

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of autumn. Three days before the ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of the autumn. The character of the season is fully seen in metal.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the princes of states (at court), and his Great officers, to meet the autumn in the western suburb, and on their return he rewards the general-in-chief, and the military officers in the court.

11. The son of Heaven also orders the leaders and commanders to choose men and sharpen weapons, to select and exercise those of distinguished merit, and

'the dumb.' Now it begins to chirp. Its colour is 'green and red.'

¹ Compare what is said about the otter, page 251.

² *3ung-kang* is made out to mean, 'all bright,' and the apartment was on the west; with mystical reference to the maturity and gathering of all things in the autumn, or season of the west. The vessels were rectangular, having sharp corners in harmony with the sharp weapons made of metal, to which element the season of autumn is referred; and they were deep, to resemble the deep bosom of the earth, to which things now begin to return.

to give their entire trust only to men whose services have been proved ;—thereby to correct all unrighteousness. (He instructs them also) to make enquiries about and punish the oppressive and insolent;—thereby making it clear whom he loves and whom he hates, and giving effect to (the wishes of) the people, even the most distant from court.

12. In this month orders are given to the proper officers to revise the laws and ordinances, to put the prisons in good repair, to provide handcuffs and fetters, to repress and stop villainy, to maintain a watch against crime and wickedness, and to do their endeavour to capture criminals. Orders are (also) given to the managers (of prisons) to look at wounds, examine sores, inspect broken members, and judge particularly of dislocations. The determination of cases, both criminal and civil, must be correct and just. Heaven and earth now begin to be severe ;—there should be no excess in copying that severity, or in the opposite indulgence¹.

13. In this month the husbandmen present their grain. The son of Heaven tastes it, while still new, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

14. Orders are given to all the officers to begin their collecting and storing the contributions (from

¹ For this last sentence Callery has :—‘(Ce mois-ci) la nature commençant à devenir rigoureuse, on ne doit pas augmenter (ses rigueurs par l’application de châtimens trop sévères).’ Wang Tháo takes an opposite view. I think I have got the thought that was in the compiler’s mind. See the note of the *K’hien-lung* editors with reference to the advocacy of it by commentators of ‘the Brief Calendar of Hsiâ.’

the husbandmen); to finish the embankments and dykes; to look to the dams and fillings up in preparation for the floods, and also to refit all houses; to strengthen walls and enclosures; and to repair city and suburban walls.

15. In this month there should be no investing of princes, and no appointment of great ministers. There should be no dismemberment of any territory, no sending out on any great commission, and no issuing of great presents.

16. If, in this first month of autumn, the proceedings of government proper to winter were observed, then the dark and gloomy influence (of nature) would greatly prevail; the shelly insects would destroy the grain; and warlike operations would be called for. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, there would be droughts in the states; the bright and growing influence would return; and the five kinds of grain would not yield their fruit. If the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be many calamities from fire in the states; the cold and the heat would be subject to no rule; and there would be many fevers among the people.

PART II.

1. In the second month of autumn the sun is in *K'io*, the constellation culminating at dusk being *Khien-niû*, and that culminating at dawn *3ze-hsf*¹.

2. Its days are *kǎng* and *hsin*. Its divine ruler

¹ *K'io* corresponds to α (Spica) and ζ of Virgo; *Khien-niû* (see on page 262) to certain stars in the neck of Aquila; and *3ze-hsf* is said to be λ Orion.

is Sháo Háo, and the (attending) spirit is Zû-sháu. Its insects are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Nan Lü¹.

3. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that of the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

4 Sudden and violent winds come. The wild geese arrive². The swallows return (whence they came)³. Tribes of birds store up provisions (for the future)³.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Jung-kang Grand Fane; rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white gems. He eats hemp-seed and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular or cornered, and rather deep.

6. In this month they take especial care of the

¹ Nan Lü, 'the southern spine,' is the tube that gives the fifth of the lower musical accords.

² The wild geese are now returning to their winter quarters, from which they had come in the first month of spring; see page 251. So with the swallows, who had appeared in the second month of spring; see page 259.

³ This sentence is hardly translatable or intelligible. Some would read as in paragraph 95 of 'the Brief Calendar of Hsiâ' (丹鳥羞白鳥), translated by Professor Douglas: 'The red birds (i. e. fire-flies) devour the white birds (i. e. mosquitoes),' which he ingeniously supports by a reference to the habits of the fire-fly from Chambers' Encyclopædia. But his translation of hsiû by 'devour' is inadmissible. Wang Tháo says that this view is 'chisseling.' 'Sparrows and other birds,' he says, 'now collect seeds of grapes and trees, and store them in their nests and holes against the time of rain and snow.'

decaying and old ; give them stools and staves, and distribute supplies of congee for food.

7. Orders are given to the superintendent of robes to have ready the upper and lower dresses with their various ornaments. For the figures and embroidery on them there are fixed patterns. Their size, length, and dimensions must all be according to the old examples. For the caps and girdles (also) there are regular rules.

8. Orders are given to the proper officers to revise with strict accuracy (the laws about) the various punishments. Beheading and (the other) capital executions must be according to (the crimes) without excess or defect. Excess or defect out of such proportion will bring on itself the judgment (of Heaven).

9. In this month orders are given to the officers of slaughter and prayer to go round among the victims for sacrifice, seeing that they are entire and complete, examining their fodder and grain, inspecting their condition as fat or thin, and judging of their looks. They must arrange them according to their classes. In measuring their size, and looking at the length (of their horns), they must have them according to the (assigned) measures. When all these points are as they ought to be, God will accept the sacrifices¹.

10. The son of Heaven performs the ceremonies against pestilence, to secure development for the (healthy) airs of autumn.

11. He eats the hemp-seed (which is now pre-

¹ K'ang says here : ' And if God accept them, of course there is no other spirit that will not do so.'

sented) along with dog's flesh, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

12. In this month it is allowable to rear city and suburban walls, to establish cities and towns, to dig underground passages and grain-pits, and to repair granaries, round and square.

13. Orders are given to the proper officers to be urgent with the people, and (to finish) receiving their contributions and storing them. They should do their best to accumulate (large) stores of vegetables and other things.

14. They should (also) stimulate the wheat-sowing. (The husbandmen) should not be allowed to miss the proper time for the operation. Any who do so shall be punished without fail.

15. In this month day and night are equal. The thunder begins to restrain its voice. Insects stop up the entrances to their burrows. The influence to decay and death gradually increases. That of brightness and growth daily diminishes. The waters begin to dry up.

16. At the equinox, they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; equalise the steelyards and their weights; rectify the weights of 30 and 120 catties; and adjust the pecks and bushels.

17. In this month they regulate and reduce the charges at the frontier gates and in the markets, to encourage the resort of both regular and travelling traders, and the receipt of goods and money; for the convenience of the business of the people. When merchants and others collect from all quarters, and come from the most distant parts, then the resources (of the government) do not fail. There is no want

of means for its use; and all things proceed prosperously.

18. In commencing great undertakings, there should be no opposition to the great periods (for them) as defined (by the motion of the sun). They must be conformed to the times (as thereby marked out), and particular attention paid to the nature of each¹.

19. If in this second month of autumn the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the autumnal

¹ Callery translates this paragraph by: 'Toute personne ayant une chose importante à accomplir ne doit pas se mettre en opposition avec les grands principes (yin et yang); il doit se conformer au temps (propre à agir; mais il doit aussi) bien examiner la nature même de l'entreprise.' He appends to this the following note:—'Les deux principes yin et yang auxquels se rapportent tous les êtres, ayant tour-à-tour la prédominance dans certaines époques de l'année, le temps convenable pour une chose quelconque est celui auquel prédomine le principe dont cette chose dépend par son affinité naturelle. Ainsi, par exemple, les travaux de terrassement et de construction conviennent en automne, parce que le principe yin dont ils dépendent est en progrès pendant l'automne. Néanmoins, de ce que cette époque de l'année est favorable sous ce point de vue, il ne s'ensuit pas que toute entreprise de construction faite en automne soit avantageuse en elle-même; une foule de circonstances peuvent la rendre ruineuse, et c'est à l'entrepreneur de bien l'examiner, abstraction faite de la saison.'

The text rendered by Callery, 'les deux principes (yin et yang),' is simply *tâ shû*, 'the grand numbers,' the meaning of which I have endeavoured to bring out by the supplements in my version. The yin and yang are not mentioned in the text of the paragraph. They are simply a binomial phrase for the course of nature, with special reference to the weather and its conditions, as regulated by the action of the sun on the earth in the course of the seasons.

rains would not fall ; plants and trees would blossom ; and in the states there would be alarms. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states ; insects would not retire to their burrows ; and the five grains would begin to grow again. If those proper to winter were observed, calamities springing from (unseasonable) winds would be constantly arising ; the thunder now silent would be heard before its time ; and plants and trees would die prematurely.

PART III.

1. In the last month of autumn the sun is in Fang, the constellation culminating at dusk being Hsü¹, and that culminating at dawn Liü.

2. Its days are käng and hsin. Its divine ruler is Sháo Hào, and the (attending) spirit is 3û-shâu. Its creatures are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Wû Yî².

3. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the gate ; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

4. The wild geese come ; (and abide) like guests³.

¹ Fang comprehends β, δ, π, ρ Scorpio. Hsü corresponds to β Aquarius ; and Liü comprehends δ, ε, ζ, η, θ, ρ, σ, φ Hydra.

² Wû Yî, 'the unwearied,' is the tube giving the sixth upper musical accord.

³ The addition of guests here is a difficulty. It is said on the previous month that 'the wild geese come ;' are these here the same as those, or are they others,—the younger birds, as some suppose, which had waited after the former, and still found it necessary to remain on their passage to recruit their strength ?

Small birds enter the great water and become mollusks¹. Chrysanthemums show their yellow flowers. The *khai* sacrifice larger animals, and kill (and devour) the smaller².

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the *Jung-kang* (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flags; is dressed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, cornered, and rather deep.

6. In this month the orders are renewed and

¹ Professor Douglas has made it more than probable that the 'small birds' here are sand-pipers. What is said about them, however, will not admit of his version, that they 'go into the sea or lakes for crustaceae.' His 'crustaceae' should be 'mollusks.' According to all rules of Chinese composition, what he renders 'for' must be taken verbally, = 'to become.' It is not merely the Chinese 'commentators,' who consider the sentence to mean, 'Sparrows go into the sea and become crustaceae (? mollusks);' it is what the text says. It is indeed an absurd statement, but a translator is not responsible for that. The *Khien-lung* editors observe that there is no mention here of the little birds being 'transformed,' as in the paragraph about the 'hawks' on page 258, and hence they argue that we cannot understand the notice here metaphorically. They accept the fact (?). The marine *Ko*, which is mentioned here, as figured in the plates of the *Păn Zhào Kang-mû*, is the *Calyptroidea Trochita*.

² Compare what is said about the otter, page 251. Professor Douglas argues that the *khai* is the polecat. But this identification cannot yet be received as certain. The *khai* is 'dog-footed,' 'hunts in troops,' and has 'a voice like that of the dog.' In Japanese plates it is not at all like 'the polecat.' An English naturalist, to whom I submitted a Japanese work illustrative of the *Shih King*, many years ago, has written over the *khai*, 'a wild dog or wolf.'

strictly enjoined, charging the various officers (to see) that noble and mean all exert themselves in the work of ingathering, in harmony with the storing of heaven and earth. They must not allow anything to remain out in the fields.

7. Orders are also given to the chief minister, after the fruits of husbandry have all been gathered in, to take in hand the registers of the produce of the different grains (from all the country), and to store up the produce that has been gathered from the acres of God in the granary of the spirits; doing this with the utmost reverence and correctness¹.

8. In this month the hoar-frost begins to fall; and all labours cease (for a season).

9. Orders are given to the proper officers, saying, 'The cold airs are all coming, and the people will not be able to endure them. Let all enter within their houses (for a time).'

10. On the first ting day orders are given to the chief Director of music to enter the college, and to practise (with his pupils) on the wind instruments.

11. In this month an announcement is made to the son of Heaven that the victims for the great sacrifice to God, and the autumnal sacrifice in the ancestral temple² are fit and ready.

¹ 'This,' says Hsü Sze-jäng (Ming dynasty), 'is the great rule of making provision for the sustenance of men and for serving spiritual beings,—two things demanding the utmost inward reverence and outward reverential vigour.' I suppose that the 'spirit-granary' contained the grain for all governmental sacrifices, as well as that gathered from 'the acres of God,' and to be used specially in sacrifices to Him.

² This paragraph gives great trouble to the *K'ien-lung* editors; but we need not enter on their discussions.

12. The princes of the states are assembled, and orders given to the officers of the various districts (in the royal domain). They receive the first days of the months for the coming year¹, and the laws for the taxation of the people by the princes, both light and heavy, and the amount of the regular contribution to the government, which is determined by the distance of the territories and the nature of their several productions. The object of this is to provide what is necessary for the suburban sacrifices and those in the ancestral temple. No private considerations are allowed to have place in this.

13. In this month the son of Heaven, by means of hunting, teaches how to use the five weapons of war, and the rules for the management of horses.

14. Orders are given to the charioteers and the seven (classes of) grooms² to see to the yoking of the several teams, to set up in the carriages the flags and various banners³, to assign the carriages according to the rank (of those who were to occupy them), and to arrange and set up the screens outside (the royal tent). The minister of Instruction, with his baton

¹ This last month of autumn, the ninth from the first month of spring, was the last month of the year with the dynasty of Shín, when it was high time to give out the calendar for the months of the next year.

² The sovereign's horses were divided into six classes, and every class had its own grooms, with one among them who had the superintendence of the rest. See a narrative in the *So Kwan*, under the eighteenth year of duke *Kháng*.

³ Two of these insignia are mentioned in the text;—the *Śing*, which was only a pennant, and the *Káo*, a large banner with a tortoise and serpent intertwined. No doubt the meaning is, 'the various banners.'

stuck in his girdle, addresses all before him with his face to the north.

15. Then the son of Heaven, in his martial ornaments, with his bow in one hand, and the arrows under the armpit of the other, proceeds to hunt. (Finally), he gives orders to the superintendent of Sacrifices, to offer some of the captured game to (the spirits of) the four quarters.

16. In this month the plants and trees become yellow and their leaves fall, on which the branches are cut down to make charcoal.

17. Insects in their burrows all try to push deeper, and from within plaster up the entrances. In accordance with (the season), they hurry on the decision and punishment of criminal cases, wishing not to leave them any longer undealt with. They call in emoluments that have been assigned incorrectly, and minister to those whose means are insufficient for their wants.

18. In this month the son of Heaven eats dog's flesh and rice, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

19. If, in this last month of autumn, the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be great floods in the states; the winter stores would be injured and damaged; there would be many colds and catarrhs among the people. If those proper to winter were observed, there would be many thieves and robbers in the states; the borders would be unquiet; and portions of territory would be torn from the rest. If those proper to spring were observed, the warm airs would come; the energies of the people would be relaxed and languid; and the troops would be kept moving about.

SECTION IV. PART I.

1. In the first month of winter the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Wei, and the constellation culminating at dawn *K'ih-hsing*¹.

2. Its days are the *zăn* and *kwei*.

3. Its divine ruler is *Kwan-hsü*, and the (attending) spirit is *Hsüan-ming*².

4. Its creatures are the shell-covered.

5. Its musical note is *Yü*, and its pitch-tube is *Ying Kung*³.

6. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten.

7. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and

¹ Wei (尾) comprehends ϵ , μ Scorpio; Wei (危, as on page 272) corresponds to stars in Aquarius and Pegasus. *K'ih Hsing* (as on p. 262) corresponds to stars in Hydra.

² *Kwan-hsü* is the dynastic designation of the grandson of Hwang Tî, the commencement of whose reign is assigned in B.C. 2510. He is known also by the personal designation of *K'ao-yang*, from the name of his second capital. Among the elements his reign is assigned to water, and thence to the north; and hence the designation of his minister as *Hsüan-ming*, 'the dark and mysterious,' who was called *Hsiü* (脩) and *Hsi* (熙), and is said to have been a son of *Sh'ao H'ao*.

³ *Yü* is the fifth of the notes of the scale; and *Ying Kung*, 'the responsive tube,' the name of the last of the tubes giving the six lower musical accords.

among the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place¹.

8. Water begins to congeal. The earth begins to be penetrated by the cold. Pheasants enter the great water and become large mollusks². Rainbows are hidden and do not appear.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Hsüan Thang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag; is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of winter. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of winter. The character of the season is fully seen in

¹ This altar was outside the gate leading to the ancestral temple, on the west of it. Many say that here was the 'well' supplying the water used for the temple, and would read 井 (井) for hsing (行).

² The 'great water' here is said in the 'Narratives of the States' (Book XV) to be the Hwâi. The 𪚩 is said to be a large species of the 𪚩, into which small birds are transformed (p. 292). Of course the transmutation of the pheasants into these is absurd. Professor Douglas has found in a Chinese Encyclopædia a statement that 𪚩 is sometimes an equivalent of 蒲蘆 (蒲蘆), 'sweet flags and rushes.' The 蘆, however, is sometimes read lô, and said to have the same sound and meaning as 螺, 'a spiral univalve;' but the great objection to Professor Douglas' view is the meaning he puts on the 爲, as pointed out on p. 292. The text cannot be construed as he proposes.

water.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day of the inauguration he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers to meet the winter in the northern suburbs. On his return he rewards (the descendants of) those who died in the service (of the kingdom), and shows his compassion to orphans and widows.

11. In this month orders are given to the Grand recorder to smear with blood the tortoise-shells and divining stalks¹, and by interpreting the indications of the former and examining the figures formed by the latter, to determine the good and evil of their intimations. (In this way) all flattery and partizan-ship in the interpretation of them (will become clear), and the crime of the operators be brought home. No concealment or deceit will be allowed.

12. In this month the son of Heaven sets the example of wearing furs.

13. Orders are issued to the proper officers in the words:—'The airs of heaven are ascended on high, and those of earth have descended beneath. There is no intercommunion of heaven and earth. All is shut up and winter is completely formed.'

14. Orders are given to all the officers to cover up carefully the stores (of their departments). The minister of Instruction is also ordered to go round (among the people and see) that they have formed their stores, and that nothing is left ungathered.

15. The city and suburban walls are put in good

¹ See in Mencius, I, 7, 4, on the consecration of a bell by smearing parts of it with blood.

repair; the gates of towns and villages are looked after; bolts and nuts are put to rights; locks and keys are carefully attended to; the field-boundaries are strengthened; the frontiers are well secured; important defiles are thoroughly defended; passes and bridges are carefully seen after; and narrow ways and cross-paths are shut up.

16. The rules for mourning are revised; the distinctions of the upper and lower garments are defined; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins is decided on; with the size, height and other dimensions of graves. The measures for all these things are assigned, with the degrees and differences in them according to rank.

17. In this month orders are given to the chief Director of works to prepare a memorial on the work of the artificers; setting forth especially the sacrificial vessels with the measures and capacity (of them and all others), and seeing that there be no licentious ingenuity in the workmanship which might introduce an element of dissipation into the minds of superiors; and making the suitability of the article the first consideration. Every article should have its maker's name engraved on it, for the determination of its genuineness. When the production is not what it ought to be, the artificer should be held guilty and an end be thus put to deception.

18. In this month there is the great festivity when they drink together, and each of the stands bears half its animal roasted¹.

¹ Wang Tháo understands this paragraph as meaning that at this season all, both high and low, feast in expression and augmentation of their joy. The characters will bear this inter-

19. The son of Heaven prays for (a blessing on) the coming year to the Honoured ones of heaven; sacrifices with an ox, a ram, and a boar at the public altar to the spirits of the land, and at the gates of towns and villages; offers the sacrifice three days after the winter solstice with the spoils of the chase to all ancestors, and at the five (household) sacrifices;—thus cheering the husbandmen and helping them to rest from their toils¹.

20. The son of Heaven orders his leaders and commanders to give instruction on military opera-

pretation. The *k'ang*, of the text however, has also the meaning which appears in the translation; though on that view the statement is not so general. See the 'Narratives of the States,' I, ii. 8.

¹ The most common view seems to be that we have here the various parts of one sacrificial service, three days after the winter solstice, called *k'â* (蜡), in the time of *K'âu*, and *lâ* (臘), in that of *K'ien*. While the son of Heaven performed these services, it must have been at different places in the capital I suppose, analogous and modified services were celebrated generally throughout the kingdom.

There is no agreement as to who are intended by 'the Honoured ones of heaven.' Many hold that they are 'the six Honoured ones,' to whom Shun is said to have sacrificed in the second part of the *Shû King*. But the *K'ien-lung* editors contend that the want of 'six' is a fatal objection to this view. *K'iao Yü*, supposing the six Honoured ones to be meant, argued that 'heaven, earth, and the four seasons' were intended by them,—those seasons co-operating with heaven and earth in the production of all things; but the same editors show, from the passages in the *Shû*, that heaven can in no sense be included among the six Honoured ones. They do not say, however, who or what is intended by the designation in the text. The *lâ* in the paragraph is taken in a pregnant sense, as if it were *lieh* (獵, and not 臘), meaning 'to sacrifice with the spoils of the chase.'

tions, and to exercise (the soldiers) in archery and chariot-driving, and in trials of strength.

21. In this month orders are given to the superintendent of waters and the master of fishermen to collect the revenues from rivers, springs, ponds, and meres, taking care not to encroach in any way on any among the myriads of the people, so as to awaken a feeling of dissatisfaction in them against the son of Heaven. If they do this, they shall be punished for their guilt without forgiveness.

22. If, in the first month of winter, the proceedings of government proper to spring were observed, the cold that shuts up all beneath it would not do so tightly; the vapours of the earth would rise up and go abroad; many of the people would wander away and disappear. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be many violent winds in the states; winter itself would not be cold; and insects would come forth again from their burrows. If those proper to autumn were observed, the snow and hoarfrost would come unseasonably; small military affairs would constantly be arising; and incursions and loss of territory would occur.

PART II.

1. In the second month of winter the sun is in *Tâu*, the constellation culminating at dusk being the eastern *Pi*, and that culminating at dawn *Kăn*¹.

¹ *Tâu* comprehends ζ, λ, μ, σ, τ, φ of Sagittarius; the eastern *Pi*, the fourteenth of the Chinese constellations, consists of Algenib or γ Pegasus, and α of Andromeda; *Kăn* is the last of the constellations, and contains β, γ, δ, and ε of Corvus.

2. Its days are zăn and kwei. Its divine ruler is Kwan-hsü, and the (attending) spirit is Hsüan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yü, and its pitch-tube is Hwang Kung¹.

3. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and of the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

4. The ice becomes more strong. The earth begins to crack or split. The night bird ceases to sing. Tigers begin to pair².

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Grand Fane Hsüan Thang; rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

6. All things relating to the dead are revised and regulated³.

7. Orders are given to the proper officer to the following effect⁴:—‘There should nothing be done in

¹ See page 281, paragraph 5.

² ‘The earth begins to crack;’ some say from the increasing intensity of the cold; others from the warmth which has begun to return. The returning warmth is indicated by the undivided line with which Fŭ, the hexagram of the eleventh month, commences—



‘The night bird’ sings during the night till the dawn; ‘a hill bird, like a fowl.’

³ See paragraph 16, page 299. The paragraph may be inadvertently introduced here.

⁴ ‘The proper officer’ here is said to be ‘the minister of Instruction,’ or ‘the officer of the People.’

works of earth; care should be taken not to expose anything that is covered, nor to throw open apartments and houses, and rouse the masses to action;—that all may be kept securely shut up. (Otherwise) the genial influences of earth will find vent, which might be called a throwing open of the house of heaven and earth. In this case all insects would die; and the people be sure to fall ill from pestilence, and various losses would ensue.' This charge is said to be giving full development to the (idea of the) month.

8. In this month orders are given to the Director of the eunuchs to issue afresh the orders for the palace, to examine all the doors, inner and outer, and look carefully after all the apartments. They must be kept strictly shut. All woman's-work must be diminished, and none of an extravagant nature permitted. Though noble and nearly related friends should come to visit the inmates, they must all be excluded.

9. Orders are given to the Grand superintendent of the preparation of liquors to see that the rice and other glutinous grains are all complete; that the leaven-cakes are in season; that the soaking and heating are cleanly conducted; that the water be fragrant; that the vessels of pottery be good; and that the regulation of the fire be right. These six things have all to be attended to, and the Grand superintendent has the inspection of them, to secure that there be no error or mistake.

10. The son of Heaven issues orders to the proper officers to pray and sacrifice to (the spirits presiding over) the four seas, the great rivers (with

their) famous sources, the deep tarns, and the meres, (all) wells and springs¹.

11. In this month, if the husbandmen have any productions in the fields, which they have not stored or collected, or if there be any horses, oxen or other animals, which have been left at large, any one may take them without its being inquired into.

12. If there be those who are able to take from the hills and forests, marshes and meres, edible fruits², or to capture game by hunting, the wardens and foresters should give them the necessary information and guidance. If there be among them those who encroach on or rob the others, they should be punished without fail.

13. In this month the shortest day arrives. The principle of darkness and decay (in nature) struggles with that of brightness and growth³. The elements of life begin to move. Superior men give themselves to self-adjustment and fasting. They keep retired in their houses. They wish to be at rest in their

¹ Winter is the season in which the element of water predominates, and it was in virtue of this that the dynasty of Shih professed to rule. The Khwăn-lun mountains (Koulkun), between the desert of Gobi and Thibet, are the source of the Hwang Ho; Yüan-min, the source of the Kiang; Thung-po, that of the Hwái; the Kĭ grew out of the Yen, rising from the hill of Wang-wū. See Chinese Classics, vol. iii, pp. 127-140.

² Hazel-nuts and chestnuts are given as examples of the former; and the water-caltrops and Euryale ferox, or 'cock's head,' of the latter.

³ This description of the month is well illustrated by the lines of Fû, the hexagram of it referred to above,—; the lowest line representing the principle of light and growth, which just found readmission in the year, and is seeking to develop itself.

persons; put away all indulgence in music and beautiful sights; repress their various desires; give repose to their bodies and all mental excitements. They wish all affairs to be quiet, while they wait for the settlement of those principles of darkness and decay, and brightness and growth.

14. Rice begins to grow. The broom-sedge rises up vigorously¹. Worms curl². The moose-deer shed their horns³. The springs of water are (all) in movement.

15. When the shortest day has arrived, they fell trees, and carry away bamboos, (especially) the small species suitable for arrows.

16. In this month offices in which there is no business may be closed, and vessels for which there is no use may be removed.

17. They plaster (and repair) the pillars and gateways (of the palace), and the courtyard (within), and also doors and other gateways; rebuilding (also all) prisons, to co-operate with the tendency of nature to shut up and secure (the genial influences at this season).

18. If in this second month of winter the proceedings of government proper to summer were observed,

¹ This is called by Dr. Williams 'a species of iris.' The roots are made into brooms.

² This is a fancy. The commentators say that the worms curl and twist, with their heads turned downwards, as if seeking to return to the warmth beneath the surface.

³ The shedding of the horns in winter shows that the mî here, (麋), is a species of the elk or moose-deer, and different from the lû (鹿), which sheds its horns in the sixth month. The mî is described as being fond of the water, and as large as a small ox.

there would be droughts in the states; vapours and fogs would shed abroad their gloom, and thunder would utter its voice. If those proper to autumn were observed, the weather would be rainy and slushy; melons and gourds would not attain their full growth; and there would be great wars in the states. If those proper to spring were observed, locusts would work their harm; the springs would all become dry; and many of the people would suffer from leprosy and foul ulcers.

PART III.

1. In the third month of winter the sun is in Wû-nü, the constellation culminating at dusk being Lâu, and that culminating at dawn Tî¹.

2. Its days are zăn and kwei. Its divine ruler is Kwan-hsü, and the (attendant) spirit is Hsüan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yü, and its pitch-tube is Tâ Lü².

3. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path; and the part of the victim occupying the foremost place is the kidneys.

4. The wild geese go northwards. The magpie begins to build. The (cock) pheasant crows³. Hens hatch.

¹ Wû-nü, as in paragraph 1, page 268. Lâu corresponds to α, β, γ, ι in the head of Aries; Tî, to α, β, δ, ι, μ, ν Libra.

² Tâ Lü is the first of the tubes giving the six lower musical accords.

³ As is said in the Shih, II, v, 3, 5:—

‘Crows the pheasant at the dawn,
And his mate is to him drawn.’

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Hsüan Thang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron-black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

6. He issues orders to the proper officers to institute on a great scale all ceremonies against pestilence, to have (animals) torn in pieces on all sides, and (then) to send forth the ox of earth, to escort away the (injurious) airs of the cold¹.

7. Birds of prey fly high and rapidly².

8. They now offer sacrifices all round to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers, to the great ministers of the (ancient) deified sovereigns, and to the spirits of heaven (and earth)³.

9. In this month orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to commence the fishers' work. The son of Heaven goes in person (to look on). He partakes of the fish caught, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple⁴.

¹ Compare par. 16, p. 266. The 'ox of earth' is still seen in China.

² This evidently is one of the natural phenomena of the season, and should belong to paragraph 4. The translation of the first two characters by 'Birds of prey' is sufficiently close and exact.

³ The *Khien-lung* editors point out the difficulties in explaining the three sacrifices here referred to, and seem to think they were practices of *Khin*, about which we have little information. 'The great ministers of the Tî' in the second member were probably those mentioned at the commencement of each season. They supplement the concluding member, as I have done, from Lü's *Khun Khiû*.

⁴ Compare paragraphs 7, p. 263; 17, p. 271. In paragraph 7,

10. The ice is now abundant ; thick and strong to the bottom of the waters and meres. Orders are given to collect it, which is done, and it is carried into (the ice-houses).

11. Orders are given to make announcement to the people to bring forth their seed of the five grains. The husbandmen are ordered to reckon up the pairs which they can furnish for the ploughing ; to repair the handles and shares of their ploughs ; and to provide all the other instruments for the fields.

12. Orders are given to the chief director of Music to institute a grand concert of wind instruments ; and with this (the music of the year) is closed¹.

13. Orders are given to the four Inspectors² to collect and arrange the faggots to supply the wood and torches for the suburban sacrifices, those in the ancestral temple, and all others.

14. In this month the sun has gone through all his mansions ; the moon has completed the number of her conjunctions ; the stars return to (their places) in the heavens. The exact length (of the year) is nearly completed, and the year will soon begin again. (It is said), 'Attend to the business of your husbandmen. Let them not be employed on anything else.'

15. The son of Heaven, along with his ducal and

p. 263, the sovereign gets himself into a boat, a thing now impossible through the ice. Fish are in their prime condition in winter and spring.

¹ Compare paragraph 16, p. 261, et al. Wind instruments were supposed to suit the quiet and meditateness of autumn and winter, better than the drums and dances of the other seasons.

² 'The four Inspectors.' Compare paragraph 8, p. 277. Some read thien (田) for sze (四), 'Inspectors of the fields.'

other high ministers and his Great officers, revises the statutes for the states, and discusses the proceedings of the different seasons ; to be prepared with what is suitable for the ensuing year.

16. Orders are given to the Grand recorder to make a list of the princes of the states according to the positions severally assigned to them¹, and of the victims required from them to supply the offerings for the worship of God dwelling in the great heaven, and at the altars of (the spirits of) the land and grain. Orders were also given to the states ruled by princes of the royal surname to supply the fodder and grain for the (victims used in the worship of the) ancestral temple. Orders are given, moreover, to the chief minister to make a list of (the appanages of) the various high ministers and Great officers, with the amount of the land assigned to the common people, and assess them with the victims which they are to contribute to furnish for the sacrifices to (the spirits presiding over) the hills, forests, and famous streams. All the people under the sky, within the nine provinces, must, without exception, do their utmost to contribute to the sacrifices:—to God dwelling in the great heaven ; at the altars of the (spirits of the) land and grain ; in the ancestral temple and the apartment at the back of it ; and of the hills, forests, and famous streams.

17. If, in the last month of winter, the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, the white dews would descend too early ; the shelly crea-

¹ As being of the same surname as the royal house, or otherwise ; the degree of their rank ; the size of their territory.

tures would appear in monstrous forms¹; throughout the four borders people would have to seek their places of shelter. If those proper to spring were observed, women with child and young children would suffer many disasters; throughout the states there would be many cases of obstinate disease; fate would appear to be adverse. If those proper to summer were observed, floods would work their ruin in the states; the seasonable snow would not fall, the ice would melt, and the cold disappear.

¹ This is the proper force of the characters. Wang Tháo interprets them as meaning that the creatures would bore through dykes and boats, so that the former would let the water through and the latter sink.

BOOK V. THE QUESTIONS OF ǞǺǺǺǺǺ¹.

SECTION I.

1. ǞǺǺǺǺǺ asked, 'If a ruler dies and a son and heir is born (immediately after), what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The high nobles², Great officers and (other) officers, following the chief (minister), who takes charge of the government for the time, (should collect) at the south of the western steps, with their faces towards the north³. (Then) the Grand officer of prayer, in his court robes and cap, bearing in his hands a bundle of rolls of silk, will go up to the topmost step, and (there), without ascending the hall, will order the wailing to cease. Mournfully clearing his voice three times⁴, he will make announcement (to the spirit of the deceased ruler), saying, "The son of such and such a lady has been born. I venture to announce the fact." He will then go up, and place the silks on a stool on the east of the body in the coffin⁵, wail, and descend. All the relatives of the deceased who are there (at the mourning), the high nobles, the Great and other

¹ See the introduction, pp. 21, 22.

² These were also ministers; see paragraph 4, page 213.

³ The usual place was at the eastern steps.

⁴ To call the attention of the spirit of the deceased.

⁵ The rolls of silk were, I suppose, the introductory present proper on an interview with a superior.

officers, (with the women) in the apartments, all will wail, but without the leaping. When this burst of sorrow is over, they will return to their (proper) places, and proceed forthwith to set forth the mourning offerings to the dead. The minor minister will ascend, and take away the bundle of silks¹.

2. 'On the third day, all the relatives, high nobles, Great and other officers, should take their places as before, with their faces to the north. The Grand minister, the Grand master of the ancestral temple, and the Grand officer of prayer, should all be in their court-robes and caps. The master for the child² will carry the child in his arms on a mat of sackcloth. The officer of prayer will precede, followed by the child, and the minister and master of the temple will come after. Thus they will enter the door (of the apartment where the coffin is), when the wailers will cease. The child has been brought up by the western steps³, and is held in front of the coffin with his face to the north, while the officer of prayer stands at the south-east corner of it. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will say, "So and So, the son of such and such a lady, and we, his servants, who follow him, presume to appear before you." The boy is (then made) to do obeisance, with his forehead on the ground, and to wail. The officer of prayer, the minister, the officer of the temple, all the relatives, the high nobles, with the Great and other officers,

¹ And bury it in the court between the two flights of stairs.

² Thus early is it made to appear that the child is put under a master; P. Zottoli translates the name by 'secundus magister.'

³ The child had been brought by the master from the women's apartments, and carried to the court, that he might thus go up again to the hall by these steps.

will wail and leap¹, leaping three times with each burst of grief. (Those who had gone up to the hall then) descend, and go back to their proper places on the east; where all bare the left arm and shoulder. The son (in the arms of his bearer is made) to leap, and (the women) in the apartments also leap. Thrice they will do so, leaping three times each time. (The bearer for the son) will cover up his sackcloth², walk with a staff, (ascend and) set forth the offerings by the dead, and then quit the scene. The Grand minister will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce the name all round, at the five altars of the house, and at those (to the spirits) of the hills and streams³.

3. ŠĀng-sze asked, 'If the son and heir have been born after the burial (of the) ruler, what course should be followed?'

Confucius said, 'The Grand minister and the Grand master of the ancestral temple will follow the Grand officer of prayer, and announce the fact before the spirit tablet (of the deceased ruler)⁴. Three months after they will give the name in the same place, and announce it all round⁵, and also at the altars to (the

¹ A most expressive indication of the sorrow proper to the occasion.

² The breast and shoulder of the child had also been bared.

³ The 'five household altars' are those at which the sacrifices were offered in the palace or house, often mentioned in the last Book.

⁴ The characters of the text, 'in the shrine temple of the father,' denote the special shrine or smaller temple assigned to the father in the great ancestral temple; but that was not assigned till after all the rites of mourning were over. The characters here denote the spirit tablet which had been before the burial set up over the coffin, and which was now removed to a rear apartment. P. Zottoli simply has 'coram tabellâ.'

⁵ At the courts of the sovereign and of the other princes.

spirits of) the land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and (at the altars of) the hills and streams.'

4. Confucius said, 'When princes of states are about to go to the (court of the) son of Heaven, they must announce (their departure) before (the shrine of) their grandfather, and lay their offerings in that of their father¹. They then put on the court cap, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) to the (spirits of the) land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and at the (altars of the) hills and rivers. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five (subordinate) officers², and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road³ as they set forth. All the announcements should be completed in five days. To go beyond this in making them is contrary to rule. In every one of them they use a victim and silks. On the return (of the princes) there are the same observances.'

5. 'When princes of states are about to visit one another, they must announce (their departure) before

¹ The characters here are the same as in the preceding paragraph, but here they have their usual force. Announcement and offerings were made at both shrines.

² The most likely opinion is that these five officers were—two belonging to the department of the minister of Instruction, two to that of the minister of Works, and one to that of the minister of War. On them, for reasons which we may not be able to give, devolved on such occasions the superintendence of the state.

³ There seems to be no doubt of the meaning here, but this significance of 道 is not given in the Khang-hsi dictionary. The more common term is 祖.

the shrine of their father¹. They will then put on their court robes, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) at the five shrines in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the hills and rivers which they will pass. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. When they return, they will announce (the fact) in person to their grandfather and father¹, and will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to make announcement of it at the altars where they announced (their departure). (When this has been done), they enter and give audience in the court.'

6. ŠĀng-šze asked, 'If the funerals of both parents² take place together, what course is adopted? Which is first and which last?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is that the burying of the less important (mother) should have the precedence, and that of the more important (father) follow, while the offerings to them are set down in the opposite order. From the opening of the apartment and conveying out the coffin (of the mother) till its interment no offerings are put down; when the coffin is on the route to the grave, there is no wailing at the regular place for that ceremony. When they return from this interment, they set down the offerings (to the father), and afterwards announce (to his spirit) when the removal of his coffin will take

¹ There would seem to be an omission in the former of these sentences of the announcement to the grandfathers.

² Or grandparents.

place, and proceed to arrange for the interment. It is the rule that the sacrifice of repose should first be offered to the more important (father), and afterwards to the less important (mother).'

7. Confucius said ¹, 'The eldest son, even though seventy, should never be without a wife to take her part in presiding at the funeral rites. If there be no such eldest son, the rites may be performed without a presiding wife.'

8. 3ǎng-ȳze asked, 'It has been proposed to invest a son with the cap, and the investors have arrived, and after exchanging bows and courtesies (with the master of the house), have entered. If then news should come that the death of some relative has occurred, for whom a year's mourning or that of nine months must be worn, what should be done?'

Confucius said, 'If the death has taken place within (the circle of the same surname), the ceremony should be given up²; but if without (that circle), it will go on, but the sweet wine will not be presented to the youth. The viands will be removed and the place swept, after which he will go to his proper position and wail. If the investors have not yet arrived, the capping will be given up (for the time)³.

9. 'If the arrangements for the capping have been

¹ The words of Confucius are here, as in some other paragraphs, not preceded by the formula, '3ǎng-ȳze asked.' Some say this is an omission, intentional or unintentional, of the compiler. Some commentators deride the judgment (see especially Ho Kung-yü), holding it unworthy of Confucius.

² Because then a festal and a mourning service would come together in the ancestral temple.

³ The investors may have previously heard of the death, and not kept their appointment.

made, but before the day arrives, an occasion for the one year's mourning, or for that of nine months, or five months, have arrived, the youth shall be capped in his mourning dress.'

10. 'When all mourning is over, may a son continue to wear the cap which he has hitherto worn¹?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven gives to the (young) prince of a state or a Great officer his robes and the cap proper to each in the grand ancestral temple, the youth on his return home will set forth his offering (in his own ancestral temple), wearing the robes that have been given to him, and here he will drink the cup of capping (as if) offered by his father², without the cup of wine at the ceremony.

11. 'When a son is (thus) capped after his father's death, he is considered to be properly capped; he will sweep the ground, and sacrifice at his father's shrine. This being done, he will present himself before his uncles, and then offer the proper courtesies to the investors.'

12. Ǻng-Ǻze asked, 'Under what circumstances is it that at sacrifice they do not carry out the practice of all drinking to one another?'

Confucius said, 'I have heard that at the close of the one year's mourning, the principal concerned in it

¹ Till he was capped, a youth wore nothing on his head. But in the case supposed the youth's time for capping had arrived; and he had assumed a cap without the ceremony.

² When a father gave orders to his son about his capping or marriage, he gave him a cup of ordinary wine. The sweet wine was given to the youth by a friend or friends who had invested him with the cap. The real answer to Ǻng-Ǻze's question is in paragraph 11.

sacrifices in his inner garment of soft silk, and there is not that drinking all round. The cup is set down beside the guests, but they do not take it up. This is the rule. Formerly duke K'áo of Lû¹, while in that silken garment, took the cup and sent it all round, but it was against the rule; and duke Háo², at the end of the second year's mourning, put down the cup presented to him, and did not send it all round, but this also was against the rule.'

13. ǰǎng-ǰze asked, 'In a case (of the) mourning for nine months, can (the principal) take part in contributing to the offerings (to the dead of others)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of (the mourning for) nine months? In all cases from (the mourning for) three years downwards, it may be done. This is the rule.'

ǰǎng-ǰze said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and attaching (undue) importance to mutual helpfulness?'

Confucius said, 'This is not what I mean. When there is mourning for the son of Heaven or the prince of a state, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges (will contribute to) the offerings. At the mourning of a Great officer, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the even edges will do so. At the mourning of an ordinary officer, his associates and friends will do so. If all these be not sufficient, they may receive contributions from all who should mourn for nine months downwards; and if these be still insufficient, they will repeat the process³.'

¹ B. C. 541-510.

² B. C. 795-769. This is going a long way back.

³ On this paragraph P. Zottoli says:—'ǰǎng-ǰze petit an

14. Ǻng-Ǻze asked, 'In a case of the mourning for five months, may (the principal) take part in the other sacrifices (of mourning)¹?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of the mourning for five months? In all cases from the mourning for three years downwards, (the principals) take part in those sacrifices.'

Ǻng-Ǻze said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and giving (undue) importance to the sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'In the mourning sacrifices for the son of Heaven and the prince of a state, none but those who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges take part in them. In those for a Great officer, they who wear the sackcloth with the even edges do so. In those for another officer, if the participants be insufficient, they add to them from their brethren who should wear mourning for nine months downwards.'

15. Ǻng-Ǻze asked, 'When acquaintances are in mourning, may they participate in one another's sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'When wearing the three months' mourning, one has no occasion to sacrifice (in his own ancestral temple), and how should he assist another man (out of his own line)?'

aliquis in novem mensium luctu constitutus possit adjuvare alterius funestae familiae oblationem. Confucius intelligit de adjuvanda proprii funeris oblatione. There appears to be a similar misunderstanding between the two in the next paragraph.

¹ Khung Ying-tâ makes this out to be the sacrifices of repose, and at the end of the wailing. I think the reference is more general.

16. ǰǎng-ǰze asked, 'When one has put off his mourning, may he take part in contributing to the offerings (for the dead of another)?'

Confucius said, 'To take part in the offerings (to another's dead), on putting off one's own sackcloth, is contrary to the rule. Possibly, he may perform the part of assisting him in receiving visitors.'

17. ǰǎng-ǰze asked, 'According to the rules for marriages, the presents have been received and a fortunate day has been fixed;—if then the father or mother of the young lady die, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The son-in-law will send some one to condole; and if it be his father or mother that has died, the family of the lady will in the same way send some to present their condolences. If the father have died, (the messenger) will name the (other) father (as having sent him); if the mother, he will name the (other) mother. If both parents be dead (on both sides), he will name the oldest uncle and his wife. When the son-in-law has buried (his dead), his oldest uncle will offer a release from the engagement to the lady, saying, "My son, being occupied with the mourning for his father or mother, and not having obtained the right to be reckoned among your brethren, has employed me to offer a release from the engagement." (In this case) it is the rule for the lady to agree to the message and not presume to (insist on) the marriage (taking place immediately). When the son-in-law has concluded his mourning, the parents of the lady will send and request (the fulfilment of the engagement). The son-in-law will not (immediately come to) carry her (to his house), but afterwards she will be married to him; this is the

rule. If it be the father or mother of the lady who died, the son-in-law will follow a similar course¹.

18. Šāng-sze asked, 'The son-in-law has met the lady in person, and she is on the way with him :—if (then) his father or mother die, what course should be adopted ?'

Confucius said, 'The lady will change her dress²; and in the long linen robe³, with the cincture of white silk round her hair, will hasten to be present at the mourning rites. If, while she is on the way, it be her own father or mother who dies, she will return⁴.'

19. 'If the son-in-law have met the lady in person, and before she has arrived at his house, there occur a death requiring the year's or the nine months' mourning, what course should be adopted ?'

Confucius said, 'Before the gentleman enters, he will change his dress in a place outside. The lady will enter and change her dress in a place inside. They will then go to the proper positions and wail.'

Šāng-sze asked, 'When the mourning is ended, will they not resume the marriage ceremonies?'

¹ Is the final marriage of the lady to the original betrothed 'son-in-law,' or bridegroom as we should say; or to another, that she may not pass the proper time for her marrying? Khung Ying-tâ, and other old commentators, advocate the latter view. Others, and especially the *K'ien-lung* editors, maintain the former; and I have indicated in the version my agreement with them. There are difficulties with the text; but Confucius would hardly have sanctioned the other course.

² At the house of him who was now her husband.

³ This, called 'the deep garment,' had the body and skirt sown together. See Book XXXIV.

⁴ This would be done, it is said, by Hsü Sze-šhāng (Ming dynasty), to allow play to her filial piety, but she would live at the house of 'the son-in-law.'

Confucius said, 'It is the rule, that when the time of sacrifice has been allowed to pass by, it is not then offered. Why in this case should they go back to what must have taken place previously?'

20. Confucius said, 'The family that has married a daughter away, does not extinguish its candles for three nights, thinking of the separation that has taken place. The family that has received the (new) wife for three days has no music; thinking her bridegroom is now in the place of his parents¹. After three months she presents herself in the ancestral temple, and is styled "The new wife that has come." A day is chosen for her to sacrifice at the shrine of her father-in-law; expressing the idea of her being (now) the established wife.'

21. ǰǎng-ǰze asked, 'If the lady die before she has presented herself in the ancestral temple, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, '(Her coffin) should not be removed to the ancestral temple, nor should (her tablet) be placed next to that of her mother-in-law. The husband should not carry the staff; nor wear the shoes of straw; nor have a (special) place (for wailing). She should be taken back, and buried among her kindred of her own family;—showing that she had not become the established wife.'

22. ǰǎng-ǰze asked, 'The fortunate day has been fixed for taking the lady (to her new home), and she dies (in the meantime):—what should be done?'

Confucius said, 'The son-in-law will come to condole, wearing the one year's mourning, which he will

¹ This and the statements that follow suppose that the bridegroom's parents are dead.

lay aside when the interment has taken place. If it be the husband who dies, a similar course will be followed on the other side.'

23. ŠĀng-ŋze asked, 'Is it according to rule that at the mourning rites there should be two (performing the part of) the orphan son (and heir, receiving visitors)¹, or that at a temple-shrine there should be two spirit-tablets?'

Confucius said, 'In heaven there are not two suns; in a country there are not two kings²; in the seasonal sacrifices, and those to Heaven and Earth³, there are not two who occupy the highest place of honour. I do not know that what you ask about is according to rule. Formerly duke Hwan of Kht⁴, going frequently to war, made fictitious tablets and took them with him on his expeditions, depositing them on his return in the ancestral temple⁵. The practice of having two tablets in a temple-shrine originated from duke Hwan. As to two (playing the part of the) orphan son, it may be thus explained:—Formerly, on occasion of a visit to Lû by duke Ling of Wei, the mourning rites of Kt Hwan-ŋze were in progress. The ruler of Wei requested leave to offer his condolences. Duke Ât (of Lû)⁶ declined (the ceremony), but could not

¹ The Chinese characters mean simply 'two orphans.' Neither Khang-hsi nor any English-Chinese dictionary explains the peculiar use of the term here; nor is Confucius' explanation satisfactory, or to the point.

² Compare paragraphs 5, 8, III, iii, pages 224–226.

³ See the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' 19, 6, Chinese Classics, vol. i.

⁴ B.C. 685–643.

⁵ Literally 'the temple-shrine of his grandfather;' but I think the name must have the general meaning I have given.

⁶ It has been shown that the ruler of Wei here could not be

enforce his refusal. He therefore acted as the principal (mourner), and the visitor came in to condole with him. Khang-ze stood on the right of the gate with his face to the north. The duke, after the usual bows and courtesies, ascended by the steps on the east with his face towards the west. The visitor ascended by those on the west, and paid his condolences. The duke bowed ceremoniously to him, and then rose up and wailed, while Khang-ze bowed with his forehead to the ground, in the position where he was. The superintending officers made no attempt to put the thing to rights. The having two now acting as the orphan son arose from the error of Kí Khang-ze.'

24. Jǎng-ze asked, 'Anciently when an army went on an expedition, was it not first necessary to carry with it the spirit-tablets that had been removed from their shrines¹?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven went on his tours of Inspection, he took (one of) those tablets along with him, conveying it in the carriage of Reverence, thus intimating how it was felt necessary to have with him that object of honour². The practice

duke Ling. He must have been duke K'û. But this error discredits the view of the statement having come from Confucius.

¹ See note 2 and plan of the royal ancestral temple of Káu on pages 223-225.

² This, it is said, was the tablet of the royal ancestor which had been last removed from its shrine, and placed in the shrine-house for all such removed tablets. The carriage of Reverence was the 'metal-guilt' carriage of the king, second to that adorned with jade, in which he rode to sacrifice. Zottoli renders:—'Imperator perlustrans custodita, cum translatici delubri tabella peragrabat, imposita super casti curru, significatum necessariam praesentiam superioris.'

now-a-days of taking the tablets of the seven temple-shrines along with them on an expedition is an error. No shrine in all the seven (of the king), or in the five of the prince of a state, ought to be (left) empty. A shrine can only be so left without its tablet, when the son of Heaven has died, or the prince of a state deceased, or left his state, or when all the tablets are brought together at the united sacrifice, in the shrine-temple of the highest ancestor. I heard the following statement from Lão Tan¹ :—" On the death of the son of Heaven, or of the prince of a state, it is the rule that the officer of prayer should take the tablets from all the other shrines and deposit them in that of the high ancestor². When the wailing was over, and the business (of placing the tablet of the deceased in its shrine) was completed, then every other tablet was restored to its shrine. When a ruler abandoned his state, it was the rule that the Grand minister should take the tablets from all the shrines and follow him. When there was the united sacrifice in the shrine of the high ancestor, the officer of prayer met (and received) the tablets from the four shrines. When they were taken from their shrines or carried back to them all were required to keep out of the way." So said Lão Tan.'

¹ This was, most probably, Lão-3ze, though some of the commentators deny it. *K'ang* says : ' Lão Tan, the title of old for men of longevity, was a contemporary of Confucius ;' and *K'han Hào* quotes a note on this from Wang of Shih-liang, that ' This was not the author of the " Five thousand words,"' i. e. of the *T'ao Te h King*.

² While the special sacrifices and other funeral rites were going on, the other sacrifices, which belonged to a different category of rites, were suspended.

25. 3ǎng-ze asked, 'Anciently, when they marched on an expedition, and carried no displaced tablets with them, what did they make their chief consideration ?'

Confucius said, 'They made the instructions from the tablet their chief consideration¹.'

'What does that mean?' asked the other.

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven or the prince of a state was about to go forth, he would, with gifts of silk, skins, and jade-tokens, announce his purpose at the shrines of his grandfather and father. He then took those gifts with him, conveying them on the march in the carriage of Reverence. At every stage (of the march), he would place offerings of food by them, and afterwards occupy the station. On returning, they would make announcement (at the same shrines), and when they had set forth (again) their offerings, they would collect the silk and jade, and bury them between the steps (leading) up to the fane of the high ancestor ; after which they left the temple. This was how they made the instructions they received their chief consideration.'

26. 3ze-yû asked, 'Is it the rule to mourn for a foster-mother² as for a mother?'

¹ Zottoli gives for this phrase simply 'adhaerebant numini,' subjoining no note on it. The parties spoken of put down their offerings before the shrines, announcing that they were about to undertake such an expedition ; and taking it for granted that their progenitors approved of their object, proceeded to carry it out, as if they had received a charge from them to do so, carrying the offerings with them in token of that charge from the spirits in the tablets of the shrines. This view is distinctly set forth by Hwang Khan (end of early Sung dynasty) and others.

² This foster-mother was not what we call 'a nurse ;' but a lady

Confucius said, 'It is not the rule. Anciently, outside the palace, a boy had his master, and at home his foster-mother; they were those whom the ruler employed to teach his son;—what ground should these be for wearing mourning for them? Formerly duke *Kào* of *Lû* having lost his mother when he was little, had a foster-mother, who was good; and when she died, he could not bear (not) to mourn for her, and wished to do so. The proper officer on hearing of it, said, "According to the ancient rule, there is no mourning for a foster-mother. If you wear this mourning, you will act contrary to that ancient rule, and introduce confusion into the laws of the state. If you will after all do it, then we will put it on record, and transmit the act to the future;—will not that be undesirable?" The duke said, "Anciently the son of Heaven, when unoccupied and at ease, wore the soft inner garment, assumed after the year's mourning, and the cap." The duke could not bear not to wear mourning, and on this he mourned for his foster-mother in this garb. The mourning for a foster-mother originated with duke *Kào* of *Lû*¹.'

of the harem to whom the care of an orphan boy was entrusted;—it may have been after he ceased to be suckled. The reasoning of Confucius goes on the assumption that mourning should be worn only in cases of consanguinity or affinity; and it may be inferred from this that concubinage was not the most ancient rule in China.

¹ See the eleventh article in the forty-third chapter of the 'Narratives of the School,' where a similar, probably the same, conversation, with some variations, is found. The duke of *Lû* in it, however, is not *Kào*, but *Hào*; see paragraph 12, page 315.

SECTION II.

1. ǰǎng-ǰze asked, 'The princes are assembled in a body to appear before the son of Heaven; they have entered the gate, but are not able to go through with the rites (of audience);—how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Four.' 'May I ask what they are?' said the other. The reply was:—'The grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; funeral rites of the queen; their robes all unsightly through soaking rain. If, when the princes are all there, an eclipse of the sun take place, they follow the son of Heaven to save it¹; each one dressed in the colour of his quarter, and with the weapon proper to it². If there be a fire in the grand ancestral temple, they follow him to extinguish it without those robes and weapons.'

2. ǰǎng-ǰze said, 'Princes are visiting one another. (The strangers) have entered the gate after the customary bowings and courtesies, but they are not able to go through with the rites (of audience);—how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Six;' and, in answer to the ques-

¹ The phenomenon of an eclipse suggested the idea of some enemy or adverse influence devouring the sun's disk.

² The colour appropriate to the east was green, and the weapon the spear with two hooks; the colour of the south was red, and the weapon the spear with one hook and two points; the colour of the west was white, and the weapon the bow; the colour of the north was black, and the weapon the shield; the colour of the centre was yellow, and the weapon the drum.

tion as to what they were, replied :—‘ The death of the son of Heaven ; the grand ancestral temple taking fire ; an eclipse of the sun ; the funeral rites of the queen or of the princess of the state ; and their robes all unsightly through soaking rain.’

3. ǰǰng-ǰze said, ‘ At the seasonal sacrifices of the son of Heaven, at those to Heaven and Earth, and at (any of) the five sacrifices of the house, after the vessels, round and square, with their contents have been set forth, if there occur the death of the son of Heaven or mourning rites for the queen, what should be done?’

Confucius said, ‘ The sacrifice should be stopped.’ The other asked, ‘ If, during the sacrifice, there occur an eclipse of the sun, or the grand ancestral temple take fire, what should be done?’ The reply was, ‘ The steps of the sacrifice should be hurried on. If the victim have arrived, but has not yet been slain, the sacrifice should be discontinued.

4. ‘ When the son of Heaven has died and is not yet coffined, the sacrifices of the house are not offered. When he is coffined, they are resumed ; but at any one of them the representative of the dead takes (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and is not urged (to take more). He is then presented with a cup, but does not respond by presenting another, and there is an end (of the ceremony). From the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the subsequent wailing, those sacrifices (again) cease. After the burial they are offered, but when the officer of prayer has finished the cup presented to him, they stop.’

5. ǰǰng-ǰze asked, ‘ At the sacrifices to the spirits

of the land and grain proper to the feudal princes, if, after the stands and vessels, with their contents, have been arranged, news arrive of the death of the son of Heaven or of the mourning rites for his queen, or if the ruler die or there be mourning rites for his consort, what should be done ?'

Confucius said, 'The sacrifice should be discontinued. From the ruler's death to the coffining, and from the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the (subsequent) wailing, they will follow the example set by the son of Heaven¹.'

6. Jǎng-ze asked, 'At the sacrifices of a Great officer², when the tripods and stands have been arranged, and the dishes of bamboo and wood, with their contents, have been set forth, but they are not able to go through with the rites, how many occurrences will cause them to be discontinued ?'

Confucius said, 'Nine ;' and when asked what they were, he added :—'The death of the son of Heaven ; funeral rites for his queen ; the death of the ruler (of the state) ; funeral rites for his consort ; the ruler's grand ancestral temple taking fire ; an eclipse of the sun ; (a call to) the three years' mourning ; to that of one year ; or to that of nine months. In all these cases the sacrifice should be given up. If the mourning be merely for relatives by affinity, from all degrees of it up to the twelve months, the sacrifice will go on. At one where the mourning is worn for twelve months, the representative of the dead, after entering, will take (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and not be urged to take (any more).

¹ As given in the preceding paragraphs.

² In his ancestral temple.

He will be presented with a cup, but will not respond by presenting one in return, and there will be an end (of the ceremony). Where the mourning is for nine months, after he has presented the responsive cup, the thing will end. Where it is for five or for three months, it will not end till all the observances in the apartment are gone through. What distinguishes the proceedings of an ordinary officer is, that he does not sacrifice when wearing the three months' mourning. He sacrifices, however, if the dead to whom he does so had no relationship with him requiring him to wear mourning.'

7. Ǻng-Ǻze asked, 'May one, wearing the three years' mourning for a parent, go to condole with others?'

Confucius said, 'On the completion of the first of the three years, one should not be seen standing with others, or going along in a crowd. With a superior man the use of ceremonies is to give proper and elegant expression to the feelings. Would it not be an empty form¹ to go and condole and wail with others, while wearing the three years' mourning?'

8. Ǻng-Ǻze asked, 'If a Great officer or ordinary officer be in mourning for a parent² he may put it off³; and if he be in mourning for his ruler, under what conditions will he put that off?'

Confucius said, 'If he have the mourning for his

¹ How could he, occupied with his own sorrow, offer anything but an empty form of condolence to others?

² Literally 'private mourning,' as below; but evidently the master and disciple both had the mourning for a parent in mind.

³ On his having to go into mourning for his ruler.

ruler on his person, he will not venture to wear any private mourning ;—what putting off can there be ? In this case, even if the time be passed (for any observances which the private mourning would require), he will not put it off. When the mourning for the ruler is put off, he will then perform the great sacrifices (of his private mourning)¹. This is the rule.'

9. 3ǎng-ze asked, 'But is it allowable thus to give up all the mourning rites for a parent through this keeping on of the mourning (for a ruler)?'

Confucius said, 'According to the ceremonies as determined by the ancient kings, it is the rule that when the time has passed (for the observance of any ceremony), there should be no attempt to perform it. It is not that one could not keep from not putting off the mourning ; but the evil would be in his going beyond the definite statute. Therefore it is that a superior man does not offer a sacrifice, when the proper time for doing so has passed.'

10. 3ǎng-ze said, 'If, when the ruler has died, and is now lying in his coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what course will he pursue ?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and remain there ; going indeed to the ruler's for the great

¹ That is, the rightful son and heir may then perform the sacrifice marking the close of the first year's mourning for a parent, and that marking the close of the second year's mourning in the month after. But *Khân Háo* argues that it was only the rightful son who could thus go back and offer the sacrifices proper to the mourning rites for parents, and that the other sons could not do so. This is the case underlying the next paragraph.

services (to the departed), but not for those of every morning and evening¹.

11. (Šāng-sze asked), 'If, when they have begun to remove the coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, how should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and wail, and then return and accompany the funeral of the ruler.'

12. 'If,' said (Šāng-sze), 'before the ruler has been coffined, a minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what should be his course?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home, and have the deceased put into the coffin, returning (then) to the ruler's. On occasion of the great services, he will go home, but not for those of every morning and evening. In the case of a Great officer, the chief servant of the household will attend to matters; in the case of an ordinary officer, a son or grandson. When there are the great services at the ruler's, the wife of the Great officer will also go there, but not for those of every morning and evening.'

13. One in a low position should not pronounce the eulogy of another in a high, nor a younger man that of one older than himself. In the case of the son of Heaven, they refer to Heaven as giving his

¹ It has been seen that morning and evening offerings to the dead were placed near the coffin. On the first and fifteenth of the month these were on a great scale, and with special observances,—at the new and full moon. They were 'the great services.' The practice still continues.

eulogy. It is not the rule for princes of states to deliver the eulogy of one another¹.

14. ǰǰng-ǰze asked, 'When a ruler goes across the boundary of his own state, he takes with him his inner coffin as a precaution for the preparations against the three years' (mourning rites) for him². If he die (abroad), what are the proceedings on his being brought back?'

Confucius said, 'The clothes to be put on him after the coffining having been provided, the son in the linen cap, with the sackcloth band round it, wearing coarse sackcloth and the shoes of straw, and carrying a staff, will enter by the opening made in the wall of the apartment for the coffin, having ascended by the western steps. If the slighter dressing (preparatory to the coffining) have still (to be made), the son will follow the bier without a cap, enter by the gate, and ascend by the steps on the east. There is one and the same rule for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.'

15. ǰǰng-ǰze asked, 'If one is occupied in drawing (the carriage with the bier on it) at the funeral rites of his ruler, and is then called to the funeral rites of his father or mother, what should he do?'

¹ The eulogy has in China for more than a thousand years taken the form of inscriptions on tombs and sacrificial compositions; of which there are many elegant and eloquent specimens. It should be summed up in the honorary title. Truth, however, might require that that should be the reverse of eulogistic; and perhaps this led to its being conferred, as a rule, by one superior in rank and position. The honorary title of a deceased sovereign was first proclaimed at the great sacrifice to Heaven at the winter solstice; and hence it is referred to in the text as coming from Heaven!

² That is, I think, simply, 'as a precaution against his dying while abroad.' Zottoli renders:—'*Regulus excedens confinia, ut in tres annos praecaveatur, habit sandapilam sequacem.*'

Confucius said, 'He should complete what he is engaged in; and when the coffin has been let down into the grave, return home, without waiting for the departure of the (ruler's) son.'

16. ŠĀng-šze asked, 'If one, occupied with the funeral rites of a parent, has (assisted in) drawing the bier to the path (to the grave), and there hear of the death of his ruler, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should complete the burial; and, when the coffin has been let down, he should change his dress, and go to (the ruler's).'

17. ŠĀng-šze asked, 'If the eldest son by the proper wife be (only) an officer, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, how will the latter proceed in his sacrificing?'

Confucius said, 'He will sacrifice, with the victims belonging to his higher rank, in the house of the eldest son. The officer of prayer will say, "So and So, the filial son, in behalf of So and So, the attendant son, presents his regular offering¹."

18. 'If the eldest son, now the head of the family, be residing, in consequence of some charge of guilt, in another state, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, when (the latter) is offering a sacrifice (for the other), the officer of prayer will say, "So

¹ Here two things were in collision. The oldest son by the proper wife was the representative of the father, and only he could preside at the service in the ancestral temple of the family. But here an inferior son has been advanced to a higher rank than his older brother. As a Great officer he is entitled to have three shrine temples; but it would be contrary to the solidarity of the family for him to erect an ancestral temple for himself. The difficulty is met in the way described, the sacrifice being ascribed to the elder brother, as head of the family.

and So, the filial son, employs the attendant son, So and So, to perform for him the regular service." (In this case, however), the principal in this vicarious service will not conduct the sacrifice so as to see that the spirit of the deceased is satisfied to the full ; nor send the cup round among all who are present, nor receive the blessing (at the close) ; nor lay on the ground the portions of the sacrifice as thank-offerings ; nor have with him (the wife of the elder brother) who should appear before the spirit-tablet of her mother-in-law, the wife of the deceased. He will put down the cup before the (principal) guests, but they will put it down (in another place), and not send it round. He will not send to them portions of the flesh. In his address to the guests (at the beginning of the service), he will say, " My honoured brother, the honoured son (of our father), being in another state, has employed me, So and So, to make announcement to you¹."

19. 3ǎng-ze asked, ' If the eldest son have gone and is in another state, while a son by a secondary

¹ This paragraph continues the case in the preceding, with the additional circumstances that the head of the family is a fugitive from it, and that the sacrifice referred to in it is performed by the inferior brother remaining in the state, in lieu of him. It is difficult to translate without amplification so as to be intelligible, because of what may be called the technical terms in it. The five points in which the service was deficient, different from what it would have been, if performed by the proper brother, are given in the reverse order of their regular occurrence ; whether designedly or not, we cannot tell. For that portion of the paragraph P. Zottoli gives :—' Sed vicarius dominus vacabit satisfactionis sacrificio ; vacabit universali propinatione ; vacabit benedictione ; vacabit consternationis sacrificio ; vacabit copulatione ;' appending a note to explain the terms.

wife, and without rank, remains at home, may the latter offer the sacrifice ?'

Confucius said, 'Yes, certainly.' 'And how will he sacrifice?' 'He will rear an altar in front of the (family-)grave, and there he will sacrifice at the different seasons. If the oldest son die, he will announce the event at the grave, and afterwards sacrifice in the house, calling himself, however, only by his name, and abstaining from the epithet "filial." This abstinence will cease after his death.' The disciples of ǰze-yŭ, in the case of sons by inferior wives sacrificing, held that this practice was in accordance with what was right. Those of them who sacrifice now-a-days do not ground their practice on this principle of right ;—they have no truthful ground for their sacrifices¹.

20. ǰǰng-ǰze asked, 'Is it necessary that there should be a representative of the dead in sacrifice ? or may he be dispensed with as when the satisfying offerings are made to the dead ?'

Confucius said, 'In sacrificing to a full-grown man for whom there have been the funeral rites, there must be such a representative, who should be a grandson ; and if the grandson be too young, some one must be employed to carry him in his arms. If there be no grandson, some one of the same surname should be selected for the occasion. In sacrificing to one who has died prematurely, there are (only) the satisfying offerings, for he was not

¹ These last two sentences evidently should not be ascribed to Confucius. It was only after his death that ǰze-yŭ would have a school of his own. They must have been written moreover after the death of ǰze-yŭ.

full-grown. To sacrifice to a full-grown man, for whom there have been the funeral rites without a representative, would be to treat him as if he had died prematurely.'

21. Confucius said, 'There is the offering of satisfaction made in the dark chamber, and that made in the brighter place.'

Žǎng-ze answered with a question, 'But to one who has died prematurely there is not made a complete sacrifice; what do you mean by speaking of two satisfying offerings, the dark and the bright?'

Confucius said, 'When the oldest son, who would take the father's place, dies prematurely, no brother by an inferior wife can be his successor. At the auspicious sacrifice to him¹, there is a single bullock; but the service being to one who died prematurely, there is no presentation (of the lungs), no stand with the heart and tongue, no dark-coloured spirits², no announcement of the nourishment being completed. This is what is called the dark satisfying offering. In regard to all others who have died prematurely and have left no offspring, the sacrifice is offered to them in the house of the oldest son, where the apartment is most light, with the vases in the chamber on the east. This is what is called the bright satisfying offering.'

22. Žǎng-ze asked, 'At a burial, when the bier has been drawn to the path (leading to the place), if there happen an eclipse of the sun, is any change made or not?'

¹ The first auspicious sacrifice took place when the ceremony of wailing was over.

² A name for water.

Confucius said, 'Formerly, along with Láo Tan¹, I was assisting at a burial in the village of Hsiang, and when we had got to the path, the sun was eclipsed. Láo Tan said to me, "*K'ziú*, let the bier be stopped on the left of the road²; and then let us wail and wait till the eclipse pass away. When it is light again, we will proceed." He said that this was the rule. When we had returned and completed the burial, I said to him, "In the progress of a bier there should be no returning. When there is an eclipse of the sun, we do not know whether it will pass away quickly or not, would it not have been better to go on?" Láo Tan said, "When the prince of a state is going to the court of the son of Heaven, he travels while he can see the sun. At sun-down he halts, and presents his offerings (to the spirit of the way). When a Great officer is on a mission, he travels while he can see the sun, and at sun-down he halts. Now a bier does not set forth in the early morning, nor does it rest anywhere at night; but those who travel by star-light are only criminals and those who are hastening to the funeral rites of a parent. When there is an eclipse of the sun, how do we know that we shall not see the stars? And moreover, a superior man, in his performance of rites, will not expose his relatives to the risk of distress or evil." This is what I heard from Láo Tan.'

23. Ǻng-Ǻze asked, 'In the case of one dying where he is stopping, when discharging a mission for

¹ This was Láo-Ǻze, 'the old master.' It seems better to keep Láo as if it had been the surname. See paragraph 24, p. 325.

² The east of the road. Graves were north of the towns.

his ruler, the rules say¹ that, (if he die) in a government hotel his spirit shall be recalled; but not, (if he die) in a private one². But to whatever state a commissioner may be sent, the lodging which may be assigned to him by the proper officer becomes a public hotel;—what is the meaning of his spirit not being recalled, (if he die) in a private one?’

Confucius said, ‘You have asked well. The houses of a high minister, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer, may be called private hotels. The government hotel, and any other which the government may appoint, may be called a public hotel. In this you have the meaning of that saying that the spirit is recalled at a public hotel.’

24. Ǵǵng-ze asked, ‘Children dying prematurely, between eight and eleven, should be buried in the garden in a brick grave, and carried thither on a contrivance serving the purpose of a carriage, the place being near; but now if the grave is chosen at a distance, what do you say about their being buried there?’

Confucius said, ‘I have heard this account from Láo Tan:—“Formerly,” he said, “the recorder Yí had a son who died thus prematurely, and the grave was distant. The duke of Sháo said to him, ‘Why not shroud and coffin him in your palace?’ The recorder said, ‘Dare I do so?’ The

¹ Where these rules are to be found I do not know.

² I use ‘hotel’ here in the French meaning of the term. We must suppose that ‘the private hotel’ about which Ǵǵng-ze asked was one to which the commissioner had gone without the instructions of the state; and, as the *Khien-lung* editors say, ‘the rites were therefore so far diminished.’

duke of Šháu spoke about it to the duke of Káu, who said, 'Why may it not be done?' and the recorder did it. The practice of coffins for boys who have died so prematurely, and shrouding them, began with the recorder Yl."

25. Šāng-ze asked, 'A minister or a Great officer is about to act the part of a personator of the dead for his ruler. If, when he has received (orders) to pass the night in solemn vigil, there occur in his own family an occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave (his house) and lodge in a state hotel, and wait till (the ruler's) business is accomplished.'

26. Confucius said, 'When one who has represented the dead comes forth in the (officer's) leathern cap, or the (Great officer's) tasseled cap (which he has worn), ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all will descend from their carriages (when he passes). He will bow forward to them, and he will also have a forerunner (to notify his approach).'

27. Šze-hsiâ asked, 'There is such a thing as no longer declining military service, after the wailing in the three years' mourning has come to an end. Is this the rule? or was it at first required by the officers (of the state)?'

Confucius said, 'Under the sovereigns of Hsiâ, as soon as the coffin in the three years' mourning was completed, they resigned all their public duties. Under Yin they did so as soon as the interment was over. Is not this the meaning of what we find in the record, that "the ruler does not take from men their affection to their parents, nor do men take from their parents their filial duty?"'

28. 3ze-hsiâ asked, 'Is then not declining military service (during mourning) to be condemned?'

Confucius said, 'I heard from Lâu Tan that duke Po-khin engaged once in such service, when there was occasion for it; but I do not know if I should allow it in those who seek (by it) their own advantage during the period of the three years' mourning¹.'

¹ Po-khin was the son of the duke of Kâu, and the first marquis of Lâu. The time of his entering on the rule of that state was a very critical one in the kingdom; and though it was then, it would appear, the period of his mourning for his mother's death, he discharged his public duty in the time of his own grief.

BOOK VI. WǎN WANG SHIH 3ZE

OR

KING WǎN AS SON AND HEIR¹.

SECTION I.

1. Thus did king Wǎn act when he was eldest son and heir :—Thrice a day he made a visit in due form to king K'ī. When the cock first crowed he dressed himself, and going to the outside of the bedroom, asked one of the servants of the interior who was in attendance how the king was and if he were well. When told that he was well, the prince was glad. At midday he repeated the visit in the same way; and so he did again in the evening². If the king were not so well as usual, the servant would tell the prince, and then his sorrow appeared in his countenance, and his walk was affected and disturbed. When king K'ī took his food again, Wǎn recovered his former appearance. When the food went up (to the king), he would examine it and see if it were cold and hot as it ought to be³. When it came down, he asked of what dishes the king had eaten. He gave orders to the cook that none of the dishes should go up again, and withdrew on receiving the cook's assurance accordingly⁴.

¹ See the introduction, pages 22, 23.

² It was the duty of a son to wait on his father twice a day,—at morning and night. King Wǎn showed his filial duty by paying king K'ī a third visit.

³ According to the season.

⁴ According to the ordinary dates in Chinese chronology, King

2. King Wû acted according to the example (of Wăn), not presuming to go (in anything) beyond it. When king Wăn was ill, Wû nursed him without taking off his cap or girdle. When king Wăn took a meal, he also took a meal; and when king Wăn took a second, he did the same. It was not till after twelve days that he intermitted his attentions.

King Wăn said to Wû, 'What have you been dreaming?' 'I dreamt,' was the reply, 'that God gave me nine ling?' 'And what do you think was the meaning?' King Wû said, 'There are nine states in the west;—may it not mean that you will yet bring them all under your happy sway?' Wăn said, 'That was not the meaning. Anciently they called a year ling. The age is also called ling. I am 100; and you are 90. I give you three years.' King Wăn was 97 when he died, and king Wû was 93¹.

3. King K'hang, being quite young, could not perform his part at the eastern steps². The duke of Kâu acted as regent, trod those steps, and adminis-

Wăn was born in B.C. 1258, and named K'hang (昌). King K' died in 1185, when he was in his seventy-fourth year.

¹ It is difficult to understand and interpret the latter half of this paragraph. The K'ien-lung editors say that, according to the ordinary accounts, king Wû was born when Wăn was fifteen years old, and there was an elder son, Yî-khâu, who died prematurely; whereas king Wû died at 93, leaving his son Sung (king K'hang) only seven years old. 'Wăn,' they said, 'must have married very early, and Wû very late.' They say also that they cannot understand the text that Wăn gave to his son 'three years,' &c., and suppose that some erroneous tradition has here been introduced.

² The king received his nobles at the top of the eastern steps. The phrase = 'in the government of the kingdom.'

tered the government. He illustrated the rules for the behaviour of a young heir in his treatment of Po-*k*hin, that king *Kh*ăng might thereby know the courses to be pursued by father and son, ruler and minister, old and young. When he committed an error, the duke punished Po-*k*hin. This was the way in which he showed king *Kh*ăng his duty as the son and heir.

4. So much on the way in which king Wăn acted as son and heir.

5. In teaching the heir-sons (of the king and feudal princes), and young men (chosen from their aptitude) for learning¹, the subjects were different at different seasons. In spring and summer they were taught the use of the shield and spear; in autumn and winter that of the feather and flute:—all in the eastern school. The inferior directors of Music² taught the use of the shield aided by the great assistants. The flute masters taught the use of the spear, aided by the subdirectors, while the assistants regulated by the drum (the chanting of) the Nan³.

In spring they recited (the pieces), and in summer

¹ These 'scholars,' no doubt, were those of whose selection for the higher instruction we have an account in the fourth and other paragraphs of Section IV, Book III.

² These are mentioned in the 'Royal Regulations,' though the title does not occur in the *K'âu Lî*. They are supposed to be the same as its 'music masters' (*Yo Sze*, Book XXII).

³ This clause about the 'drum' is perplexing to a translator. It destroys the symmetry of the paragraph. What we are to understand by the 'Nan' is also much disputed. I suppose the term should embrace the two Nan, or two first Books of the Shih, Part I. Compare the Shih II, vi, 4. 4.

they played on the guitar,—being taught by the grand master in the Hall of the Blind¹. In autumn they learned ceremonies,—being instructed by the masters of ceremonies. In winter they read the book of History,—being instructed by the guardians of it. Ceremonies were taught in the Hall of the Blind; the book in the upper school.

¹ The names of these different schools are also very perplexing; and I here give a note about them by Liū K'ang of our eleventh century. 'Under the K'au dynasty they had its own schools and those of the three former dynasties; four buildings, all erected in proximity to one another. Most in the centre was the Pî Yung of K'au itself. On the north of it was the school of Shun (the lord Yü); on the east that of Hsiâ; and on the west that of Shang. Those who were learning the use (in dancing) of the shield and spear, and of the plume and flute, went to the eastern school; those who were learning ceremonies went to that of Shang; and those who were learning history, to that of Shun. In the Pî Yung the son of Heaven nourished the old, sent forth his armies, matured his plans, received prisoners, and practised archery. When he came to the Pî Yung, they came from all the other three schools, and stood round the encircling water to look at him. There were also schools on the plan of Shun—the hsiang (庠)—in the large districts (the 鄉, containing 12500 families); others on the plan of Hsiâ—the hsü (序)—in the K'au, or smaller districts (the 州, containing 2500 families); and others still on the plan of Shang—the hsiâo (校)—in the Tang (黨), or those still smaller (containing 500 families). These were all schools for young boys. The most promising scholars (in the family schools) were removed to the hsiang; the best in the hsiang, again to the hsü; and the best in the hsü, to the hsiâo. The best in these were removed finally to the great school (or college) in the suburbs (of the capital).' Such is the account of Liū K'ang. Other scholars differ from him in some points; but there is a general agreement as to the existence of a system of graduated training.

6. All the rules about sacrificial offerings¹ and at the nourishing of the old begging them to speak (their wise counsels)² and the conversation at general reunions, were taught by the lower directors of Music in the eastern school.

7. The Grand director of Music taught how to brandish the shield and axe. He also delivered the graduated rules relating to conversations and the charges about begging the old to speak. The Grand perfecter (of Instruction)³ discussed all about (these matters) in the eastern school.

8. Whenever a pupil was sitting with the Grand completer (of Instruction), there was required to be between them the width of three mats. He might put questions to him; and when he had finished, sit back on the mat near to the wall. While the instructor had not finished all he had to say on any one point, he did not ask about another.

9. In all the schools, the officer (in charge), in spring set forth offerings to the master who first taught (the subjects); and in autumn and winter he did the same⁴.

10. In every case of the first establishment of a school the offerings must be set forth to the earlier

¹ Probably, not sacrifices in general, but offerings to sages, distinguished old men, &c.

² This asking the old men to speak was a part of the festal nourishment of them.

³ I do not think this officer appears in the lists of the *Kâu Lî*. He seems to be named as giving the finishing touch to the training of the young princes.

⁴ No mention is made of summer; but, no doubt, there were then the same observances as in the other seasons,—a tribute to the merit of the past, and a stimulus to the students.

sages and the earlier teachers ; and in the doing of this, pieces of silk must be used.

11. In all the cases of setting forth the offerings, it was required to have the accompaniments (of dancing and singing). When there were any events of engrossing interest in a state (at the time), these were omitted.

12. When there was the accompaniment of music on a great scale, they proceeded immediately to feast the aged.

13. At all examinations in the suburban schools, the rule was to select the best and mark out the most talented. The pupils might be advanced for their virtue, or commended for something they had accomplished, or distinguished for their eloquence¹. Those who had studied minor arts were encouraged and told to expect a second examination². If they (then) had one of the three things (above mentioned), they were advanced to a higher grade, according to their several orders, and were styled 'Men of the schools.' They were (still, however,) kept out of the royal college³, and could not receive the cup from the vase restricted to the superior students.

14. On the first establishment of schools (in any state), when the instruments of music were

¹ See paragraphs 2-4, pp. 231-233.

² These minor arts, it is understood, were such as medicine and divination.

³ The name for this college here perhaps indicates that on reaching it, all from the other schools were 'on the same level.' The youths would appear to have passed into it with a festive ceremony. The 'suburban schools' were those in the note on p. 346, with the addition of the 'Eastern Kíáo' (東膠), which it is not easy to distinguish from 'the eastern school,' already mentioned.

completed¹, offerings of silk were set forth; and afterwards those of vegetables². But there was no dancing and (consequently) no giving out of the spears and other things used in it. They simply retired and received visitors in the eastern school. Only one cup was passed round. The ceremony might pass without (parade of) attendants or conversation.

15. (All these things) belonged to the education of the young princes.

16. In the education of the crown princes adopted by the founders of the three dynasties the subjects were the rules of propriety and music. Music served to give the interior cultivation; the rules to give the external. The two, operating reciprocally within, had their outward manifestation, and the result was a peaceful serenity,—reverence of inward feeling and mild elegance of manners.

17. The Grand tutor and the assistant tutor were appointed for their training, to make them acquainted with the duties of father and son, and of ruler and minister. The former made himself perfectly master of those duties in order to exhibit them; the latter guided the princes to observe the virtuous ways of the other and fully instructed him about them. The Grand tutor went before them, and the assistant came

¹ 'Were completed,' should be, according to Khang-kháng, 'were consecrated.' For the character in the text he would substitute that which we find in Mencius, I, i, 7, 4, applied to the consecration of a bell. Compare vol. iii, p. 323.

² The ordinary offerings (see above, paragraph 9); but now a sequel to the offerings of silk. These two offerings, it is understood, were in the school on the west (the hsiang), and thence the parties officiating adjourned to that on the east (the hsiü).

after them. In the palace was the guardian, outside it was the master; and thus by this training and instruction the virtue (of the princes) was completed. The master taught them by means of occurring things, and made them understand what was virtuous. The guardian watched over their persons, and was as a stay and wings to them, leading them in the right way. The history says, 'Under the dynasties of Yü, Hsiâ, Shang, and K'au, there were the master, the guardian, the Lî, and the K'hang, and there were appointed the four aides and the three ducal ministers. That these offices should all be filled was not so necessary as that there should be the men for them;'—showing how the object was to employ the able¹.

18. When we speak of 'a superior man' we intend chiefly his virtue. The virtue perfect and his instructions honoured; his instructions honoured and the (various) officers correct; the officers correct and order maintained in the state:—these things give the ideal of a ruler².

¹ The K'ien-lung editors seem to say that 'the Grand tutor' and 'the assistant tutor,' who had the charge of the young prince from his infancy, must have been ladies of the harem; so that, in fact, the government of a ruler's household was regulated after the model of the government of the state in his maturer years. There are no materials to illustrate the duties of the ministers who are called 'the Lî and the K'hang.'

² Wû K'hang thinks that the first three characters here should be translated—'The superior man (K'ün-jze) says;' a sequel to 'The history says' of the preceding paragraph. He then proposes to suppress one of the virtues (德) that follow. But the structure of the whole will not admit this way of dealing with it. There is a play on the characters rendered 'a superior man' and 'a ruler,'—K'ün-jze (君子) and K'ün (君); like our English 'a noble man' and 'a noble,' 'a princely man' and 'a prince.'

19. *Kung-ní* said, 'Formerly, when the duke of *Kâu* was administering the government, he did so while he (continued to) go up by the eastern steps. He (also) set forth the rules for a crown prince in (his dealing with) *Po-khin*, and it was thus that he secured the excellence of king *Khǎng*. I have heard it said, "A minister will sacrifice himself to benefit his ruler, and how much more will he swerve from the ordinary course to secure his excellence!" This was what the duke of *Kâu* did with ease and unconcern.

20. 'Therefore he who knows how to show himself what a son should be can afterwards show himself what a father should be; he who knows how to show himself what a minister should be can afterwards show himself what a ruler should be; he who knows how to serve others can afterwards employ them. King *Khǎng*, being quite young, could not discharge the duties of the government. He had no means of learning how to show himself what the crown prince should be¹. On this account the rules for a crown prince were exhibited in (the treatment of) *Po-khin*, and he was made to live with the young king that the latter might thus understand all that was right between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and younger².'

¹ His father being dead.

² With reference to this paragraph, which, he thinks, appears here as from Confucius, *Wú Khǎng* says:—'When king *Wú* died, *Khǎng* was quite young. (His uncles of) *Kwan* and *Shái* sent their reports abroad, and the people of *Yin* planned their rebellion. Then the duke of *Kâu* left the capital, and dwelt in the east, and *Po-khin* went to his jurisdiction, and defeated the people of *Hsü* and the *Zung*. Three years afterwards the duke of

21. Take the case of the sovereign and his son and heir. Looked at from the standpoint of affection, the former is father; from that of honour, he is ruler. If the son can give the affection due to the father, and the honour due to the ruler, hereafter he will (be fit to) be the lord of all under the sky. On this account the training of crown princes ought to be most carefully attended to.

22. It is only in the case of the crown prince that by the doing of one thing three excellent things are realised; and it is with reference to his taking his place in the schools according to his age that this is spoken. Thus it is that when he takes his place in them in this way, the people observing it, one will say, 'He is to be our ruler, how is it that he gives place to us in the matter of years?' and it will be replied, 'While his father is alive, it is the rule that

Kâu returned, took the regency and made his expedition to the east,—it was impossible for *Khǎng* and *Po-khin* to be always together. Perhaps the duke made them keep so, while king *Wû* was alive; and the account in the text was an erroneous tradition.' To this the *Khien-lung* editors reply:—'Immediately on the death of king *Wû*, the duke of *Kâu* must have adopted the method described in the text. *Thái Kung* was Grand master; the duke of *Shào*, Grand guardian; and the duke of *Kâu* himself Grand tutor. They, no doubt, made *Po-khin*, *Kün Khǎn*, *Lü Kí*, *Wang-sun Máu*, and others associate with the young king. In the winter of his first year, the duke removed to the eastern capital, while the other two continued in their places, and *Po-khin* was daily with *Khǎng*, and there was no change in the rules for a son and heir. Next year happened the storm which changed the king's views about the duke, who returned to the court. The third year saw the removal of the people of *Yen*, and *Po-khin* proceeded to his jurisdiction in *Lû*. But by this time king *Khǎng*'s virtue and ability were matured. *Wû*'s objections to the ordinary view of the text are without foundation.'

he should do so.' Thus all will understand the right course as between father and son. A second will make the same remark, and put the same question; and it will be replied, 'While the ruler is alive, it is the rule that he should do so;' and thus all will understand the righteousness that should obtain between ruler and minister. To a third putting the same question it will be said, 'He is giving to his elders what is due to their age;' and thus all will understand the observances that should rule between young and old. Therefore, while his father is alive, he is but a son; and, while his ruler is alive, he may be called merely a minister. Occupying aright the position of son and minister is the way in which he shows the honour due to a ruler and the affection due to a father. He is thus taught the duties between father and son, between ruler and minister, between old and young; and when he has become master of all these, the state will be well governed. The saying,

'Music's Director the foundation lays;

The Master this doth to perfection raise.

Let him but once the great and good be taught,

And all the states are to correctness brought,'

finds its application in the case of the heir-son.

23. So much for the duke of K'âu's going up by the eastern steps.

SECTION II.

1. The Shû-ze¹, who had the direction of the (other) members of the royal and princely families,

¹ See Book XLIV, paragraph 1, and note. The Shû-ze or K'âu-ze belonged to the department of the Sze-mâ. They were two,—Great officers of the third grade; and under them thirty assistants,—officers and employés. The superintendents of the Lists in next

inculcated on them filial piety and fraternal duty, harmony and friendship, and kindly consideration; illustrating the righteousness that should prevail between father and son, and the order to be observed between elders and juniors.

2. When they appeared at court, if it were at a reception in the innermost (courtyard of the palace), they took their places, facing the east, those of the most honourable rank among them, as ministers, being to the north (of the others); but they were arranged according to their age. If it were a reception in the outer (and second courtyard), they were arranged according to their offices;—(as in the former case), by the superintendents of the official lists.

3. When they were in the ancestral temple, they took their places as at the reception in the outer (and second courtyard); and the superintendent of the temple¹ assigned his business to each according to rank and office. In their ascending (to the hall), partaking of what had been left (by the personator of the dead), presenting (the cup to him), and receiving it (from him)², the eldest son by the wife took the precedence. The proceedings were regulated by the Shû-ze. Although one might have received three of the gifts of distinction, he did not take precedence of an uncle or elder cousin.

4. At the funeral rites for rulers, they were arranged according to the character of their mourning-

paragraph belonged to the same department;—also two of the same rank as the Shû-ze, and under them sixty-eight others. The functions of both are described in the *Kâu Lî*, Book XXXI.

¹ See the *Kâu Lî*, Book XXVII.

² These ceremonies do not appear to be mentioned here in the order of their occurrence.

dress in the fineness or coarseness of the material. In case of such rites among themselves, the same order was observed, the principal mourner, however, always taking precedence of all others.

5. If the ruler were feasting with his kindred, then all of a different kindred were received as guests. The cook acted as master of the ceremonies¹. The ruler took place among his uncles and cousins according to age. Each generation of kindred took a lower place as it was a degree removed from the parent-stem.

6. When with the army, the kindred guarded the spirit-tablets that had been brought from their shrines. If any public duties called the ruler beyond the limits of the state, those officers of the kindred employed the members of it, who had not other duties, to guard the ancestral temple and the apartments of the palace, the eldest sons by the proper wives guarding the temple of the Grand ancestor; the various uncles, the most honoured temple-shrines and apartments; the other sons and grandsons, the inferior shrines and apartments.

7. All descended from any of the five rulers to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, even those who were now classed among the common people, were required to announce the events of capping and marriage, so long as the temple-shrine of the (Grand ancestor) had not been removed. Their deaths had to be announced; and also their sacrifices during the

¹ We have here an instance of the important part which the cook played in the establishments of the kings and princes of those days; see vol. iii, pp. 356, 422. The ruler was too dignified to drink with the guests.

period of mourning. In the relations of the kindred among themselves, the proper officers punished any neglect of the regulations for condoling and not condoling, leaving off and not leaving off the cap (in mourning). There were the correct rules for the mourning gifts of articles, money, robes, and jade to put into the mouth (of the deceased).

8. When one of the ruler's kindred was found guilty of a capital offence, he was hanged by some one of the foresters' department. If the punishment for his offence were corporal infliction or dismemberment, it was also handed over to the same department. No one of the ruler's kindred was punished with castration.

When the trial was concluded, the proper officer reported the sentence to the ruler. If the penalty were death, he would say, 'The offence of So and So is a capital crime.' If the penalty were less, he would say, 'The offence of So and So has received a lighter sentence.' The ruler would say, 'Let the sentence be remitted for another;' and the officer would say, 'That is the sentence.' This was repeated till the third time, when the officer would make no answer, but hurry off and put the execution into the hands of the appointed forester. Still the ruler would send some one after him, and say, 'Yes, but grant forgiveness,' to which there would be the reply, 'It is too late.' When the execution was reported to the ruler, he put on white clothes, and did not have a full meal or music, thus changing his usual habits. Though the kinsman might be within the degree for which there should be mourning rites, the ruler did not wear mourning, but waited for him himself (in some family of a different surname).

9. That the ruler's kindred appeared at the reception in the innermost (court) showed how (the ruler) would honour the relatives of his own surname. That they took places according to their age, even those among them of high rank, showed the relation to be maintained between father and son. That they took places at the reception in the outer court according to their offices, showed how (the ruler) would show that they formed one body with (the officers of) other surnames¹.

10. Their taking their places in the ancestral temple according to rank served to exalt the sense of virtue. That the superintendent of the temple assigned to them their several services according to their offices was a tribute of honour to worth. That the eldest son by the proper wife was employed to ascend, take precedence in partaking of what had been left, and in receiving the cup, was to do honour to their ancestor².

11. That the distinctions at the funeral rites were arranged according to the fineness or coarseness of their mourning robes was not to take from any one the degree of his relationship³.

12. The ruler, when feasting with his kindred, took his place among them according to age, and thus development was given to filial piety and fraternal duty. That each generation took a lower place as it was removed a degree from the parent-stem showed the graduation of affection among relatives⁴.

¹ See paragraph 2, above.

² See paragraph 3, above.

³ See paragraph 4, above.

⁴ See paragraph 5, above.

13. The guard maintained during war over the spirit-tablets in the army showed the deep sense of filial piety and love. When the eldest son by the proper wife guarded the temple of the Grand ancestor, honour was done to the temple by the most honoured, and the rule as between ruler and minister was exhibited. When the uncles guarded the most honoured shrines and apartments, and the cousins those that were inferior, the principles of subordination and deference were displayed¹.

14. That the descendants of the five rulers, to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, were required, so long as the shrine of the Grand ancestor had not been removed, to announce their cappings and marriages, and their death was also required to be announced, showed how kinship was to be kept in mind². While the kinship was yet maintained, that some were classed among the common people showed how mean position followed on want of ability. The reverent observance of condoling, wailing, and of presenting contributions to the funeral rites in articles and money, was the way taken to maintain harmony and friendliness³.

15. Anciently, when the duties of these officers of the royal or princely kindred were well discharged, there was a constant model for the regions and states; and when this model was maintained, all knew to what to direct their views and aims⁴.

¹ See paragraph 6, above.

² See paragraph 12, above.

³ See paragraph 7, above.

⁴ This paragraph is evidently out of place, and should follow the

16. When any of the ruler's kindred were guilty of offences, notwithstanding their kinship, they were not allowed to transgress with impunity, but the proper officers had their methods of dealing with them:—this showed the regard cherished for the people. That the offender was punished in secret¹, and not associated with common people, showed (the ruler's) concern for his brethren. That he offered no condolence, wore no mourning, and wailed for the criminal in the temple of a different surname, showed how he kept aloof from him as having disgraced their ancestors. That he wore white, occupied a chamber outside, and did not listen to music, was a private mourning for him, and showed how the feeling of kinship was not extinguished. That one of the ruler's kindred was not subjected to castration, showed how he shrank from cutting off the perpetuation of their family.

17. When the son of Heaven was about to visit the college, the drum was beaten at early dawn to arouse all (the students). When all were come together, the son of Heaven then arrived and ordered the proper officers to discharge their business, proceeding in the regular order, and sacrificing to the former masters and former sages. When

next. Some of the critics endeavour very ingeniously to account for its having been designedly placed where it stands.

¹ This refers to the statement in paragraph 8, that members of the ruler's kindred, instead of being executed or exposed in the court or market-place, were handed over to be dealt with in the country, by the foresters' department. On that department and the duties and members of it, see the *K'âu Lî*, Book I, 11; IV, 64-69.

they reported to him that everything had been done, he then began to go to the nourishing (of the aged).

18. Proceeding to the school on the east, he unfolded and set forth the offerings to the aged of former times, and immediately afterwards arranged the mats and places for the three (classes of the) old, and the five (classes of the) experienced, for all the aged (indeed who were present)¹.

19. He (then) went to look at the food and examine the liquor. When the delicacies for the nourishment of the aged were all ready, he caused the song to be raised (as a signal for the aged to come). After this he retired; and thus it was that he provided for (the aged) his filial nourishment.

20. When (the aged) had returned (to their seats after partaking of the feast), the musicians went up and sang the *K'ing Miào*², after which there was

¹ There is great difference of opinion about 'the three old' and 'the five experienced.' A common view is that the former name denotes the old men of 80, 90, and 100; which appears to have been first propounded by T'ü Yü (A. D. 222-284). The *K'ien-lung* editors speak contemptuously of it, and ask what analogous division is to be made of the five classes of the experienced. Callery has a note on the paragraph, to the effect that there were two old men, one called 'the san-lão,' and the other 'the wü-k'ang.' The emperor of the *K'ien-lung* period, he tells us, because of the great age at which he had himself arrived, wished to restore the ancient practices in honour of old age. His proposal, however, was so vigorously opposed in council, especially by a Chinese minister, that he was obliged to abandon it. 'Many volumes,' he says, 'have been written on the origin and meaning of the denominations in the text, but nothing certain is known on the subject.'

² '*K'ing Miào*' is the name of the first of 'The Sacrificial Odes of *K'au*;' see vol. iii, pp. 313, 314.

conversation to bring out fully its meaning. They spoke of the duties between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and juniors. This union (of the conversation) with the highest description of virtue in the piece constituted the greatest feature of the ceremony.

21. Below (in the court-yard), the flute-players played the tune of the Hsiang¹, while the Tâ-wû was danced, all uniting in the grand concert according to their parts, giving full development to the spirit (of the music), and stimulating the sense of virtue. The positions of ruler and minister, and the gradations of noble and mean were correctly exhibited, and the respective duties of high and low took their proper course.

22. The officers having announced that the music was over, the king then charged the dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons, with all the officers, saying, 'Return, and nourish the aged and the young² in your eastern schools.' Thus did he end (the ceremony) with (the manifestation of) benevolence.

23. The above statements show how the sage (sovereign) bore in mind the various steps (of this ceremony)³. He anxiously thought of it as its greatness deserved; his love for the aged was blended

¹ 'Hsiang' was the name of a piece of music played to the dance Tâ-wû, in memory of the kings Wân and Wû. It is hardly possible to give any more detailed description either of the piece or of the dance.

² 'The young' is supposed to be an interpolation.

³ This sentence is difficult. Callery translates it:—'*En vue de tout cela l'empereur vertueux repasse dans sa mémoire ce que (les anciens) ont fait (pour honorer la vieillesse, afin de les imiter).*'

with reverence; he carried the thing through with attention to propriety; he adorned it with his filial nourishing; he connected with it the exhibition of the legitimate distinctions (of rank); and concluded it with (the manifestation of) benevolence. In this way the ancients, in the exhibition of this one ceremony, made all know how complete was their virtue. Among them, when they undertook any great affair, they were sure to carry it through carefully from beginning to end, so that it was impossible for any not to understand them. As it is said in the Yüeh Ming¹, 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on (this) learning.'

24. The Record of (king Wăn's) son and heir says, 'Morning and evening he went to the outside of the door of the great chamber, and asked the attendant of the interior whether his father were well, and how he was. If told that he was well, his joy appeared in his countenance. If his father were not so well, the attendant would tell him so, and then his sorrow and anxiety appeared, and his demeanour was disturbed. When the attendant told him that his father was better, he resumed his former appearance. Morning and evening when the food went up, he would examine it and see if it were hot or cold as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked what his father had eaten. He made it a point to know what viands went in, and to give his orders to the cook; and then he retired.

'If the attendant reported that his father was ill, then he himself fasted and waited on him in his dark-coloured dress. He inspected with reverence the

¹ See the 'Charge to Yueh,' in vol. iii, p. 117.

food prepared by the cook, and tasted himself the medicine for the patient. If his father ate well of the food, then he was able to eat. If his father ate but little, then he could not take a full meal. When his father had recovered, then he resumed his former ways¹.

¹ This is evidently an unskilful reproduction of the first paragraph of Section i. We try in vain to discover why the compiler inserted it here.

BOOK VII. THE LÎ YUN

OR

CEREMONIAL USAGES; THEIR ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND INTENTION¹.

SECTION I.

1. Formerly *Kung-ni* was present as one of the guests at the *Kâ* sacrifice²; and when it was over, he went out and walked backwards and forwards on the terrace over the gate of Proclamations³, looking sad and sighing. What made him sigh was the state of *Lû*⁴. *Yen Yen* was by his side, and said to him, 'Master, what are you sighing about?' *Confucius* replied, 'I never saw the practice of the Grand course⁵, and the eminent men of the three dynasties⁶; but I have my object (in harmony with theirs).

2. 'When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they

¹ See the introduction, pages 23, 24.

² Offered in the end of the year, in thanksgiving for all the crops that had been reaped. See in Book IX, ii, paragraphs 9, 10.

³ The gateway where illustrated copies of the laws and punishments were suspended. It belonged of right only to the royal palace, but it was among the things which *Lû* had usurped, or was privileged to use.

⁴ As usurping royal rites, and in disorder.

⁵ This sounds *Táoistic*. It is explained of the time of the five *T'is*.

⁶ The founders of the *Hsiâ*, *Shang*, and *K'au*, and their great ministers.

chose¹ men of talents, virtue, and ability; their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. (They accumulated) articles (of value), disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification². (They laboured) with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it (only) with a view to their own advantage². In this way (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and

¹ 'They chose;' who are intended by the 'they?' Shall we find them in the 'all under the sky' of the preceding clause? Callery has:—'*Sous le grand règne de la vertu, l'empire était la chose publique. On choisissait pour le gouverneur les hommes éminents, &c.* Khung Ying-tâ explains the clause by 'They made no hereditary princes.' Perhaps it would be well to translate passively,—'*Men of virtue and ability were chosen (to govern).*' The writer has before him the Tâoistic period of the primitive simplicity, when there was no necessity for organised government as in after ages.

² It is rather difficult to construe and translate these two sentences. Callery gives for them, not very successfully:—'*Quant aux objets matériels, ceux qu'on n'aimait pas, on les abandonnait (aux personnes qui en avaient besoin), sans les mettre en réserve pour soi. Les choses dont on était capable, on regardait comme fort mauvais de ne pas les faire, lors même que ce n'était pas pour soi.*'

rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was (the period of) what we call the Grand Union.

3. 'Now that the Grand course has fallen into disuse and obscurity, the kingdom is a family inheritance. Every one loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons. People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure. The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister; in its generous regard that between father and son; in its harmony that between elder brother and younger; and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife; and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures; lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen); adjudge the superiority to men of valour and knowledge; and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage. Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise, and recourse is had to arms; and thus it was (also) that Yü, Thang, Wăn and Wû, king *K'hang*, and the duke of *Kâu* obtained their distinction. Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety, thus to secure the display of righteousness, the realisation of sincerity, the exhibition of errors, the exemplification of benevolence, and

the discussion of courtesy, showing the people all the normal virtues. Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position, and all regarded them as pests. This is the period of what we call Small Tranquillity¹.

4. Yen Yen again asked, 'Are the rules of Propriety indeed of such urgent importance?' Confucius said, 'It was by those rules that the ancient kings sought to represent the ways of Heaven, and to regulate the feelings of men. Therefore he who neglects or violates them may be (spoken of) as dead, and he who observes them, as alive. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"Look at a rat—how small its limbs and fine!

Then mark the course that scorns the proper line.

Propriety's neglect may well provoke

A wish the man would quickly court death's stroke²."

Therefore those rules are rooted in heaven, have their correspondencies in earth, and are applicable to spiritual beings. They extend to funeral rites, sacrifices, archery, chariot-driving, capping, marriage, audiences, and friendly missions. Thus the sages made known these rules, and it became possible for the kingdom, with its states and clans, to reach its correct condition.'

5. Yen Yen again asked, 'May I be allowed to hear, Master, the full account that you would give of

¹ The T'aoism in this and the preceding paragraph is evident, and we need not be surprised that Wang of Shih-liang should say that they ought not to be ascribed to Confucius. The *K'ien-lung* editors try to weaken the force of his judgment by a theory of misplaced tablets and spurious additions to the text.

² The Shih, I, iv, 8; metrical version, page 99.

these rules?' Confucius said, 'I wished to see the ways of Hsiâ, and for that purpose went to *Khî*. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The seasons of Hsiâ." I wished to see the ways of Yin, and for that purpose went to Sung. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The *Khwăn K'hien*." In this way I got to see the meanings in the *Khwăn K'hien*, and the different steps in the seasons of Hsiâ¹.

6. 'At the first use of ceremonies, they began with meat and drink. They roasted millet and pieces of pork²; they excavated the ground in the form of a jar, and scooped the water from it with their two hands; they fashioned a handle of clay, and struck with it an earthen drum. (Simple as these arrangements were), they yet seemed to be able to express by them their reverence for Spiritual Beings.

7. '(By-and-by)³, when one died, they went upon

¹ Compare with this paragraph the ninth in the third Book of the Analects. In that Confucius tells of his visits to *K'hî* and Sung; but says nothing of his finding any book or fragment of a book in either, dwelling instead on the insufficiency of their records. 'The seasons of Hsiâ,' which it is said here 'he got in *K'hî*,' is supposed to be the 'small calendar of Hsiâ,' preserved by the Greater Tâi, and 'the *Khwăn K'hien*' to have been the 'Kwei ßhang Yí,' attributed by many to the Shang dynasty. But all this is very uncertain.

² In an unartificial manner, we are told, 'by placing them on heated stones.' It is only the last sentence of the paragraph which makes us think that the previous parts have anything to do with sacrifice or religion.

³ Khung Ying-tâ thinks that this describes the practices of the period of 'the five Tîs.' The north is the quarter of darkness and decay, the south that of brightness and life. 'The paragraph

the housetop, and called out his name in a prolonged note, saying, "Come back, So and So." After this they filled the mouth (of the dead) with uncooked rice, and (set forth as offerings to him) packets of raw flesh. Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the spirit was gone), and buried (the body) in the earth. The body and the animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high. Thus (also) the dead are placed with their heads to the north, while the living look towards the south. In all these matters the earliest practice is followed.

8. 'Formerly the ancient kings¹ had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing (also) the hair and feathers. They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins.

9. 'The later sages then arose, and men (learned) to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned clay, so as to rear towers with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled, and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living, and to make offerings to the dead; to serve

teaches us,' says Hsu Shih-*jang*, 'that the burial and other mourning ceremonies were not inventions of later sages, but grew from the natural feelings and sorrow of the earliest men.'

¹ This was, says *K'ang*, 'the time of the highest antiquity;' 'the time,' says *Ying-tâ*, 'before the five T's.'

the spirits of the departed and God¹. In all these things we follow the example of that early time.

10. 'Thus it is that the dark-coloured liquor is in the apartment (where the representative of the dead is entertained)²; that the vessel of must is near its (entrance) door; that the reddish liquor is in the hall; and the clear, in the (court) below. The victims (also) are displayed, and the tripods and stands are prepared. The lutes and citherns are put in their places, with the flutes, sonorous stones, bells, and drums. The prayers (of the principal in the sacrifice to the spirits) and the benedictions (of the representatives of the departed) are carefully framed. The

¹ According to Ying-tâ, 'this is descriptive of the times of Shăn Năng in middle antiquity, of the five Tîs, and of the three kings.' This would extend it over a very long space of time. When it is said that men in their advancing civilisation were able to serve the spirits of the departed and God, the peculiarity of style by which those spirits (literally, the Kwei Shăn) are placed before God (Shang Tî) does not fail to attract the notice of the student. The explanation of it was given ingeniously, and I believe correctly, by Dr. Medhurst (*Theology of the Chinese*, page 78), who says, 'it was done, probably, in order to distinguish the one from the other, and to prevent the reader from imagining that the Kwei Shăns belonged to the Shang Tî, which mistake might have occurred had the characters been differently arranged.' I translate the last sentence in the present tense, the speaker having, I think, his own times in mind.

² The 'dark-coloured' liquor was water, which was employed in the earliest times, before there was any preparation of liquor made from grain, either by fermentation or distillation, and the use of it was continued in the subsequent times of which this paragraph speaks, in honour of the practice of antiquity; and is continued, probably, to the present day. The other liquors are mentioned in the order of their invention, following one another in the historical line of their discovery, the older always having a nearer and more honourable place.

object of all the ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors¹; serving (also) to rectify the relations between ruler and ministers; to maintain the generous feeling between father and son, and the harmony between elder and younger brother; to adjust the relations between high and low; and to give their proper places to husband and wife. The whole may be said to secure the blessing of Heaven.

11. 'They proceed to their invocations, using in each the appropriate terms. The dark-coloured liquor is employed in (every) sacrifice. The blood with the hair and feathers (of the victim) is presented. The flesh, uncooked, is set forth on the stands². The bones with the flesh on them are sodden; and rush mats and coarse cloth are placed underneath and over the vases and cups. The robes of dyed silk are put on. The must and clarified liquor are presented. The flesh, roasted and grilled, is brought forward³. The ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting these offerings, all being done to please the souls of the departed, and constituting a union (of the living) with the disembodied and unseen.

¹ Dr. Medhurst rendered this—'to bring down the Shāns of the upper world, together with the manes of their first ancestors.' In giving to the two phrases one and the same reference I am following Ying-tâ and others.

² The last three observances were in imitation of what was done in the earliest antiquity.

³ In these six things the ways of 'middle antiquity' were observed. The whole paragraph is descriptive of a sacrifice in the ancestral temple under Kâu, where an effort was made to reproduce all sacrificial customs from the earliest times.

12. 'These services having been completed, they retire, and cook again all that was insufficiently done. The dogs, pigs, bullocks, and sheep are dismembered. The shorter dishes (round and square), the taller ones of bamboo and wood, and the soup vessels are all filled. There are the prayers which express the filial piety (of the worshipper), and the benediction announcing the favour (of his ancestors). This may be called the greatest omen of prosperity; and in this the ceremony obtains its grand completion¹.'

SECTION II.

1. Confucius said, 'Ah! Alas! I look at the ways of *Kâu*. (The kings) *Yü*² and *Lî*³ corrupted them indeed, but if I leave *Lû*, where shall I go (to find them better)? The border sacrifice of *Lû*, (however,) and (the association with it of) the founder of the line (of *Kâu*) is contrary to propriety;—how have (the institutions of) the duke of *Kâu* fallen into decay⁴! At the border sacrifice in *K'hi*, *Yü* was the assessor, and at that in *Sung*, *Hsieh*; but these were observ-

¹ This last paragraph appears to me to give a very condensed account of the banquet to a ruler's kindred, with which a service in the ancestral temple concluded. Paragraphs 10, 11, 12 are all descriptive of the parts of such a service. Compare the accounts of it in the *Shih* II, vi, ode 5, and other pieces.

² B. C. 781-771.

³ B. C. 878-828.

⁴ That the sacrificial ceremonies of *Lû* were in many things corrupted in *Lû* in the time of Confucius is plain to the reader of the *Analects*. How the corruption first began is a subject of endless controversy. It seems to be established that special privileges were granted in this respect to the duke of *Kâu* and his son, *Po-khin*. Guarded at first and innocent, encroachments were made by successive princes, as the vigour of the royal authority declined; and by-and-by as those princes became them-

ances of the sons of Heaven, preserved (in those states by their descendants). The rule is that (only) the son of Heaven sacrifices to heaven and earth, and the princes of states sacrifice at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain.'

2. When no change is presumptuously made from the constant practice from the oldest times between the prayer and blessing (at the beginning of the sacrifice)¹ and the benediction (at the end of it)¹, we have what might be called a great and happy service.

3. For the words of prayer and blessing and those of benediction to be kept hidden away by the officers of prayer of the ancestral temple, and the sorcerers and recorders, is a violation of the rules of propriety. This may be called keeping a state in darkness².

selves more and more weak, their ministers followed in their wake, and usurped the same ceremonies in their own services.

The commentators throw little light on the special corruption selected here for condemnation by Confucius. I have interpreted it by the analogy of the cases of *K'hi* and *Sung*. The lords of those states were descended from the sovereigns of *Hsiâ* and *Shang* respectively, and were invested with them at the rise of the *K'âu* dynasty, that they might continue in them the sacrifices of their royal ancestors. They did so not as the lords of *K'hi* and *Sung*, but as representing the lines of *Hsiâ* and *Shang*. But the case was different with the lords of *Lû*, belonging to the time of *K'âu*, but not representing it. Its kings were still reigning. Whether the words of Confucius should be extended over all the paragraph is a doubtful point.

¹ See paragraph 12 of the last section.

² In this way new forms of prayer and benediction came into use, and the old forms were forgotten. The sorcerers; see page 172, paragraph 42.

4. (The use of) the *k'an* cup (of Hsiâ) and the *k'ia* cup (of Yin), and (the pledging in them) between the representative of the dead and the ruler are contrary to propriety;—these things constitute 'a usurping ruler¹.'

5. (For ministers and Great officers to) keep the cap with pendants and the leathern cap, or military weapons, in their own houses is contrary to propriety. To do so constitutes 'restraint of the ruler².'

6. For Great officers to maintain a full staff of employes, to have so many sacrificial vessels that they do not need to borrow any; and have singers and musical instruments all complete, is contrary to propriety. For them to do so leads to 'disorder in a state³.'

7. Thus, one sustaining office under the ruler is called a minister, and one sustaining office under the head of a clan is called a servant. Either of these, who is in mourning for a parent, or has newly married, is not sent on any mission for a year⁴.

¹ It would be of little use to give representations of those cups, as they are ordinarily figured. Only in *K'hi*, Sung, and *Lí* could they be used with any degree of propriety. In the times referred to in these paragraphs they were used by other states; which was an act of usurpation.

² Certain styles of these caps were peculiar to the king, and of course could not be used by inferiors. Others might be used by them, but were kept in public offices, and given out when required. Sometimes they were conferred by special gift; but none could make them for themselves.

³ A Great officer, if he had land, might have a ruler or steward, to whom everything was entrusted; and he might have some sacrificial vessels, but not a complete set. He did not have music at his sacrifices, unless it were by special permission.

⁴ Compare Deuteronomy xxiv. 5.

To enter court in decayed robes, or to live promiscuously with his servants, taking place among them according to age :—all these things are contrary to propriety. Where we have them, we have what is called 'ruler and minister sharing the state.'

8. Thus, the son of Heaven has his domain that he may settle there his sons and grandsons ; and the feudal princes have their states ; and Great officers their appanages that they may do the same for theirs. This constitutes 'the statutory arrangement.'

9. Thus, when the son of Heaven goes to visit a feudal prince, the rule is that he shall lodge in the ancestral temple, and that he do not enter it without having with him all the rules to be observed. If he act otherwise, we have an instance of 'The son of Heaven perverting the laws, and throwing the regulations into confusion.' A prince, unless it be to ask about the sick or to condole with a mourner, does not enter the house of a minister. If he act otherwise, we have the case of 'ruler and minister playing with each other.'

10. Therefore, ceremonies form a great instrument in the hands of a ruler. It is by them that he resolves what is doubtful and brings to light what is abstruse ; that he conducts his intercourse with spiritual beings, examines all statutory arrangements, and distinguishes benevolence from righteousness ; it is by them, in short, that government is rightly ordered, and his own tranquillity secured.

11. When government is not correct, the ruler's seat is insecure. When the ruler's seat is insecure,

the great ministers revolt, and smaller ones begin pilfering. Punishments (then) are made severe, and manners deteriorate. Thus the laws become irregular, and the rules of ceremony uncertain. When these are uncertain, officers do not perform their duties; and when punishments become severe, and manners deteriorate, the people do not turn (to what is right). We have that condition which may be described as 'an infirm state.'

12. In this way government is the means by which the ruler keeps and protects his person, and therefore it must have a fundamental connection with Heaven. This uses a variety of ways in sending down the intimations of Its will. As learned from the altars of the land, these are (receptivity and docility) imparted to the earth. As learned from the ancestral temple, they are benevolence and righteousness. As learned from the altars of the hills and streams, they are movement and activity. As learned from the five sacrifices of the house, they are the statutes (of their various spirits). It is in this way that the sage rulers made provision for the safe keeping of their persons¹.

¹ On this paragraph M. Callery has the following note:—'Très difficile à comprendre dans nos idées, ce passage offre un sens tout simple et naturel aux Chinois, dont la bizarre métaphysique va chercher dans la nature une analogie essentielle entre les accidents divers des êtres, et les phénomènes rationnels ou psychologiques. Ainsi, suivant les philosophes Chinois, tant anciens que modernes, la société présente des inégalités dans ses classes d'individus, comme la terre présente à sa surface des montagnes et des vallées; telle loi provoque l'action et le mouvement, comme les rivières pleines de poissons et les montagnes couvertes de forêts sont des foyers de vie et de développement; telle autre loi

13. Hence the sage forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government. Taking his place on the ground of the principles inherent in them, he devised ceremonies in their order; calling them to the happy exercise of that in which

impose des obligations humanitaires, comme les temples inspirent la piété filiale envers les ancêtres, ou le respect envers les Dieux. Ces analogies sont quelquefois poussées jusqu'au dernier ridicule; mais les Chinois ne les trouvent jamais forcées, et semblent faire très peu de cas de la logique Européenne, qui ne les admire pas.'

The *K'hien-lung* editors say on it:—'Hsião (殺) gives the idea of distribution. All the principles under the sky are simply expressive of the mind of the one Heaven. Heaven is everywhere, and its distributions from which we see its ordinations are also everywhere. *K'hien* (乾), 'great and originating,' contains all the meaning belonging to the name Heaven. Earth (坤) obediently receives the influences of heaven. Consequently, when we see how earth supports all things, we know how the ordination of Heaven has descended on it. Heaven is the author of all things. It produced men, and men go on to produce one another, in succession. From this we see that every man has his ancestor, and know how the ordination of Heaven has descended on the ancestral temple. Hills and streams are also the productions of Heaven, but every one of them is also able to produce other things; and when we see their productiveness, we know that the ordination of Heaven to that effect has descended on them. The productive power of Heaven is distributed in the five elements, and their results, which are most important to men, are exhibited in the five sacrifices of the house, so that we see those results in these, and know that the ordination of Heaven has descended on them. Now the ancestral temples, the hills and streams, and those five altars of the house, are all distributed on the earth, but in reality have their root in Heaven. And so it is that the sages after the pattern of Heaven made their ordinations; and their filial piety and righteousness, and all the duties enjoined by them, effective, though unseen, secure the issues of government.'

they find pleasure, he secured the success of the government of the people.

14. Heaven produces the seasons. Earth produces all the sources of wealth. Man is begotten by his father, and instructed by his teacher. The ruler correctly uses these four agencies, and therefore he stands in the place where there is no error¹.

15. Hence the ruler is he to whose brightness men look; he does not seek to brighten men. It is he whom men support; he does not seek to support men. It is he whom men serve; he does not seek to serve men. If the ruler were to seek to brighten men, he would fall into errors. If he were to seek to nourish men, he would be unequal to the task. If he were to seek to serve men, he would be giving up his position. Therefore the people imitate the ruler, and we have their self-government; they nourish their ruler, and they find their security in doing so; they serve the ruler, and find their distinction in doing so. Thus it is by the universal application of the rules of propriety, that the lot and duty (of different classes) are fixed; thus it is that men, (acting contrary to those rules,) would all have to account death a boon, and life an evil.

16. Therefore (the ruler), making use of the wisdom of others, will put away the cunning to which that wisdom might lead him; using their courage, he will (in the same way) put away

¹ 'If the ruler,' says Khung Ying-tâ, 'were to undertake to do all the work of these agencies himself, he would commit many errors. Employing them according to the natural operation of each, the work is easily performed, and without error.'

passion; and using their benevolence, he will put away covetousness¹.

17. Therefore, when calamity comes on a state, for the ruler to die for its altars is to be regarded as right; but for a Great officer to die for the ancestral temple is to be regarded as a change (of the duty required from him)².

18. Therefore when it is said that (the ruler being) a sage can look on all under the sky as one family, and on all in the Middle states as one man, this does not mean that he will do so on premeditation and purpose. He must know men's feelings, lay open to them what they consider right, show clearly to them what is advantageous, and comprehend what are their calamities. Being so furnished, he is then able to effect the thing.

19. What are the feelings of men? They are joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and liking. These seven feelings belong to men without their learning them. What are 'the things which men consider right?' Kindness on the part of the father, and filial duty on that of the son; gentleness on the part of the elder brother, and obedience on that of

¹ I have here followed the *K'ien-lung* editors in preference to *K'ang Khang-k'ang* and others. The latter consider that the cunning, passion, and covetousness are those of the men whom the ruler employs,—vices generally found along with the good qualities belonging to them.

² It is not easy to see the ground of the reprehension of the devotion of a Great officer which is here implied. 'The care of the state is a trust committed to the ruler by the sovereign,—he should die in maintaining it. An officer has services to discharge, and not trusts to maintain. When the services can no longer be discharged, he may leave them and save himself' (?).

the younger ; righteousness on the part of the husband, and submission on that of the wife ; kindness on the part of elders, and deference on that of juniors ; with benevolence on the part of the ruler, and loyalty on that of the minister ; — these ten are the things which men consider to be right. Truthfulness in speech and the cultivation of harmony constitute what are called ‘the things advantageous to men.’ Quarrels, plundering, and murders are ‘the things disastrous to men.’ Hence, when a sage (ruler) would regulate the seven feelings of men, cultivate the ten virtues that are right ; promote truthfulness of speech, and the maintenance of harmony ; show his value for kindly consideration and complaisant courtesy ; and put away quarrelling and plundering, if he neglect the rules of propriety, how shall he succeed ?

20. The things which men greatly desire are comprehended in meat and drink and sexual pleasure ; those which they greatly dislike are comprehended in death, exile, poverty, and suffering. Thus liking and disliking are the great elements in men’s minds. But men keep them hidden in their minds, where they cannot be fathomed or measured. The good and the bad of them being in their minds, and no outward manifestation of them being visible, if it be wished to determine these qualities in one uniform way, how can it be done without the use of the rules of propriety (implied in the ceremonial usages) ?

SECTION III.

1. Man is (the product of) the attributes of Heaven and Earth, (by) the interaction of the dual

forces of nature, the union of the animal and intelligent (souls), and the finest subtile matter of the five elements¹.

2. Heaven exercises the control of the strong and light force, and hangs out the sun and stars. Earth exercises the control of the dark and weaker force, and gives vent to it in the hills and streams. The five elements are distributed through the four seasons, and it is by their harmonious action that the moon is produced, which therefore keeps waxing for fifteen days and waning for fifteen².

¹ Callery's translation of this paragraph is the following:—*'L'homme émane, (pour le moral), de la vertu du Ciel et de la Terre; (pour le physique il émane) de la combinaison des (deux principes) Yin et Yang; (pour la partie spirituelle, il émane) de la réunion des esprits et des Dieux; et pour la forme qui lui est propre, il émane de l'essence la plus subtile des cinq éléments.'* To this he subjoins the following note:—*'Il m'est difficile de croire que les Chinois eux-mêmes aient jamais rien compris à ces théories androgénésiques, dont tout le mérite gît dans le vague de l'énoncé.'* The *Khien-lung* editors say:—*'The characteristic attributes of Heaven and Earth are blended and hid in the two forces of nature; and this is called the truth that is unlimited. If we speak of those forces in their fundamental character, we call them the Yin and Yang. If we speak of them as they develop their power, we call them Kwei and Shǎn. If we speak of them as they become substantial, we call them the five elements. And this is what is called the essence of what is meant by the second and fifth lines of the Khien hexagram,' &c. &c.*

² Callery says here:—*'C'est toujours l'application de la théorie des affinités naturelles dont nous avons parlé (see note, p. 281) et dont il importe de bien se pénétrer lorsqu'on veut comprendre quelque chose aux dissertations philosophiques des Chinois.'* But after the student has done his best to get hold of the theory, he will often be baffled in trying to follow the applications of it. For example, I cannot get hold of what is said here about the genesis of the moon. Much of the next four paragraphs is very obscure.

3. The five elements in their movements alternately displace and exhaust one another. Each one of them, in the revolving course of the twelve months of the four seasons, comes to be in its turn the fundamental one for the time.

4. The five notes of harmony, with their six upper musical accords, and the twelve pitch-tubes, come each, in their revolutions among themselves, to be the first note of the scale.

5. The five flavours, with the six condiments, and the twelve articles of diet, come each one, in their revolutions (in the course of the year), to give its character to the food.

6. The five colours, with the six elegant figures, which they form on the two robes, come each one, in their revolutions among themselves, to give the character of the dress that is worn.

7. Therefore Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives in the enjoyment of all flavours, the discriminating of all notes (of harmony), and the enrobing of all colours¹.

A little light seems to flash on them from parts of different sections of Book IV, but it is neither bright nor steady.

¹ For this paragraph M. Callery gives:—‘L’homme est donc le cœur du Ciel et de la Terre, la fine essence des cinq éléments, et vit en mangeant des choses sapides, en distinguant les sons, et en s’habillant de différentes couleurs (contrairement à la brute, dont les goûts sont grossiers, et les instincts sans raison).’ Of course the first predicate about man, and, we might almost say, the second also, are metaphorical. ‘La fine essence’ is not a correct translation of the text in the second predicate, the Chinese character so rendered is different from the two characters in paragraph 1. On the former predicate Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says:—

8. Thus it was that when the sages would make rules (for men), they felt it necessary to find the origin (of all things) in heaven and earth; to make the two forces (of nature) the commencement (of all); to use the four seasons as the handle (of their arrangements); to adopt the sun and stars as the recorders (of time), the moon as the measurer (of work to be done), the spirits breathing (in nature) as associates¹, the five elements as giving substance (to things), rules of propriety and righteousness as (their) instruments, the feelings of men as the field (to be cultivated), and the four intelligent creatures as domestic animals (to be reared)².

9. The origin of all things being found in heaven and earth, they could be taken in hand, one after the other. The commencement of these being found in the two forces (of nature), their character and tendencies could be observed. The four seasons being used as a handle, (the people) could be stimulated to the business (of each). The sun and stars being constituted the measures of time,

'The heart of Heaven and Earth is simply benevolence. The perfect benevolence of Heaven and Earth is lodged in man. Given the human body, and forthwith there is the benevolent heart. Hence it is said (Mencius VII, ii, 16), "Man is benevolence;" "Benevolence is the heart of man." Moreover, the heart of Heaven and Earth is seen in the very idea of life, so that the heart (or kernel) of all fruits is called *zăn* (仁) or benevolence, which is again a name for man (仁者人也).'

¹ Callery has for this:—'Les Esprits et les Dieux pour compagnons;' Medhurst, 'the Kwei Shins, as the associates.' K'ang and Khung say that by Kwei Shăn are to be understood 'the hills and streams of last section,' paragraph 12, for 'those help the respiration of the earth.'

² See paragraph 10.

that business could be laid out in order. The moon being taken as the measure (of work to be done), that work could be accomplished successfully. The spirits breathing (in nature) being considered as associates, what is done will be maintained permanently. The five elements being considered as giving substance (to things), what has been done could be repeated. Rules of propriety and righteousness being viewed as the instruments, whatever was done would be completed. The feelings of men being the field to be cultivated, men would look up (to the sages) as to their lords. The four intelligent creatures being made to become domestic animals, there would be constant sources of food and drink.

10. What were the four intelligent creatures¹? They were the *K'hi-lin*, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon. When the dragon becomes a domestic animal, (all other) fishes and the sturgeon do not lie hidden from men (in the mud). When the phoenix becomes so, the birds do not fly from them in terror. When the *K'hi-lin* does so, the beasts do not scamper away. When the tortoise does so, the feelings of men take no erroneous course.

¹ Callery calls these four creatures 'le cerf, l'aigle, la tortue, et le dragon;' and says:—'D'après la mythologie historique des Chinois, ces quatre animaux ne se montrent sur la terre que sous le règne des empereurs d'une vertu extraordinaire. Alors, la plus grande paix règne dans l'univers; tous les hommes sont heureux; personne ne manque de rien:—C'est l'âge d'or, moins les idées poétiques des Grecs et des Latins.' All the four excepting the tortoise are fabulous animals, and even Confucius believed in them (Ana. IX, 8). The lesson drawn from the text by many is that men's goodness is the pledge of, and the way to, all prosperity.

SECTION IV.

1. The ancient kings made use of the stalks and the tortoise-shell ; arranged their sacrifices ; buried their offerings of silk ; recited their words of supplication and benediction ; and made their statutes and measures. In this way arose the ceremonial usages of the states, the official departments with their administrators, each separate business with its own duties, and the rules of ceremony in their orderly arrangements.

2. Thus it was that the ancient kings were troubled lest the ceremonial usages should not be generally understood by all below them. They therefore sacrificed to God in the suburb (of the capital), and thus the place of heaven was established. They sacrificed at the altar of the earth inside the capital, and thus they intimated the benefits derived from the earth. Their sacrifices in the ancestral temple gave their fundamental place to the sentiments of humanity. Those at the altars of the hills and streams served to mark their intercourse with the spirits breathing (in nature). Their five sacrifices (of the house) were a recognition of the various business which was to be done.

For the same reason, there are the officers of prayer in the ancestral temple ; the three ducal ministers in the court ; and the three classes of old men in the college. In front of the king there were the sorcerers, and behind him the recorders ; the diviners by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks, the blind musicians and their helpers were all on his left and right. He himself was in the centre. His

mind had nothing to do, but to maintain what was entirely correct.

3. By means of the ceremonies performed in the suburb, all the spirits receive their offices. By means of those performed at the altar of the earth, all the things yielded (by the earth) receive their fullest development. By means of those in the ancestral temple, the services of filial duty and of kindly affection come to be discharged. By means of those at the five sacrifices of the house, the laws and rules of life are correctly exhibited. Hence when the ideas in these sacrifices in the suburb, at the altar of the earth, in the ancestral temple, at the altars of the hills and streams, and of the five sacrifices of the house are fully apprehended, the ceremonies used are found to be lodged in them¹.

4. From all this it follows that rules of ceremony must be traced to their origin in the Grand Unity².

¹ *K'ang* explains 'all the spirits' in the first sentence of this paragraph by 'all the constellations.' *Khung* agrees with him. *K'han Hào* (Yüan dynasty) explains it of 'wind, rain, cold, and heat.' The *K'ien-lung* editors say that the two explanations must be united. But why are these phenomena described as all or 'the hundred spirits?' Is it by personification? or a kind of pantheism?

² *Medhurst* translated this name by 'the Supreme One;' *Callery*, as I do, by 'la Grande Unité,' adding in parentheses, 'principe de toutes choses.' Does the name denote what we are to consider an Immaterial Being, acting with wisdom, intention, and goodness? *Medhurst* came to this conclusion. He says:—'Thāi Yî (太一) must mean the Supreme One, or the infinitely great and undivided one. Bearing in mind also that this paragraph follows another in which Tî (帝), the ruling Power, is honoured with the highest adoration, and that this ruling Power is the same

This separated and became heaven and earth. It revolved and became the dual force (in nature).

with the being here called the Supreme One, there can be no doubt that the reference in the whole passage is to the Almighty One who rules over all things' (Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese, p. 85). He goes on to say that 'the Critical Commentary makes this still more plain by saying that this Supreme One is the source of all others, and that he existed before the powers of nature were divided, and before the myriad things were produced, the one only being. The operations ascribed to him of dividing heaven and earth, of revolving light and darkness, of changing the four seasons, and of appointing the various Kwei Shins to their several offices, are all indicative of that omnipotent power which must be ascribed to him alone.' But the operations referred to in this last sentence are mentioned in the text, not as performed by the Supreme One, but as undergone by the Grand Unity. And, moreover, 'the Critical Commentary' yields a testimony different from what Dr. Medhurst supposed. Khung Ying-tâ says:—'The name Thâi Yî means the original vapoury matter of chaos, before the separation of heaven and earth (太一謂天地未分, 混沌之元氣);' and there is nothing in any of the other commentators contrary to this. But the concluding sentence of the paragraph, that 'The law and authority (of all the lessons in the rules of ceremony) is in Heaven,' seems to me to imply 'a recognition (indistinct it may be) of a Power or Being anterior to and independent of the Grand Unity.' Wû K'hang says:—'The character Thien (Heaven) is used to cover the five things—the Grand Unity, heaven and earth, the (dual force of) Yin and Yang, the four seasons, and the Kwei Shân.' The attempt, apparent in the whole treatise, to give Tâoistic views a place in the old philosophy of the nation, is prominent here. Medhurst is not correct in saying that the Tî (帝) in paragraph 2 is the same as the Thâi Yî in this paragraph, but It, or rather He, is the same as the Thien (天) with which it concludes. The earliest Chinese adopted Thien or Heaven as the name for the supreme Power, which arose in their minds on the contemplation of the order of nature, and the principles of love and righteousness developed in the constitution of man and the course of providence, and

It changed and became the four seasons. It was distributed and became the breathings (thrilling in the universal frame). Its (lessons) transmitted (to men) are called its orders; the law and authority of them is in Heaven.

5. While the rules of ceremony have their origin in heaven, the movement of them reaches to earth. The distribution of them extends to all the business (of life). They change with the seasons; they agree in reference to the (variations of) lot and condition. In regard to man, they serve to nurture (his nature). They are practised by means of offerings, acts of strength, words and postures of courtesy, in eating and drinking, in the observances of capping, marriage, mourning, sacrificing, archery, chariot-driving, audiences, and friendly missions.

6. Thus propriety and righteousness are the great elements for man's (character); it is by means of them that his speech is the expression of truth and his intercourse (with others) the promotion of harmony; they are (like) the union of the cuticle and cutis, and the binding together of the muscles and bones in strengthening (the body). They constitute the great methods by which we nourish the living,

proceeded to devise the personal name of Tĭ or God, as the appellation of this; and neither Táoism, nor any other form of materialistic philosophising, has succeeded in eradicating the precious inheritance of those two terms from the mind of peasant or scholar.

Callery has misconstrued the paragraph by making 'Les Rites,' or the 'toutes choses' of his gloss, the subject of all the predicates in it:—'*Les rites ont pour origine essentielle la Grande Unité (principe de toutes choses). Ils se divisent ensuite, les uns pour le Ciel, les autres pour la Terre,*' &c.

bury the dead, and serve the spirits of the departed. They supply the channels by which we can apprehend the ways of Heaven and act as the feelings of men require. It was on this account that the sages knew that the rules of ceremony could not be dispensed with, while the ruin of states, the destruction of families, and the perishing of individuals are always preceded by their abandonment of the rules of propriety.

7. Therefore the rules of propriety are for man what the yeast is for liquor ¹. The superior man by (his use of them) becomes better and greater. The small man by his neglect of them becomes meaner and worse.

8. Therefore the sage kings cultivated and fashioned the lever of righteousness and the ordering of ceremonial usages, in order to regulate the feelings of men. Those feelings were the field (to be cultivated by) the sage kings. They fashioned the rules of ceremony to plough it. They set forth the principles of righteousness with which to plant it. They instituted the lessons of the school to weed it. They made love the fundamental subject by which to gather all its fruits, and they employed the training in music to give repose (to the minds of learners).

¹ On this comparison Callery says: — 'Ce que les Chinois appellent du vin (酒) n'étant une autre chose qu'une eau de vie de grains obtenue par la distillation, plus il y a de ferment dans la macération primitive, plus la fermentation vineuse est forte, et plus il y a d'alcool quand on la passe par l'alambic. De là cette comparaison entre le degré d'urbanité chez le sage et le degré de force dans le vin.'

9. Thus, rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right. If an observance stand the test of being judged by the standard of what is right, although it may not have been among the usages of the ancient kings, it may be adopted on the ground of its being right.

10. (The idea of) right makes the distinction between things, and serves to regulate (the manifestation of) humanity. When it is found in anything and its relation to humanity has been discussed, the possessor of it will be strong.

11. Humanity is the root of right, and the embodying of deferential consideration. The possessor of it is honoured.

12. Therefore to govern a state without the rules of propriety would be to plough a field without a share. To make those rules without laying their foundation in right would be to plough the ground and not sow the seed. To think to practise the right without enforcing it in the school would be to sow the seed and not weed the plants. To enforce the lessons in the schools, and insist on their agreement with humanity, would be to weed and not to reap. To insist on the agreement of the lessons with humanity, and not give repose to (the minds of) the learners by music, would be to reap, and not eat (the product). To supply the repose of music and not proceed to the result of deferential consideration would be to eat the product and get no fattening from it.

13. When the four limbs are all well proportioned, and the skin is smooth and full, the individual is in good condition. When there is generous affection between father and son, harmony between brothers,

and happy union between husband and wife, the family is in good condition. When the great ministers are observant of the laws, the smaller ministers pure, officers and their duties kept in their regular relations and the ruler and his ministers are correctly helpful to one another, the state is in good condition. When the son of Heaven moves in his virtue as a chariot, with music as his driver, while all the princes conduct their mutual intercourse according to the rules of propriety, the Great officers maintain the order between them according to the laws, inferior officers complete one another by their good faith, and the common people guard one another with a spirit of harmony, all under the sky is in good condition. All this produces what we call (the state of) great mutual consideration (and harmony).

14. This great mutual consideration and harmony would ensure the constant nourishment of the living, the burial of the dead, and the service of the spirits (of the departed). However greatly things might accumulate, there would be no entanglement among them. They would move on together without error, and the smallest matters would proceed without failure. However deep some might be, they would be comprehended. However thick and close their array, there would be spaces between them. They would follow one another without coming into contact. They would move about without doing any hurt to one another. This would be the perfection of such a state of mutual harmony.

15. Therefore the clear understanding of this state will lead to the securing of safety in the midst of danger. Hence the different usages of ceremony,

and the maintenance of them in their relative proportions as many or few, are means of keeping hold of the feelings of men, and of uniting (high and low, and saving them from) peril.

16. The sage kings showed their sense of this state of harmony in the following way:—They did not make the occupants of the hills (remove and) live by the streams, nor the occupants of the islands (remove and live) in the plains; and thus the (people) complained of no hardship. They used water, fire, metal, wood, and the different articles of food and drink, each in its proper season. They promoted the marriages of men and women, and distributed rank and office, according to the years and virtues of the parties. They employed the people with due regard to their duties and wishes. Thus it was that there were no plagues of flood, drought, or insects, and the people did not suffer from bad grass or famine, from untimely deaths or irregular births. On account of all this heaven did not grudge its methods; earth did not grudge its treasures; men did not grudge (the regulation of) their feelings. Heaven sent down its fattening dews¹; earth sent forth its springs of sweet wine¹; hills produced implements and chariots²; the Hø sent forth the horse with the map (on his

¹ Káo Yî in his *Filial Miscellanies*, Book III, art. 9, contends that these are only different names for the same phenomenon. Few readers will agree with him, though the language means no more than that 'the dews were abundant, and the water of the springs delicious.'

² There must have been some legend which would have explained this language, but I have not succeeded in finding any trace of it.

back)¹. Phœnixes and *Khi*-lins were among the trees of the suburbs, tortoises and dragons in the ponds of the palaces, while the other birds and beasts could be seen at a glance in their nests and breeding places. All this resulted from no other cause but that the ancient kings were able to fashion their ceremonial usages so as to convey the underlying ideas of right, and embody their truthfulness so as to secure the universal and mutual harmony. This was the realisation of it.

¹ The famous 'River Map' from which, it has been fabled, Fû-hsî fashioned his eight trigrams. See vol. xvi, pp. 14-16.

BOOK VIII. THE LÎ KHÎ

OR

rites in the formation of character¹.

SECTION I.

1. The rules of propriety serve as instruments to form men's characters, and they are therefore prepared on a great scale. Being so, the value of them is very high. They remove from a man all perversity, and increase what is beautiful in his nature. They make him correct, when employed in the ordering of himself; they ensure for him free course, when employed towards others. They are to him what their outer coating is to bamboos, and what its heart is to a pine or cypress². These two are the best of all the productions of the (vegetable) world. They endure through all the four seasons, without altering a branch or changing a leaf. The superior man observes these rules of propriety, so that all in a wider circle are harmonious with him, and those in his narrower circle have no dissatisfactions with him. Men acknowledge and are affected by his goodness, and spirits enjoy his virtue.

2. The rules as instituted by the ancient kings had their radical element and their outward and

¹ See the introductory notice, p. 25.

² The author evidently knew the different conditions of their structure on which the growth and vigour of Endogens (the monocotyledonous plants) and Exogens (dicotyledons) respectively depend.

elegant form. A true heart and good faith are their radical element. The characteristics of each according to the idea of what is right in it are its outward and elegant form. Without the radical element, they could not have been established; without the elegant form, they could not have been put in practice¹.

3. (The things used in performing) the rites should be suitable to the season, taken from the resources supplied by the ground, in accordance with (the requirements of) the spirits², and agreeable to the minds of men;—according to the characteristics of all things. Thus each season has its productions, each soil its appropriate produce, each sense its peculiar power, and each thing its advantageousness. Therefore what any season does not produce, what any soil does not nourish, will not be used by a superior man in performing his rites, nor be enjoyed by the spirits. If mountaineers were to (seek to) use fish and turtles in their rites, or the dwellers

¹ Callery gives for this short paragraph :—‘ Les rites établis par les anciens rois ont leur essence intîmé et leur dehors ; la droiture est l’essence des rites ; leur accord patent avec la raison en est le dehors. Sans essence, ils ne peuvent exister ; sans dehors ils ne peuvent fonctionner.’ He appends a long note on the difficulty of translation occasioned by the character 文 (wǎn), which he renders by ‘le dehors,’ and I by ‘the outward, elegant form;’ and concludes by saying, ‘Traduise mieux qui pourra.’ I can only say that I have done the best I could (at the time) with this and every other paragraph.

² Khung Ying-tâ says here that ‘the spirits were men who, when alive, had done good service, and were therefore sacrificed to when dead. From which it follows that what was agreeable to the minds of men would be in accordance with (the requirements of) the spirits.’

near lakes, deer and pigs, the superior man would say of them that they did not know (the nature of) those usages.

4. Therefore it is necessary to take the established revenues of a state as the great rule for its ceremonial (expenditure). Important for the determination of this is the size of its territory. The amount of the offerings (also) should have regard to the character of the year as good or bad. In this way, though the harvest of a year may be very defective, the masses will not be afraid, and the ceremonies as appointed by the superiors will be economically regulated.

5. In (judging of) rites the time¹ should be the great consideration. (Their relation to) natural duties, their material substance, their appropriateness to circumstances, and their proportioning are all secondary.

Yáo's resignation of the throne to Shun, and Shun's resignation of it to Yü; Thang's dethronement of Kieh; and the overthrow of Kâu by Wăn and Wû:—all these are to be judged of by the time. As the Book of Poetry says,

‘It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes;

It was to show the filial duty that had come down to him.’

¹ ‘The time’ comes about by the ordering of heaven. The instances given of it are all great events in the changing of dynasties. But such changes can hardly be regarded as rites. Perhaps the writer thought that the abdication in some cases, and the violent dethroning in others, were precedents, which might be regarded as having that character. For the quotation from the Shih, which is not very happy, see Part III, ode 10, 2.

The sacrifices to heaven and earth ; the services of the ancestral temple ; the courses for father and son ; and the righteousness between ruler and minister :—these are to be judged of as natural duties.

The services at the altars of the land and grain and of the hills and streams ; and the sacrifices to spirits :—these are to be judged of by the material substance of the offerings. The use of the funeral rites and sacrifices ; and the reciprocities of host and guest :—these are to be judged of by their appropriateness to circumstances.

Sacrificing with a lamb and a sucking pig, by the multitude of officers, when yet there was enough ; and sacrificing with an ox, a ram, and a boar, when yet there was nothing to spare :—in these we have an instance of the proportioning.

6. The princes set great store by the tortoise, and consider their jade-tokens as the insignia of their rank, while the (chiefs of) clans have not the tortoises that are so precious, nor the jade-tokens to keep (by themselves), nor the towered gateways :—these (also) are instances of the proportioning.

7. In some ceremonial usages the multitude of things formed the mark of distinction. The son of Heaven had 7 shrines in his ancestral temple ; the prince of a state, 5 ; Great officers, 3 ; and other officers, 1. The dishes of the son of Heaven on stands were 26 ; of a duke, 16 ; of another prince, 12 ; of a Great officer of the upper class, 8 ; of one of the lower class, 6. To a prince there were given 7 attendants and 7 oxen ; and to a Great officer, 5 of each. The son of Heaven sat on 5 mats placed over one another ; a prince, on 3 ; and a Great officer,

on 2. When the son of Heaven died, he was buried after 7 months, in a fivefold coffin, with 8 plumes ; a prince was buried after 5 months, in a threefold coffin, with 6 plumes ; a Great officer after 3 months, in a twofold coffin, with 4 plumes. In these cases, the multitude of things was the mark of distinction¹.

8. In other usages, the paucity of things formed the mark of distinction. To the son of Heaven there were given no attendants², and he sacrificed to Heaven with a single victim ; when he visited the princes (on his tours of inspection), he was feasted with a single bullock. When princes went to the courts of one another, fragrant spirits were used in libations, and there were no dishes on stands, either of wood or bamboo. At friendly missions by Great officers, the ceremonial offerings were slices of dried meat and pickles. The son of Heaven declared himself satisfied after 1 dish ; a prince, after 2 ; a Great officer and other officers, after 3 ; while no limit was set to the eating of people who lived by their labour. (The horses of) the Great carriage had 1 ornamental tassel at their breast-bands ; those of the other carriages had 7 (pieces of) jade for rank-tokens ; and libation cups were presented singly ; as also the tiger-shaped and yellow cups. In sacrificing to spirits a single mat was used ; when princes were giving audience to their ministers, they (bowed to) the Great officers one by one, but to all the other officers

¹ The different views in attempting to verify all the numbers and other points in the specifications here are endless.

² The attendants waited on the visitors. But the son of Heaven was lord of all under the sky. He was at home everywhere ; and could not be received as a visitor.

together. In these cases the fewness of the things formed the mark of distinction.

9. In others, greatness of size formed the mark. The dimensions of palaces and apartments; the measurements of dishes and (other) articles; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins; the greatness of eminences and mounds¹:—these were cases in which the greatness of size was the mark.

10. In others, smallness of size formed the mark. At the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, the highest in rank presented a cup (of spirits to the representative of the dead), and the low, a san (containing five times as much): (at some other sacrifices), the honourable took a *kkih* (containing 3 cups), and the low a horn (containing 4). (At the feasts of viscounts and barons), when the vase went round 5 times, outside the door was the earthenware *fâu* (of supply), and inside, the *hû*; while the ruler's vase was an earthenware *wû*:—these were cases in which the smallness of size was the mark of distinction².

11. In others, the height formed the mark of

¹ Both these names refer, probably, to mounds raised over the dead. Those over the emperors of the Ming dynasty, about midway between Peking and the Great Wall, and that over Confucius at *K'hi-fû* in Shan-tung, are the best specimens of these which I have seen.

² It is difficult to explain fully and verify all the statements in this paragraph, for want of evidence. The unit in them is the *shăng* (升), or 'pint,' now = 1·031 litre; the cup, (*g*io, 爵) contained one *shăng*; the *kkih* (觶), three; the *kio* (角), four; and the *san* (散), five. The *hû* (壺) contained one 'stone' (石), = 10·310 litre; and the *wû* (甗) = 51·55. The size of the *fâu* (缶) is unknown.

distinction. The hall of the son of Heaven was ascended by 9 steps¹; that of a prince, by 7; that of a Great officer, by 5; and that of an ordinary officer, by 3. The son of Heaven and the princes had (also) the towered gateway. In these cases height was the mark.

12. In others, the lowness formed the mark. In sacrificing, the highest reverence was not shown on the raised altar, but on the ground beneath, which had been swept. The vases of the son of Heaven and the princes were set on a tray without feet²; those of Great and other officers on one with feet (3 inches high). In these cases the lowness was the mark of distinction.

13. In others, ornament formed the mark. The son of Heaven wore his upper robe with the dragons figured on it; princes, the lower robe with the axes embroidered on it; Great officers, their lower robe with the symbol of distinction; and other officers, the dark-coloured upper robe, and the lower one red. The cap of the son of Heaven had 12 pendants of jade beads set on strings hanging down of red and green silk; that of princes, 9; that of Great officers of the highest grade, 7; and if they were of the lowest grade, 5; and that of other officers, 3. In these cases the ornament was the mark of distinction.

14. In others, plainness formed the mark. Acts of the greatest reverence admit of no ornament.

¹ This literally is 'nine cubits;' each step, it is said, was a cubit high.

² This tray was four cubits long, two cubits four inches wide, and five inches deep.

The relatives of a father do not put themselves into postures (like other visitors). The Grand jade-token has no engraving on it. The Grand soup has no condiments. The Grand carriage is plain, and the mats in it are of rushes. The goblet with the victim-ox carved on it is covered with a plain white cloth. The ladle is made of white-veined wood. These are cases in which plainness is the mark.

15. Confucius said, 'Ceremonial usages should be most carefully considered.' This is the meaning of the remark that 'while usages are different, the relations between them as many or few should be maintained¹.' His words had reference to the proportioning of rites.

16. That in the (instituting of) rites the multitude of things was considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed outwards. The energy (of nature) shoots forth and is displayed everywhere in all things, with a great discriminating control over their vast multitude. In such a case, how could they keep from making multitude a mark of distinction in rites? Hence the superior men, (the framers), rejoiced in displaying (their discrimination).

But that in (the instituting of) rites the paucity of things was (also) considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed inwards. Extreme as is the energy (of nature) in production, it is exquisite and minute. When we look at all the things under the sky, they do not

¹ See page 392, paragraph 15. We may conclude that the Lî Yun was compiled and published before the Lî KHÎ; or it may be that the sentences common to them both had long been in use.

seem to be in proportion to that energy. In such a case, how could they keep from considering paucity a mark of distinction? Hence the superior men, (the framers), watched carefully over the solitude (of their own thoughts)¹.

17. The ancient sages (thus) gave honour to what was internal, and sought pleasure in what was external; found a mark of distinction in paucity, and one of what was admirable in multitude; and therefore in the ceremonial usages instituted by the ancient kings we should look neither for multitude nor for paucity, but for the due relative proportion.

18. Therefore, when a man of rank uses a large victim in sacrifice, we say he acts according to propriety, but when an ordinary officer does so, we say he commits an act of usurpation.

19. Kwan K'ung had his sacrificial dishes of grain carved, and red bands to his cap; fashioned hills on the capitals of his pillars, and pondweed on the small pillars above the beams²;—the superior man considered it wild extravagance.

20. An Phing-kung, in sacrificing to his father, used a sucking-pig which did not fill the dish, and went to court in an (old) washed robe and cap:—the superior man considered it was niggardliness³.

¹ Callery thinks that the theory about rites underlying this paragraph is 'éminemment obscure.' One difficulty with me is to discover any connection between its parts and what is said in paragraphs 7 and 8 about the 'multitude and paucity of rites.'

² See the Analects, V, xvii, and the note there. In that passage the extravagance is charged on the Sang Wán-kung of paragraph 23.

³ An Phing-kung was a Great officer of K'hi, and ought not to have been so niggardly.

21. Therefore the superior man thinks it necessary to use the utmost care in his practice of ceremonies. They are the bond that holds the multitudes together; and if the bond be removed, those multitudes fall into confusion. Confucius said, 'If I fight, I overcome; when I sacrifice, I receive blessing¹.' He said so, because he had the right way (of doing everything).

22. A superior man will say², 'The object in sacrifices is not to pray; the time of them should not be hastened on; a great apparatus is not required at them; ornamental matters are not to be approved; the victims need not be fat and large; a profusion of the other offerings is not to be admired.'

23. Confucius said, 'How can it be said that Ƴang Wăn-kung was acquainted with the rules of propriety? When Hsiâ Fû-khî went right in the teeth of sacrificial order³, he did not stop him, (nor could he

¹ It is understood that the 'I' is not used by Confucius of himself, but as personating one who knew the true nature of ceremonial usages. See the language again in the next Book, Sect. i, 22; it is found also in the 'Narratives of the School.'

² K'hsên Hào remarks that the compiler of the Book intends himself by 'the superior man.' Thus the compiler delivers his own judgment in an indirect way. Most of what he says will be admitted. It is to the general effect that simple offerings and sincere worship are acceptable, more acceptable than rich offerings and a formal service. But is he right in saying that in sacrificing we should not 'pray?' So long as men feel their own weakness and needs, they will not fail to pray at their religious services. So it has been in China in all the past as much as elsewhere.

³ Hsiâ Fû-khî was the keeper, or minister in charge, of the ancestral temple of Lû, and contemporary with Ƴang Wăn-kung during the marquises of Kwang, Wăn, and Hsi. He introduced at least one great irregularity in the ancestral temple, placing the

prevent) his burning a pile of firewood in sacrificing to the spirit of the furnace. Now that sacrifice is paid to an old wife. The materials for it might be contained in a tub, and the vase is the (common) wine-jar.'

SECTION II.

1. The rules of propriety may be compared to the human body. When the parts of one's body are not complete, the beholder¹ will call him 'An imperfect man;' and so a rule which has been made unsuitably may be denominated 'incomplete.'

Some ceremonies are great, and some small; some are manifest, and some minute. The great should not be diminished, nor the small increased. The manifest should not be hidden, nor the minute made great. But while the important rules are 300, and the smaller rules 3000, the result to which they all lead is one and the same². No one can enter an apartment but by the door.

2. A superior man in his observance of the rules, where he does his utmost and uses the greatest care, is extreme in his reverence and the manifestation of sincerity. Where they excite admiration and an

tablet of Hsî above that of Wăn; and Wăn-kung made no protest. Of the other irregularity mentioned in the text we have not much information; and I need not try to explain it. It seems to me that it must have been greater than the other.

¹ The text has here 'the superior man,' for which Callery has 'au dire du sage.'

² See Book XXVIII, ii, paragraph 38. What the 300 and 3000 rules are is very much disputed. The 'one and the same result' is, according to most, 'reverence and sincerity;' according to some, 'suitability.'

elegant attractiveness, there is (still) that manifestation of sincerity.

3. A superior man, in his consideration of the rules, finds those which are carried directly into practice ; those in which one has to bend and make some modification ; those which are regular and the same for all classes ; those which are diminished in a certain order ; those in which (a kind of) transplantation takes place, and (the ceremony) is distributed ; those in which individuals are pushed forward and take part in the rules of a higher grade ; those in which there are ornamental imitations (of natural objects) ; those in which the ornamental imitations are not carried out so fully ; and those where appropriation (of higher observances) is not deemed usurpation¹.

4. The usages of the three dynasties had one and the same object, and the people all observed them. In such matters as colour, whether it should be white or dark, Hsiâ instituted and Yin adopted (its choice, or did not do so)².

5. Under the *K'âu* dynasty the representatives of

¹ Nine peculiarities in ceremonial usages are here indicated. It would be possible to illustrate them fully after the most approved commentators ; but there would be little advantage in thus recalling the past which has for the most part passed away,—even in China.

² Callery takes a different view of the second sentence in this paragraph, and translates it :—‘(Si quelque chose a subi des modifications, ce n’a été que) la couleur blanche ou la couleur verte (caractéristique de telle ou telle autre dynastie ; en dehors de ces choses peu importantes, pour tout ce qui est essentiel) la dynastie des Yin s’est scrupuleusement conformée à ce qui a été établi par les Hsiâ.’ His view of the whole paragraph, however, comes to much the same as mine.

the dead sat. Their monitors and cup-suppliers observed no regular rules. The usages were the same (as those of Yin), and the underlying principle was one. Under the Hsiâ dynasty, the personators had stood till the sacrifice was ended, (whereas) under Yin they sat. Under K'âu, when the cup went round among all, there were six personators¹. 3ăng-ze said, 'The usages of K'âu might be compared to those of a subscription club².'

6. A superior man will say, 'The usages of ceremony that come closest to our human feelings are not those of the highest sacrifices; (as may be seen in) the blood of the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering (to all the royal ancestors) of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh, where the spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat, where they are presented once³.'

7. And so those usages were not devised by

¹ This would be on occasion of the united sacrifice to all the ancestors; the personator of Hâu K'î being left out of the enumeration, as more honourable than the others.

² That is, all stand equally as if each had paid his contribution to the expenses.

³ The greatest of all sacrifices was that to Heaven in a suburb of the capital; the next was the great triennial or quinquennial sacrifice in the ancestral temple; the third was that at the altars of the land and grain, and of the hills and rivers, which is supposed to be described here as that at which 'the cup' was thrice presented; and the last in order and importance were small sacrifices to individual spirits. The four offerings in the text were presented at the first three; but not in the same order. That to Heaven began with blood; that in the ancestral temple with raw flesh. Those farthest from our human feelings had the place of honour in the greatest services. We must seek for a higher and deeper origin of them than our ordinary feelings.

superior men in order to give expression to their feelings. There was a beginning of them from (the oldest times); as when (two princes) have an interview, there are seven attendants to wait on them and direct them. Without these the interview would be too plain and dull. They reach (the ancestral temple) after the visitor has thrice declined the welcome of the host, and the host has thrice tried to give precedence to the other. Without these courtesies the interview would be too hurried and abrupt.

In the same way, when in L¹ they were about to perform the service to God (in the suburb), they felt it necessary first to have a service in the college with its semicircular pool. When they were about in 3in to sacrifice to the Ho, they would first do so to the pool of W¹. When in K¹ they were about to sacrifice to mount Th¹, they would do so first in the forest of Phei.

Moreover, the keeping the victims (for the altar of Heaven) for three months (in the stable); the abstinence (of the worshippers) for seven days; and the vigil of three days:—all showed the extreme degree of (preparatory) care (for the service).

The ritual arrangements, further, of the reception (of guests) and communication between them and the host, and for assisting and guiding the steps of the (blind) musicians, showed the extreme degree of kindly (provision)¹.

¹ It is not easy to construe this paragraph, nor to discover and indicate the connexion between its different parts. Generally we may say that it illustrates the previous statement about the rites as not simply the expression of natural feeling, but of that feeling wisely guided and embodied so as to be most beneficial to the

8. In ceremonial usages we should go back to the root of them (in the mind), and maintain the old (arrangements of them), not forgetting what they were at first. Hence there is no (need to be) calling attention to the demonstrations expressive of grief¹; and those which (more particularly) belong to the court are accompanied by music. There is the use of sweet spirits, and the value set on water; there is the use of the (ordinary) knife, and the honour expressed by that furnished with (small) bells; there is the comfort afforded by the rush and fine bamboo mats, and the (special) employment of those which are made of straw. Therefore the ancient kings in their institution of the rules of propriety had a ruling idea, and thus it is that they were capable of being transmitted, and might be learned, however many they were.

9. The superior man will say, 'If a man do not have in himself the distinctions (embodied in ceremonies), he will contemplate that embodiment without any intelligent discrimination; if he wish to exercise that discrimination, and not follow the guidance of the rules, he will not succeed in his object. Hence if his practice of ceremonies be not according to the rules, men will not respect them;

individual and society. The auxiliary services in the first part of it were all preparatory to the great services that followed. That in the great college of Lî was concerned with Hâu Kĭ, the ancestor of the House of Kĭu and all its branches, and preliminary to the place he was to occupy at the great sacrifice to Heaven.

The remaining two paragraphs show how the natural feeling was quietly nourished, guided, and modified.

¹ Yet much is said in the Than Kung about those demonstrations of grief in the mourning rites.

and if his words be not according to those rules, men will not believe them. Accordingly it is said, "The rules of ceremony are the highest expression of (the truth of) things."

10. Hence it was that in old times, when the ancient kings instituted ceremonies, they conveyed their idea by means of the qualities of the articles and observances which they employed. In their great undertakings, they were sure to act in accordance with the seasons; in their doings morning and evening, they imitated the sun and moon; in what required a high situation, they took advantage of mounds and hillocks, and in what required a low situation, of the (banks of the) rivers and lakes. Hence each season has its rains and benefits, and those wise men sought to make use of them with intelligence with all the earnestness they could command¹.

11. The ancient kings valued (men's) possession of virtue, honoured those who pursued the right course, and employed those who displayed ability. They selected men of talents and virtue, and

¹ See Callery's translation of this paragraph. He says on it:— 'Cette période offre, par son incohérence, des difficultés sérieuses qui me font supposer une grave altération du texte primitif;' and justifies his own version by the remark, 'Je me suis dit qu'après tout il vaut mieux embellir que défigurer.' He takes the whole, like *K'ang*, as referring to the ceremonies of different sacrifices. *Ying Yung* (Sung dynasty; earlier than *K'ü Hsi*) understood it more generally of other royal and imperial doings. The *K'ien-lung* editors say that the two views must be united. They remark on the last sentence that, as 'every season has its appropriate productions and every situation its own suitabilities, we must examine them in order to use things appropriately.'

appointed them. They assembled the whole of them and solemnly addressed them¹.

12. Then in accordance with (the height of) heaven they did service to Heaven, in accordance with (the lower position of) earth they did service to Earth; taking advantage of the famous hills they ascended them, and announced to Heaven the good government (of the princes). When thus at the felicitous spot (chosen for their capitals) they presented their offerings to God in the suburb and announced to Heaven (the general good government from the famous hills), the phoenix descended, and tortoises and dragons made their appearance². When they presented their offerings to God in the suburb the winds and rains were duly regulated, and the cold and heat came each in its proper time, so that the sage (king) had only to stand with his face to the south, and order prevailed all under the sky.

13. The courses of the heavenly (bodies) supply the most perfect lessons, and the sages possessed the highest degree of virtue. Above, in the hall of the ancestral temple, there was the jar, with clouds and hills represented on it on the east, and that with the victim represented on it on the west. Below the hall the larger drums were suspended on the west, and the smaller drums answering to them on the east. The ruler appeared at the (top of the) steps on the east; his wife was in the apartment on the west. The great luminary makes his appearance in

¹ The 'selection' here, it is understood, was of the functionaries to take part in the sacrificial ceremonies, and the solemn address was on the duties they had to perform.

² See pp. 392, 393, paragraph 16.

the east; the moon makes her appearance in the west. Such are the different ways in which the processes of darkness and light are distributed in nature, and such are the arrangements for the positions (corresponding thereto) of husband and wife. The ruler fills his cup from the jar with an elephant represented on it; his wife fills hers from that with clouds and hills. With such reciprocation do the ceremonies proceed above, while the music responds in the same way below;—there is the perfection of harmony.

14. It is the object of ceremonies to go back to the circumstances from which they sprang, and of music to express pleasure in the results which first gave occasion to it. Thus it was that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies, sought to express their regulation of circumstances, and, in their cultivation of music, to express the aims they had in mind. Hence by an examination of their ceremonies and music, the conditions of order and disorder in which they originated can be known. *K'ü Po-yü*¹ said, 'A wise man, by his intelligence, from the sight of any article, knows the skill of the artificer, and from the contemplation of an action knows the wisdom of its performer.' Hence there is the saying, 'The superior man watches over the manner in which he maintains his intercourse with other men.'

15. Within the ancestral temple reverence prevailed. The ruler himself led the victim forward,

¹ A friend, and perhaps a disciple of Confucius, an officer of the state of Wei. He is mentioned in the Confucian Analects and in Mencius.

while the Great officers assisted and followed, bearing the offerings of silk. The ruler himself cut out (the liver) for (the preliminary) offering, while his wife bore the dish in which it should be presented. The ruler himself cut up the victim, while his wife presented the spirits.

The high ministers and Great officers followed the ruler; their wives followed his wife. How grave and still was their reverence! How were they absorbed in their sincerity! How earnest was their wish that their offerings should be accepted! The arrival of the victim was announced (to the spirits) in the courtyard; on the presentation of the blood and the flesh with the hair on it, announcement was made in the chamber; on the presentation of the soup and boiled meat, in the hall. The announcement was made thrice, each time in a different place; indicating how they were seeking for the spirits, and had not yet found them. When the sacrifice was set forth in the hall, it was repeated next day outside (the gate of the temple); and hence arose the saying, 'Are they there? Are they here?'

16. One offering of the cup showed the simplicity of the service; three offerings served to ornament it; five, to mark discriminating care; and seven, to show (the reverence for) the spirits¹.

17. Was not the great quinquennial sacrifice a service belonging to the king? The three animal victims, the fish, and flesh, were the richest tributes for the

¹ The sacrifices where only one cup was presented were, it is said, the smallest; three cups belonged to the altars of the land and grain; five, to those of the hills and rivers; and seven, to those in the ancestral temple. All this is quite uncertain.

palate from all within the four seas and the nine provinces. The fruits and grain presented in the high dishes of wood and bamboo were the product of the harmonious influences of the four seasons. The tribute of metal showed the harmonious submission (of the princes). The rolls of silk with the round pieces of jade placed on them showed the honour they rendered to virtue. The tortoise was placed in front of all the other offerings, because of its knowledge of the future; the tribute of metal succeeded to it, showing the (hold it has on) human feelings. The vermilion, the varnish, the silk, the floss, the large bamboos and the smaller for arrows—the articles which all the states contribute; with the other uncommon articles, which each state contributed according to its resources, even to those from the remote regions:—(these followed the former). When the visitors left they were escorted with the music of the Sze Hsiâ¹. All these things showed how important was the sacrifice.

18. In the sacrifice to God in the suburb, we have the utmost expression of reverence. In the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, we have the utmost expression of humanity. In the rites of mourning, we have the utmost expression of leal-heartedness. In the preparation of the robes and vessels for the dead, we have the utmost expression of affection. In

¹ We are told in the *Kâu Lî*, Book XXIII, art. 32, that the bell master, with bells and drums, performed the nine Hsiâ pieces, on the occasions appropriate to them. The second of them was 'the Sze Hsiâ,' as here, but the occasion for it in the text would be inappropriate. The eighth, or Kâi Hsiâ, would be appropriate here, and hence K'ang said that sze was a mistake for kâi (咳).

the use of gifts and offerings between host and guest, we have the utmost expression of what is right. Therefore when the superior man would see the ways of humanity and righteousness, he finds them rooted in these ceremonial usages.

19. A superior man has said, 'What is sweet may be tempered; what is white may be coloured. So the man who is right in heart and sincere can learn the (meaning of the) rites.' The rites should not be perfunctorily performed by the man who is not right in heart and sincere. Hence it is all important (in the performance of them) to get the proper men.

20. Confucius said, 'One may repeat the three hundred odes, and not be fit to offer the sacrifice where there is (but) one offering of the cup. He may offer that sacrifice, and not be fit to join in a great sacrifice. He may join in such a sacrifice, and not be fit to offer a great sacrifice to the hills. He may perform that fully, and yet not be able to join in the sacrifice to God. Let no one lightly discuss the subject of rites¹.'

¹ It is not easy to trace satisfactorily the progress of thought here from one sacrificial service to another. 'The great sacrifice' is understood to be the triennial or quinquennial sacrifice to all the ancestors of the ruling House. It is a great step to that from a small sacrifice where only one cup was presented. What 'the great sacrifice to the hills was' is uncertain. It is in the text Tâ Lû (大旅). The meaning of Lû as a sacrifice to the spirit of a hill is well established from the Analects III, 6. Once the phrase Tâ Lû appears as used in the Kâu Lî, Book V, 91, of the royal sacrifice to God ('Lorsque l'empereur offre un grand sacrifice au Seigneur Suprême,' Biot); but it cannot have that meaning here, because the text goes on to speak of that sacrifice as superior to this. K'ang Hsüan made Tâ Lû to be the sacrifice to the 'five Tis,' or the five Planetary Gods, which view, as

21. When 3ze-lû was steward to the House of Kî, its chief had been accustomed to commence his sacrifices before it was light, and when the day was insufficient for them, to continue them by torchlight. All engaged in them, however strong they might appear, and however reverent they might be, were worn out and tired. The officers limped and leaned, wherever they could, in performing their parts, and the want of reverence was great. Afterwards, when 3ze-lû took the direction of them, the sacrifices proceeded differently. For the services in the chamber, he had parties communicating outside and inside the door; and for those in the hall, he had parties communicating at the steps. As soon as it was light, the services began, and by the time of the evening audience all were ready to retire. When Confucius heard of this management, he said, 'Who will say that this Yû does not understand ceremonies¹?'

the *Khien-lung* editors point out, cannot be adopted. And how any sacrifice to the hills, however great, could be represented as greater than the quinquennial sacrifice in the ancestral temple, I cannot understand. I must leave the paragraph in the obscurity that belongs to it.

¹ The *Khien-lung* editors say:—'3ze-lû was a leal-hearted and sincere man, and the Book ends with this account of him. From the mention of the preparation of the rites on a great scale and of their high value at the beginning of the Book down to this tribute to 3ze-lû as understanding ceremonies, its whole contents show that what is valuable in the rites is the combination of the idea of what is right with the elegant and outward form as sufficient to remove from a man all perversity and increase what is good in his nature, without a multiplicity of forms which would injure the natural goodness and sincerity, and lead their practiser to a crooked perversity. Deep and far-reaching is the idea of it!'

BOOK IX. THE KIÃO THEH SĂNG

OR

THE SINGLE VICTIM AT THE BORDER SACRIFICES¹.

SECTION I.

1. At the border sacrifices a single victim was used, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain there was (the full complement of) three victims². When the son of Heaven went on his

¹ See the introductory notice, p. 26.

² The object of the statements here and some other paragraphs is to show that the degree of honour was expressed by the 'paucity' of the articles; compare last Book, Sect. i, paragraph 8. Perhaps the name *Kiào* (郊) in the title should be translated in the plural as the name for all the border sacrifices, or those offered in the suburbs of the capital. There were several of them, of which the greatest was that at the winter solstice, on the round hillock in the southern suburb. Besides this, there was in the first month the border sacrifice for 'grain,'—to pray for the blessing of Heaven on the agricultural labours of the year, in which *Hâu K'i*, the father of the line of *K'âu*, and its 'Father of Husbandry,' was associated by that dynasty. There were also the five seasonal border sacrifices, of which we have mention in the different parts of Book IV, though, so far as what is said in them goes, the idea of Heaven falls into the background, and the five deified ancient sovereigns come forward as so many *T'is*. In the first month of summer there was, further, a great border sacrifice for rain, and in the last month of autumn a great border sacrifice of thanksgiving. 'Of all these border sacrifices,' say the *K'ien-lung* editors, 'there is clear evidence in classical texts.' Into the discussions growing out of them about 'one Heaven,' or 'five Heavens,' and about their origin, it is not necessary that I should enter; it would be foreign, indeed, to my object in this translation to do so. The

inspecting tours to the princes, the viands of the feast to him were composed of a (single) calf; and when they visited him, the rites with which he received them showed the three regular animals. (The feasting of him in such a manner) was to do honour to the idea of sincerity¹. Therefore if the animal happened to be pregnant, the son of Heaven did not eat of it, nor did he use such a victim in sacrificing to God².

2. The horses of the Grand carriage had one ornamental tassel at the breast; those of the carriages that preceded had three; and those of the carriages that followed had five³. There were the blood at the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh where spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat where they are presented once³:—these were expressive of the greatest reverence, but the taste was not valued; what was held in honour was the scent of the air⁴. When the princes appeared as guests,

border sacrifices were the greatest religious or ceremonial services of the ancient Chinese; and the fact to which our attention is called in this Book, is that at them there was used only a single victim.

¹ Why 'a calf?' 'Because of its guileless simplicity,' says Kâu Hsü of our eleventh century; earlier than K'ü Hsî, who adopted his explanation. The calf, whether male or female, has not yet felt the appetency of sex, and is unconscious of any 'dissipation.' This is a refinement on the Hebrew idea of the victim lamb, 'without blemish.'

² This might be referred to his unwillingness to take life unnecessarily, but for what has just been said about the calf.

³ See last Book, Sect. i, 8; and Sect. ii, 6.

⁴ Little is said on the meaning of this statement, which appears to say that the most subtle and ethereal thing in sacrifices, the

they were presented with herb-flavoured spirits, because of their fragrance; at the great entertainment to them the value was given to (the preliminary) pieces of flesh prepared with cinnamon and nothing more.

3. At a great feast (to the ruler of another state), the ruler (who was the host) received the cup seated on his three mats. (On occasion of a visit through a minister or Great officer) when the cup was thrice presented, the ruler received it on a single mat:—so did he descend from the privilege of his more honourable rank, and assume the lower distinction (of his visitor).

4. In feasting (the orphaned young in spring) and at the vernal sacrifice in the ancestral temple they had music; but in feeding (the aged) and at the autumnal sacrifice they had no music:—these were based in the developing and receding influences (prevalent in nature). All drinking serves to nourish the developing influence; all eating to nourish the receding influence. Hence came the different character of the vernal and autumnal sacrifices; the feasting the orphaned young in spring, and the feeding the aged in autumn:—the idea was the same. But in the feeding and at the autumnal sacrifice there was no music. Drinking serves to nourish the developing influence and therefore is accompanied with music. Eating serves to nourish the receding influ-

'sweet savour' of the offerings, was the most important, and should excite the worshippers to add to their sincerity and reverence all other graces of character. The same lesson was given to the feudal princes when they were entertained as visitors at the royal court.

ence, and therefore is not accompanied with music. All modulation of sound partakes of the character of development.

5. The number of tripods and meat-stands was odd, and that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even¹; this also was based in the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences. The stands were filled with the products of the water and the land. They did not dare to use for them things of extraordinary flavours² or to attach a value to the multitude and variety of their contents, and it was thus that they maintained their intercourse with spiritual intelligences.

6. When the guests had entered the great door³, the music struck up the Sze Hsiâ⁴, showing the blended ease and respect (of the king). (While feasting), at the end of (every) cup the music stopped (for a moment), a practice of which Confucius often indicated his admiration. When the last cup had been put down, the performers ascended the hall, and sang;—exhibiting the virtues (of host and guests). The singers were (in the hall) above, and the organists were (in the court) below;—the honour being thus

¹ Every Chinese scholar knows that odd numbers all belong to the category of Yang (——), and even numbers to that of Yin (— —).

² The meaning of this clause is uncertain, and I have not found it anywhere sufficiently explained, considering what the characters are (褻味).

³ This paragraph and the next describe ceremonies on occasion of the king's reception of the great nobles, when they appeared in great force at court. With this the expurgated Lî Kî begins.

⁴ See note 1, page 413.

given to the human voice. Music comes from the expanding influence (that operates in nature); ceremonies from the contracting. When the two are in harmony, all things obtain (their full development).

7. There were no fixed rules for the various articles of tribute. They were the different products of the different territories according to their several suitabilities, and were regulated by their distances (from the royal domain). The tortoises were placed in front of all the other offerings;—because (the shell) gave the knowledge of the future. The bells succeeded to them;—because of their harmony, they were a symbol of the union of feeling that should prevail¹. Then there were the skins of tigers and leopards;—emblems of the fierce energy with which insubordination would be repressed; and there were the bundles of silks with disks of jade on them,—showing how (the princes) came to (admire and experience) the virtue (of the king).

8. (The use of) a hundred torches in his courtyard began with duke Hwan of *K'hi*. The playing of the Sze Hsiâ (at receptions) of Great officers began with *K'ao Wăn-jze*².

9. When appearing at another court, for a Great officer to have a private audience was contrary to propriety. If he were there as a commissioner, bearing

¹ As we have no account anywhere of bells, made, being sent as tribute, many understand the name as merely = 'metal.'

² This and the five paragraphs that follow seem the work of another hand, and are not in the expurgated *K'ī*. Duke Hwan was the first and greatest of 'the five presiding princes' of the *K'hun K'hiū* period. He died B.C. 643. *K'ao Wăn-jze* was a Great officer and chief minister of *Šin* about a century after. The king alone might have a hundred torches in his courtyard.

his own prince's token of rank, this served as his credentials. That he did not dare to seek a private audience showed the reverence of his loyalty. What had he to do with the tribute-offerings in the court of the other prince that he should seek a private audience? The minister of a prince had no intercourse outside his own state, thereby showing how he did not dare to serve two rulers.

10. For a Great officer to receive his ruler to an entertainment was contrary to propriety. For a ruler to put to death a Great officer who had violently exercised his power was (held) an act of righteousness; and it was first seen in the case of the three Hwan¹.

The son of Heaven did not observe any of the rules for a visitor or guest;—no one could presume to be his host. When a ruler visited one of his ministers, he went up to the hall by the steps proper to the master;—the minister did not presume in such a case to consider the house to be his own. According to the rules for audiences, the son of Heaven did not go down from the hall and meet the princes. To descend from the hall and meet the princes, was an error on the part of the son of Heaven, which began with king Í², and was afterwards observed.

¹ The 'three Hwan' intended here were three sons of duke Hwan' of Lû, known as *K'ing-fû*, *Yâ*, and *Kî-yû*; see the 30 *Kwan*, and *Kung-yang*, on the last year of duke *Kwang*. Instances of the execution of strong and insubordinate officers in different states, more to the point, had occurred before; but the writer had in mind only the history of Lû.

² Í was the ninth of the sovereigns of *Kâu* (B.C. 894–879); with him appeared the first symptoms of decline in the dynasty.

11. For the princes to suspend (their drums and bells) in four rows like the walls of an apartment (after the fashion of the king), and to use a white bull in sacrificing¹; to strike the sonorous jade; to use the red shields with their metal fronts and the cap with descending tassels in dancing the Tâ-wû; and to ride in the grand chariot:—these were usages which they usurped. The towered gateway with the screen across the path, and the stand to receive the emptied cups; the axes embroidered on the inner garment with its vermilion colour:—these were usurpations of the Great officers. Thus, when the son of Heaven was small and weak, the princes pushed their usurpations; and when the Great officers were strong, the princes were oppressed by them. In this state (those officers) gave honour to one another as if they had been of (high) degree; had interviews with one another and made offerings; and bribed one another for their individual benefit: and thus all usages of ceremony were thrown into disorder. It was not lawful for the princes to sacrifice to the king to whom they traced their ancestry, nor for the Great officers to do so to the rulers from whom they sprang. The practice of having a temple to such rulers in their private families, was contrary to propriety. It originated with the three Hwan².

12. The son of Heaven³ preserved the descend-

¹ That a white bull was used in Lî in sacrificing to the duke of Kâu, appears from the fourth of the Praise Odes of Lî. See vol. iii, p. 343.

² These must be the three families of Lî, so powerful in the time of Confucius, all descended from duke Hwan. The expression 'in this (state)' shows that the writer was a man of Lî.

³ We must think of this 'son of Heaven' as the founder of a

ants of (the sovereigns of) the two (previous) dynasties, still honouring the worth (of their founders). But this honouring the (ancient) worthies did not extend beyond the two dynasties.

13. Princes did not employ as ministers refugee rulers¹. Hence anciently refugee rulers left no son who continued their title.

14. A ruler stood with his face towards the south, to show that he would be (in his sphere) what the influence of light and heat was (in nature). His ministers stood with their faces to the north, in response to him. The minister of a Great officer did not bow his face to the ground before him, not from any honour paid to the minister, but that the officer might avoid receiving the homage which he had paid himself to the ruler.

15. When a Great officer was presenting (anything to his ruler), he did not do so in his own person; when the ruler was making him a gift, he did not go to bow in acknowledgment to him:—that the ruler might not (have the trouble of) responding to him.

16. When the villagers were driving away pestilential influences, Confucius would stand at the top of his eastern steps, in his court robes, to keep the spirits (of his departed) undisturbed in their shrines².

new dynasty. Thus it was that king Wû of Kâu enfeoffed the duke of Sung as representing the kings of Shang, and the rulers of Kû as representing those of Hsiâ.

¹ Rulers expelled from their own state. But the princes might employ their sons as ministers, who ceased to be named from their former dignity.

² See the Confucian Analects X, 10, 2, and note. Dr. Williams (on 禘) says that the ceremony is now performed by the Board of Rites ten days before the new year.

17. Confucius said, 'The practice of archery to the notes of music (is difficult). How shall the archer listen, and how shall he shoot, (that the two things shall be in harmony)?'

Confucius said, 'When an officer is required to shoot, if he be not able, he declines on the ground of being ill, with reference to the bow suspended at the left of the door (at his birth)¹.'

18. Confucius said, 'There are three days' fasting on hand. If one fast for the first day, he should still be afraid of not being (sufficiently) reverent. What are we to think of it, if on the second day he beat his drums²?'

19. Confucius said, 'The repetition of the sacrifice next day inside the Khû gate; the searching for the spirits in the eastern quarter; and the holding the market in the morning in the western quarter:—these all are errors.'

20. At the Shê, they sacrificed to (the spirits of) the land, and on the tablet rested the power of the darker and retiring influence of nature. The ruler stands (in sacrificing) with his face to the south at the foot of the wall on the north, responding to the idea of that influence as coming from the north. A *kiâ* day is used (for the sacrifice),—to employ a commencing day (in the Cycle)³.

¹ Every gentleman was supposed to learn archery as one of the 'six liberal arts;' and a bow was suspended near the door on the birth of a boy in recognition of this. The excuse in the paragraph is a lame one. See the 'Narratives of the School,' article 28; and Book XLIII, 19.

² 'Narratives of the School,' XLIV, 9.

³ There are of course six decades of days in the Cycle, each beginning with a *kiâ* day.

The great Shê altar of the son of Heaven was open to receive the hoarfrost, dew, wind, and rain, and allow the influences of heaven and earth to have full development upon it. For this reason the Shê altar of a state that had perished was roofed in, so that it was not touched by the brightness and warmth of Heaven. The altar (of Yin) at Po¹ had an opening in the wall on the north, so that the dim and cold (moon) might shine into it.

21. In the sacrifice at the Shê altars they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit. The earth supported all things, while heaven hung out its brilliant signs. They derived their material resources from the earth; they derived rules (for their courses of labour) from the heavens. Thus they were led to give honour to heaven and their affection to the earth, and therefore they taught the people to render a good return (to the earth). (The Heads of) families provided (for the sacrifice to it) at the altar in the open court (of their houses); in the kingdom and the states they did so at the Shê altars; showing how it was the source (of their prosperity).

When there was a sacrifice at the Shê altar of a village², some one went out to it from every house. When there was such a sacrifice in preparation for a hunt, the men of the state all engaged in it. When there was such a sacrifice, from the towns, small and large, they contributed their vessels of rice, thereby

¹ Po had been the capital of the Shang dynasty. The site was in the present Ho-nan; changed more than once, but always retaining the name. We have the Northern, the Southern, and the Western Po.

² See page 259, paragraph 7.

expressing their gratitude to the source (of their prosperity) and going back in their thoughts to the beginning (of all being).

22. In the last month of spring¹, the fire star having appeared, they set fire to (the grass and brushwood). When this was done, they reviewed the chariots and men, numbering the companies of a hundred and of five. Then the ruler in person addressed them in front of the Shê altar, and proceeded to exercise their squadrons, now wheeling to the left, now wheeling to the right, now making them lie down, now making them rise up; and observing how they practised these evolutions. When the game came in sight and the desire of capturing it was exerted, (he watched) to see that (the hunters) did not break any of the rules (for their proceedings). It was thus sought to bring their wills into subjection, and make them not pursue the animals (in an irregular way). In this way such men conquered in fight, and such sacrificing obtained blessing.

SECTION II.

1. The son of Heaven, in his tours (of Inspection) to the four quarters (of the kingdom), as the first thing (on his arrival at each) reared the pile of wood (and set fire to it)².

¹ Perhaps 'the last month' should be 'the second month.' There is much contention on the point.

² This paragraph is not in the expurgated Lî. It does seem out of place, for the book goes on to speak of the border or suburban sacrifices presented in the vicinity of the capital, and having nothing to do with the tours of Inspection, of which we

2. At the (Great) border sacrifice, he welcomed the arrival of the longest day. It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven, and the sun was the chief object considered in it¹. The space marked off for it was in the southern suburb;—the place most open to the brightness and warmth (of the heavenly

first read in the Canon of Shun, in the Shû. Those tours, however, were understood to be under the direction of Heaven, and the lighting of the pile of wood, on reaching the mountain of each quarter, is taken as having been an announcement to Heaven of the king's arrival.

¹ P. Callery has here the following note:—'Il résulte de ce passage et de plusieurs autres des chapitres suivants, que dès les temps les plus anciens, les Chinois rendaient au soleil un véritable culte, sans même y supposer un esprit ou génie dont il fût la demeure, ainsi qu'ils le faisaient pour les montagnes, les rivières et tous les autres lieux auxquels ils offraient des sacrifices. De nos jours encore on sacrifie au soleil et à la lune; mais c'est plutôt un acte officiel de la part des autorités, qu'une pratique de conviction, car le peuple Chinois n'a pas, comme les Japonais, une grande dévotion pour l'astre du jour. Voyez la fin du chapitre XVIII.'

The text conveys no idea to me of such an ancient worship, but I call the attention of the reader to Callery's view. The other passages to which he refers will be noticed as they occur. For my, 'and the sun was the principal object regarded in it,' he says, 'C'est le soleil qui est le principal objet (des adorations).' The original text is simply 而主日. I let my translation stand as I first made it; but on a prolonged consideration, I think, it would be more accurate to say, 'and the sun was considered (for the occasion) as the residence of (the spirit of) Heaven.' Such an acceptance of 主 is quite legitimate. The sun became for the time the 'spirit-tablet (神主)' of Heaven. Fang K'ueh says:—'(The Son of Heaven) was welcoming the arrival of the longest day, and therefore he regarded the sun as the residence (for the time) of the spirit of Heaven. That spirit could not be seen; what could be looked up to and beheld were only the sun, moon, and stars.'

influence). The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept for the purpose;—to mark the simplicity (of the ceremony). The vessels used were of earthenware and of gourds;—to emblem the natural (productive power of) heaven and earth. The place was the suburb, and therefore the sacrifice was called the suburban or border. The victim was red, that being the colour preferred by the (*Káu*) dynasty; and it was a calf;—to show the estimation of simple sincerity.

3. For (all) sacrifices in the border they used a *hsin day*¹; because when *Káu* first offered the border sacrifice, it was the longest day, and its name began with *hsin*.

4. When divining about the border sacrifice, (the king) received the reply in the fane of his (great) ancestor, and the tortoise-shell was operated on in that of his father;—honour being thus done to his ancestor, and affection shown to his father. On the day of divination, he stood by the lake², and listened himself to the declarations and orders which were

¹ The mention of the 'hsin day' requires that we should understand *xiào* (郊) here of other sacrifices so called, and not merely of the great one at the winter solstice. The *K'ien-lung* editors say:—'The border sacrifices for which they used the *hsin* days were those at which they prayed for a good year. They used such a day, because when king *Wû* offered his great sacrifice after the battle of *Mû-yêh*, and announced the completion of his enterprise, the day was *hsin-hâi*, and from it dated *Káu's* possession of the kingdom, and the *hsin* days became sacred days for the dynasty.' There were of course three *hsin* days in every month.

² The 'lake' here must be a name for the royal college with the water round it. So *Lû Tien* and others explain it (澤蓋學)

delivered¹,—showing an example of receiving lessons and reproof. (The officers) having communicated to him the orders (to be issued), he gives warning notice of them to all the officers (of a different surname from himself), inside the Khû gate (of the palace), and to those of the same surname, in the Grand temple.

5. On the day of the sacrifice, the king in his skin cap waits for the news that all is ready,—showing the people how they ought to venerate their superiors. Those who were engaged in mourning rites did not wail nor venture to put on their mourning dress. (The people) watered and swept the road, and turned it up afresh with the spade; at (the top of) the fields in the neighbourhood they kept torches burning,—thus without special orders complying with (the wish of) the king².

6. On that day, the king assumed the robe with the ascending dragons on it as an emblem of the heavens³. He wore the cap with the pendants of jade-pearls, to the number of twelve⁴, which is the

官辟雍), and Yüan Yüan's dictionary with reference to this paragraph, defines it as 'the place where they practised ceremonies.'

¹ By the officers as the result of the divination.

² It was an established custom that they should do so.

³ 'The robe with the dragons on it,'—Kwän (袞),—is thus described in the dictionary. But there must have been also some emblazonry of the heavenly figures on it also; otherwise it would not have emblemized the heavens. But I have not been able to find this in any dictionary.

⁴ Having now changed the skin cap mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

number of heaven¹. He rode in the plain carriage, because of its simplicity. From the flag hung twelve pendants, and on it was the emblazonry of dragons, and the figures of the sun and moon, in imitation of the heavens. Heaven hangs out its brilliant figures, and the sages imitated them. This border sacrifice is the illustration of the way of Heaven.

7. If there appeared anything infelicitous about the victim intended for God, it was used for that intended for Kî². That intended for God required to be kept in its clean stall for three months. That intended for Kî simply required to be perfect in its parts. This was the way in which they made a distinction between the spirits of Heaven and the manes of a man³.

8. All things originate from Heaven; man originates from his (great) ancestor. This is the reason

¹ 'The heavenly number;'—with reference, I suppose, to the twelve months of the year.

² Kî, better known as Hâu Kî, 'the prince, the minister of agriculture,' appears in the Shû as Shun's minister of agriculture (Kî 棄, vol. iii, pp. 42, 43), and one of the principal assistants of Yü, in his more than Herculean achievement (vol. iii, pp. 56-58); and in the Shih as the father of agriculture (vol. iii, pp. 396-399). To him the kings of Kâu traced their lineage, and they associated him with God at the Great border sacrifice. See the ode to him, so associated, vol. iii, p. 320. In that service there was thus the expression of reverence for God and of filial piety, the second virtue coming in as the complement of the other. It would seem to be implied that they used the ox for Kî for the blemished one.

³ By 'spirit' and 'manes' I have endeavoured to come as near as I could to the different significance of the characters shān (神) and kwei (鬼).

why *K'î* was associated with God (at this sacrifice). In the sacrifices at the border there was an expression of gratitude to the source (of their prosperity and a going back in their thoughts to the beginning of (all being).

9. The great *k'â* sacrifice of the son of Heaven consisted of eight (sacrifices). This sacrifice was first instituted by Yin *K'hi*¹. (The word) *k'â* expresses the idea of searching out. In the twelfth month of a year, they brought together (some of) all the productions (of the harvest), and sought out (the authors of them) to present them to them as offerings.

10. In the *k'â* sacrifice, the principal object contemplated was the Father of Husbandry. They also presented offerings to (ancient) superintendents of husbandry, and to the (discoverers of the) various grains, to express thanks for the crops which had been reaped.

They presented offerings (also) to the (representatives of the ancient inventors of the overseers of the) husbandmen, and of the buildings marking out the boundaries of the fields, and of the birds and beasts. The service showed the highest sentiments of benevolence and of righteousness.

The ancient wise men had appointed all these agencies, and it was felt necessary to make this

¹ Who this Yin *K'hi* was is unknown. *K'ang* thought he was an ancient sovereign. The *K'ien-lung* editors seem to prove in opposition to him and others that he was the minister of some ancient sovereign. His descendants were subordinate ministers under *K'au*, having to do with sacrifice. They are mentioned at the end of the 37th Book of the *K'au Li*.

return to them. They met the (representatives of the) cats, because they devoured the rats and mice (which injured the fruits) of the fields, and (those of) the tigers, because they devoured the (wild) boars (which destroyed them). They met them and made offerings to them. They offered also to (the ancient Inventors of) the dykes and water-channels;—(all these were) provisions for the husbandry¹.

11. They said,—

‘May the ground no sliding show,
Water in its channels flow,
Insects to keep quiet know;
Only in the fens weeds grow!’

They presented their offerings in skin caps and white robes;—in white robes to escort the closing year (to its grave). They wore sashes of dolychos cloth, and carried staffs of hazel,—as being reduced forms of mourning. In the *kâ* were expressed the highest sentiments of benevolence and righteousness.

¹ This and the other paragraphs down to 13 about the *kâ* sacrifice are not in the expurgated copies. It is difficult to understand what it really was. What is said of it leads us to think of it as a Chinese Saturnalia at the end of the year, when all the crops had been gathered in, and the people abandoned themselves to license and revel under the form of sacrificial services. ‘The Father of Husbandry’ was probably Shǎn Nǎng, the successor of Fû-hsí; see vol. iii, pp. 371, 372. ‘The Superintendents of Husbandry’ would be Hâu Kí and others, though Hâu Kí appears in the Shih as really the father of agriculture. ‘The overseer’ occurs in the Shih (vol. iii, p. 371 et al.) as ‘the surveyor of the fields.’ The commentators, so far as I have read, are very chary of giving us any information about the offerings to ‘the cats and tigers.’ Kiang Káo-hsí says, ‘They met the cats and tigers, that is, their spirits (迎貓虎, 卽其神也).’

(After this)¹ they proceeded to sacrifice in yellow robes and yellow caps,—releasing the field-labourers from the toils (of the year). Countrymen wore yellow hats, which were made of straw.

12. The Great Netter² was the officer who had the management for the son of Heaven of his birds and (captured) beasts, and to his department belonged (all such creatures) sent by the princes as tribute. (Those who brought them)³ wore hats of straw or bamboo splints, appearing, by way of honour to it, in that country dress. The Netter declined the deer and women (which they brought)⁴, and announced to the visitors the message (of the king) to this effect, that they might warn the princes with it:—

‘He who loves hunting and women,
Brings his state to ruin.’

The son of Heaven planted gourds and flowering plants; not such things as might be reaped and stored⁵.

¹ This seems to introduce another service, following that of the *kâ*. It is understood to be the *lâ* sacrifice of *K'hin*, described on page 300, paragraph 19.

² We find ‘the Netter’ called Lo (羅氏), as if Lo had become the surname of the family in which the office was hereditary, as the last but one of the departments described in the 30th Book of the *K'âu Lî*.

³ Those would be ‘Great officers’ from the various states, personating for the occasion hunters or labouring men.

⁴ The ‘deer’ would be taken in the chase; the ‘women,’ attractive captives, taken in war. But they would not have such to present from year to year. We can say nothing more about this article of tribute.

⁵ Many take this concluding sentence as part of the king’s message. The *K'ien-lung* editors decide against that view; its meaning is that the king never farmed for his own gain.

13. The *kâ* with its eight sacrifices served to record (the condition of the people) throughout all the quarters (of the country). If in any quarter the year had not been good, it did not contribute to those services,—out of a careful regard to the resources of the people. Where the labours of a good year had been successfully completed, they took part in them,—to give them pleasure and satisfaction. All the harvest having by this time been gathered, the people had nothing to do but to rest, and therefore after the *kâ* wise (rulers) commenced no new work¹.

14. The pickled contents of the ordinary dishes were water-plants produced by the harmonious powers (of nature); the brine used with them was from productions of the land. The additional dishes contained productions of the land with the brine from productions of the water.

The things in the dishes on stands were from both the water and land. They did not venture to use in them the flavours of ordinary domestic use, but variety was considered admirable. It was in this way that they sought to have communion with the spirits; it was not intended to imitate the flavours of food².

15. The things set before the ancient kings served as food, but did not minister to the pleasures of the palate. The dragon-robe, the tasseled cap, and

¹ This paragraph treats of the *kâ* as celebrated in the states.

² The conclusion of this paragraph leads us to take all the dishes spoken of in it as containing sacrificial offerings. It would take too long to discuss all that is said about the 'regular' and the 'additional' dishes in the first part.

the great carriage served for display, but did not awaken a fondness for their use.

The various dances displayed the gravity of the performers, but did not awaken the emotion of delight. The ancestral temple produced the impression of majesty, but did not dispose one to rest in it. Its vessels might be employed (for their purposes in it), but could not be conveniently used for any other. The idea which leads to intercourse with spiritual Beings is not interchangeable with that which finds its realisation in rest and pleasure.

16. Admirable as are the spirits and sweet spirits, a higher value is attached to the dark spirit and the bright water¹,—in order to honour that which is the source of the five flavours. Beautiful as is the elegant embroidery of robes, a higher value is set on plain, coarse cloth,—going back to the commencement of woman's work. Inviting as is the rest afforded by the mats of fine rushes and bamboos, the preference is given to the coarse ones of reeds and straw,—distinguishing the (character of the service in which they were employed). The Grand soup is unseasoned,—in honour of its simplicity. The Grand symbols of jade have no engraving on them,—in admiration of their simple plainness. There is the beauty of the red varnish and carved border

¹ We have seen, before, that 'the dark spirit' is water. Was there a difference between this and 'the bright water?' The *K'ien-lung* editors think so, and refer to the functions of the Sze Hsüan officer (司烜氏, *K'au Li*, Book XXXVII, 41-44), who by means of a mirror drew the bright water from the moon. How he did so, I do not understand. The object of the writer in this part of the section is to exhibit the value of simple sincerity in all religious services.

(of a carriage), but (the king) rides in a plain one,—doing honour to its plainness. In all these things it is simply the idea of the simplicity that is the occasion of the preference and honour. In maintaining intercourse with spiritual and intelligent Beings, there should be nothing like an extreme desire for rest and ease in our personal gratification. It is this which makes the above usages suitable for their purpose.

17. The number of the tripods and meat-stands was odd, but that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even,—having regard to the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences of nature¹. The vase with the yellow eyes² was the most valued of all, and contained the spirit with the fragrant herbs. Yellow is the colour (of earth) which occupies the central place³. In the eye the energy (of nature) appears most purely and brilliantly. Thus the spirit to be poured out is in that cup, the (emblem of the) centre, and (the symbol of) what is most pure and bright appears outside⁴.

¹ See the fifth paragraph of Section i, and the note. It may be added here, after Khung Ying-tâ, that 'the tripod and stand contained the body of the victim, which, as belonging to an animal that moved, was of the category of Yang, but the dishes contained the products of trees and vegetables, which were of the category of Yin.'

² In pictures, this vase was figured with two eyes. They were carved on the substance of the vessel and then gilt, so as to appear yellow.

³ On the central place assigned to the element of earth and its yellow colour, see the supplementary section appended to Book IV, Section ii, Part iii.

⁴ P. Callery characterises the reasoning of this paragraph as 'puéril et grotesque;' and concludes a long note on it with the

18. When sacrificing to Heaven, the earth is swept, and the sacrifice presented on the ground,—from a regard to the simplicity of such an unartificial altar. Admirable as are the vinegar and pickles, suet boiled and produced through evaporation is preferred,—to do honour to the natural product of heaven. An ordinary knife might be employed (to kill the victim), but that fitted with bells is preferred,—giving honour to the idea thereby indicated; there is the harmony of sound, and then the cutting work is done.

SECTION III.

1. (As to) the meaning of (the ceremony of) capping¹:—The cap used for the first act of the service was of black cloth,—the cap of the highest antiquity. It was originally of (white) cloth, but the colour when it was used in fasting was dyed black. As to its strings, Confucius said, 'I have not heard anything about them.' This cap, after it had been once put upon (the young man), might be disused.

2. The son by the wife proper was capped by the eastern stairs (appropriate to the use of the master), to show how he was in their line of succes-

sentence:—'Je laisse à ceux qui peuvent suivre ce logographe dans le texte Chinois, le soin d'en saisir toutes les finesses; car, à mon sens, ce n'est qu'une ineptie.'

¹ These paragraphs about capping are not in the expurgated copy of the *Lî*, and many commentators, especially Wang of Shih-liang, would relegate them to Book XI. And they are not all easy to be understood. The capping was thrice repeated, and each time with a different cap. So much is clear. The names and forms of the caps in paragraph 3 have given rise to much speculation, from which I purposely abstain; nor do I clearly comprehend its relation to the threefold capping in the ceremony.

sion to him. The father handed him a cup in the guests' place (without receiving one in return). The capping showed that he had reached maturity. The using of three caps was to give greater importance (to the ceremony), and show its object more clearly. The giving the name of maturity in connexion with the ceremony was to show the reverence due to that name.

3. The wei-mâo was the fashion of Kâu; the kang-fû, that of Yin; and the mâu-tui, that of the sovereigns of Hsiâ. Kâu used the pien; Yin, the hsü; and Hsiâ, the shâu. The three dynasties all used the skin cap, with the skirt-of-white gathered up at the waist.

4. There were no observances peculiar to the capping (in the families) of Great officers, though there were (peculiar) marriage ceremonies. Anciently a man was fifty when he took the rank of a Great officer; how should there have been peculiar ceremonies at his cappings? The peculiar ceremonies at the cappings as used by the princes arose in the end of the Hsiâ dynasty.

5. The eldest son of the son of Heaven by his proper queen (was capped only as) an ordinary officer. There was nowhere such a thing as being born noble. Princes received their appointments on the hereditary principle, (to teach them) to imitate the virtue of their predecessors. Men received office and rank according to the degree of their virtue. There was the conferring of an honourable designation after death; but that is a modern institution. Anciently, there was no rank on birth, and no honorary title after death.

6. That which is most important in ceremonies is to understand the idea intended in them. While the idea is missed, the number of things and observances in them may be correctly exhibited, as that is the business of the officers of prayer and the recorders. Hence that may all be exhibited, but it is difficult to know the idea. The knowledge of that idea, and the reverent maintenance of it was the way by which the sons of Heaven secured the good government of the kingdom.

7. By the united action of heaven and earth all things spring up. Thus the ceremony of marriage is the beginning of a (line that shall last for a) myriad ages. The parties are of different surnames; thus those who are distant are brought together, and the separation (to be maintained between those who are of the same surname) is emphasised¹. There must be sincerity in the marriage presents; and all communications (to the woman) must be good. She should be admonished to be upright and sincere. Faithfulness is requisite in all service of others, and faithfulness is (specially) the virtue of a wife. Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not change (her feeling of duty to him), and hence, when the husband dies she will not marry (again)².

¹ I do not see how Callery translates here :—‘On rapproche ce qui était éloigné, et on unit ce qui était distinct.’ He says, however, in a note :—‘Ceci se rapporte à l’antique loi, encore en vigueur, qui interdit le mariage entre personnes d’un même nom, parce que lors même qu’il n’existe entre elles aucune trace de parenté, il est possible qu’elles proviennent de la même souche, et se trouvent ainsi sur la ligne directe, où les Chinois admettent une parenté sans fin.’

² This brief sentence about a woman not marrying again is not

8. The gentleman went in person to meet the bride, the man taking the initiative and not the woman,—according to the idea that regulates the relation between the strong and the weak (in all nature). It is according to this same idea that heaven takes precedence of earth, and the ruler of the subject.

9. Presents are interchanged before (the parties) see each other¹;—this reverence serving to illustrate the distinction (that should be observed between man and woman). When this distinction (between husband and wife) is exhibited, affection comes to prevail between father and son. When there is this affection, the idea of righteousness arises in the mind, and to this idea of righteousness succeeds (the observance of) ceremonies. Through those ceremonies there ensues universal repose. The absence of such distinction and righteousness is characteristic of the way of beasts.

10. The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting²),—showing his affection. Having

in the expurgated copies. Callery, however, says upon it:—‘ Dans certains textes du Lî K'î, on trouve à la suite de ce passage une phrase qui restreint à la femme cette immutabilité perpétuelle dans le mariage. En effet, les lois Chinoises ont de tout temps permis à l'homme de se remarier après la mort de sa première femme, tandis que pour les veuves, les secondes noces ont toujours été plus ou moins flétries, ou par la loi, ou par l'usage.’

¹ Callery has for this:—‘ Les présents que porte l'époux dans ses visites.’ But the young people did not see each other till the day of the marriage.

² On the ‘strap’ to help in mounting the carriage, see p. 45, et al. Callery has here ‘les rênes.’ The text would seem to say that the bridegroom was himself driving, and handed the strap to help the other up; but that would have been contrary to all etiquette;

that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom. In passing out from the great gate (of her father's house), he precedes, and she follows, and with this the right relation between husband and wife commences. The woman follows (and obeys) the man:—in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son. 'Man' denotes supporter. A man by his wisdom should (be able to) lead others.

11. The dark-coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil, (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it will be to give the lord for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past;—is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it? Husband and wife ate together of the same victim,—thus declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him¹.

and they appear immediately, not sitting together, but following each other.

¹ It is exceedingly difficult to construe this sentence, nor do the commentators give a translator much help. Rendering *ad verbum*, all that we have is this:—'The dark-coloured cap, self-purification (and) abstinence; spiritual beings, Yin (and) Yang.' K'ang's explanation is very brief:—'The dark-coloured cap (was) the dress in sacrificing. Yin (and) Yang mean husband and wife.' I have

12. The old rule at sacrifices was to have the vessels (only) of earthenware and gourds; and when the kings of the three dynasties instituted the (partaking of the) victim, those were the vessels employed. On the day after the marriage, the wife, having washed her hands, prepared and presented (a sucking-pig) to her husband's parents; and when they had done eating, she ate what was left,—as a mark of their special regard. They descended from the hall by the steps on the west, while she did so by those on the east;—so was she established in the wife's (or mistress's) place.

13. At the marriage ceremony, they did not employ music,—having reference to the feeling of solitariness and darkness (natural to the separation from parents). Music expresses the energy of the bright and expanding influence. There was no congratulation on marriage;—it indicates how (one generation of) men succeeds to another¹.

tried to catch and indicate the ideas in the mind of the writer. Taken as I have done, the passage is a most emphatic declaration of the religious meaning which was attached to marriage. Dr. Medhurst (*Theology of the Chinese*, pp. 88, 89) has translated the greater part of the paragraph, but not very successfully, thus:—‘A black crown, with fasting and watching, is the way to serve the Kwei Shins, as well as the male and female principle of nature. The same is the case also (with regard to marriages which are contracted) with the view of obtaining some one to perpetuate the lares domestici (社稷); and principally respect obtaining successors for our ancestors:—can they therefore be conducted without reverence?’

¹ See p. 322, paragraph 20; where Confucius says that in a certain case the bridegroom's family has no music for three days, on the ground that the bridegroom had lost his parents, and sorrow was more suitable than mirth as he thought of their

14. At the sacrifices in the time of the lord of Yü the smell was thought most important. There were the offerings of blood, of raw flesh, and of sodden flesh ;—all these were employed for the sake of the smell.

15. Under the Yin, sound was thought most important. Before there was any smell or flavour, the music was made to resound clearly. It was not till there had been three performances of it that they went out to meet (and bring in) the victim. The noise of the music was a summons addressed to all between heaven and earth.

16. Under the *K'âu*, a pungent odour was thought most important. In libations they employed the smell of millet-spirits in which fragrant herbs had been infused. The fragrance, partaking of the nature of the receding influence, penetrates to the deep springs below. The libations were poured from cups with long handles of jade, (as if) to employ (also) the smell of the mineral. After the liquor was poured, they met (and brought in) the victim, having first diffused the smell into the unseen realm. *Artemisia* along with millet and rice having then been burned (with the fat of the victim), the fragrance penetrates through all the building. It was for this reason that, after the cup had been put down, they burnt the fat with the southernwood and millet and rice.

17. So careful were they on all occasions of sacri-

being gone. This statement was generalised by the writer ; but in the Shih, as in ordinary life, music is an accompaniment of marriage. See the paraphrase of the 'Amplification of the fourth of the *Khang-hsi* precepts.'

fice. The intelligent spirit returns to heaven ; the body and the animal soul return to the earth ; and hence arose the idea of seeking (for the deceased) in sacrifice in the unseen darkness and in the bright region above. Under the Yin, they first sought for them in the bright region ; under *Kâu*, they first sought for them in the dark.

18. They informed the officer of prayer in the apartment ; they seated the representative of the departed in the hall ; they killed the victim in the courtyard. The head of the victim was taken up to the apartment. This was at the regular sacrifice, when the officer of prayer addressed himself to the spirit-tablet of the departed. If it were (merely) the offering of search, the minister of prayer takes his place at the inside of the gate of the temple. They knew not whether the spirit were here, or whether it were there, or far off, away from all men. Might not that offering inside the gate be said to be a searching for the spirit in its distant place ?

19. That service at the gate was expressive of the energy of the search. The stand with the heart and tongue of the victim (set forth before the personator) was expressive of reverence. (The wish of the principal) for wealth (to those assisting him) included all happiness. The (presentation of the) head was (intended as) a direct (communication with the departed). The presence (of the representative) was that the spirit might enjoy (the offerings). The blessing (pronounced by him) was for long continuance, and comprehensive. The personator (seemed) to display (the departed).

20. The (examination of the) hair and the (taking

of the) blood was an announcement that the victim was complete within and without. This announcement showed the value set on its being perfect¹. The offering of the blood was because of the breath which is contained in it. They offered (specially) the lungs, the liver, and the heart, doing honour to those parts as the home of the breath.

21. In offering the millet and the glutinous millet, they presented the lungs along with it. In offering the various prepared liquors, they presented the bright water;—in both cases acknowledging their obligations to the dark and receding influence (in nature). In taking the fat of the inwards and burning it, and in taking the head up (to the hall), they made their acknowledgments to the bright and active influence.

22. In the bright water and the clear liquor the thing valued was their newness. All clarifying is a sort of making new. The water was called 'bright' because the principal in the service had purified it.

23. When the ruler bowed twice with his head to the ground, and, with breast bared, himself applied

¹ From the middle of paragraph 10 to 18 inclusive is not in the expurgated edition, which closes with the nineteenth paragraph and the half of the twenty-first. I need not quote Callery's translation of this portion, but he says on it:—'Ce passage est un de ceux qui se refusent le plus à la traduction, et qui renferment, au fond, le moins d'idées claires et raisonnables. L'auteur a voulu, ce me semble, donner une explication mystique à des mots et à des coutumes qui n'en étaient point susceptibles, et il lui est arrivé, comme à certains commentateurs bibliques du moyen âge, de faire un galimatias, auquel lui même, sans doute, ne comprenait rien.'—On what the author says about the hair and blood, compare vol. iii, page 370.

the knife, this expressed his extreme reverence. Yes, his extreme reverence, for there was submission in it. The bowing showed his submission; the laying the head on the ground did that emphatically; and the baring his breast was the greatest (outward) exhibition of the feeling.

24. When the sacrificer styled himself 'the filial son,' or 'the filial grandson,' he did so (in all cases) according to the meaning of the name. When he styled himself 'So and So, the distant descendant,' that style was used of (the ruler of) a state or (the Head of) a clan. (Though) there were the assistants at the service, the principal himself gave every demonstration of reverence and performed all his admirable service without yielding anything to any one.

25. The flesh of the victim might be presented raw and as a whole, or cut up in pieces, or sodden, or thoroughly cooked; but how could they know whether the spirit enjoyed it? The sacrificer simply showed his reverence to the utmost of his power.

26. (When the representative of the departed) had made the libation with the *kîâ* cup, or the horn, (the sacrificer) was told (to bow to him) and put him at ease. Anciently, the representative stood when nothing was being done; when anything was being done, he sat. He personated the spirit; the officer of prayer was the medium of communication between him and the sacrificer.

27. In straining (the new liquor) for the cup, they used the white (*mâo*) grass and obtained a clear cup. The liquor beginning to clear itself was further clarified by means of pure liquor. The juice

obtained by boiling aromatics (with the extract of millet) was clarified by mingling with it the liquor which had begun to clear itself:—in the same way as old and strong spirits are qualified by the brilliantly pure liquor or that which has begun to clear itself¹.

¹ He would be a bold man who would say that he had given a translation of this paragraph, which he was sure represented exactly the mind of the author. The interpretation given of it even by K'ang Hsüan is now called in question in a variety of points by most scholars; and the K'ien-lung editors refrain from concluding the many pages of various commentators, which they adduce on it, with a summary and exposition of their own judgment. Until some sinologist has made himself acquainted with all the processes in the preparation of their drinks at the present day by the Chinese, and has thereby, and from his own knowledge of the general subject, attained to a knowledge of the similar preparations of antiquity, a translator can only do the best in his power with such a passage, without being sure that it is the best that might be done.

In the *K'au Li*, Book V, 23-36, we have an account of the duties of the Director of Wines (酒正; Biot, 'Intendant des Vins'). Mention is made of 'the three wines (三酒),' which were employed as common beverages, and called shih k'iu (事酒), hsi k'iu (昔酒), and k'ing k'iu (清酒); in Biot, 'vin d'affaire, vin âgé, and vin clair.' Consul Gingell, in his useful translation of 'The Institutes of the K'au Dynasty Strung as Pearls' (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1852), calls them—'wine made specially for any particular occasion; wine which has become ripe; and old, clear, and fine wine.'

In addition to these three k'iu, the Director had to do with the five k'ei (五齊; Biot, 'les cinque sorts de vins sacrés'), and called fan k'ei (泛齊), li k'ei (醴齊), ang k'ei (盎齊), thi k'ei (緹齊), and k'han k'ei (沈齊); in Biot, after K'ang Hsüan, 'vin surnageant, vin doux, vin qui se clarifie, vin substantiel, vin reposé;' in Gingell, 'rice-water which has undergone

28. Sacrifices were for the purpose of prayer, or of thanksgiving, or of deprecation.

29. The dark-coloured robes worn during vigil and purification had reference to the occupation of the thoughts with the dark and unseen. Hence after the three days of purification, the superior man was sure (to seem) to see those to whom his sacrifice was to be offered¹.

fermentation, wine in which dregs have formed, wine in which the dregs have risen to the surface, wine in which the dregs have congealed, and of which the colour has become reddish, and pure clear wine in which the dregs are subsiding.' Whether Biot be correct or not in translating 𩇛 (perhaps should be read 𩇛, = 齋) 'vin sacré,' the five preparations so called were for use at sacrifices. 'They were,' say the *K'ien-lung* editors, 'for use at sacrifices, and not as ordinary drinks.' 'They were all thin, and unpalatable; for the cup, and not for the mouth.'

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors say that from paragraph 14 to this, the compiler mentions promiscuously a great many particulars about the ancient sacrifices, the different places in which the services at them were performed, the things used in them, &c., showing how sincere and earnest those engaged in them must be to attain to the result mentioned in this last paragraph; and that this is the fundamental object of the whole treatise.

I have called attention to this promiscuous nature of the contents of many of the Books towards the end of them, in the introduction, page 34, as a characteristic of the collection.

BOOK X. THE NÊI 3EH
OR
THE PATTERN OF THE FAMILY¹.

SECTION I.

1. The sovereign and king orders the chief minister to send down his (lessons of) virtue to the millions of the people.

2. Sons², in serving their parents, on the first crowing of the cock, should all wash their hands and rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, bind the hair at the roots with the fillet, brush the dust from that which is left free, and then put on their caps, leaving the ends of the strings hanging down. They should then put on their squarely made black jackets, knee-covers, and girdles, fixing in the last their tablets. From the left and right of the girdle they should hang their articles for use:—on the left side, the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum for getting fire from the sun; on the right, the archer's thimble for the thumb and the armlet, the tube for writing instruments, the knife-case, the larger spike, and the borer for getting fire from wood. They should put on their leggings, and adjust their shoe-strings.

¹ See the introductory notice, pp. 26, 27.

² The 'sons' here are young gentlemen of good families, shih (士), who might be employed as ordinary officers.

3. (Sons') wives should serve their parents-in-law as they served their own. At the first crowing of the cock, they should wash their hands, and rinse their mouths; comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, and tie the hair at the roots with the fillet. They should then put on the jacket, and over it the sash. On the left side they should hang the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum to get fire with; and on the right, the needle-case, thread, and floss, all bestowed in the satchel, the great spike, and the borer to get fire with from wood. They will also fasten on their necklaces¹, and adjust their shoe-strings.

4. Thus dressed, they should go to their parents and parents-in-law. On getting to where they are, with bated breath and gentle voice, they should ask if their clothes are (too) warm or (too) cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part; and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place. They should in the same way, going before or following after, help and support their parents in quitting or entering (the apartment). In bringing in the basin for them to wash, the younger will carry the stand and the elder the water; they will beg to be allowed to pour out

¹ 'Necklaces' is only a guess at the meaning. *Khán Hào* and others make the character to mean 'scent bags.' But this also is only a guess. There is nothing in its form to suggest such a meaning; and as many other critics point out, it is inconsistent with the usage in paragraph 5. These acknowledge that they do not understand the phrase 衿纓. See I, i, 3, 34, but the use of *ying* there is considered inappropriate here.

the water, and when the washing is concluded, they will hand the towel. They will ask whether they want anything, and then respectfully bring it. All this they will do with an appearance of pleasure to make their parents feel at ease. (They should bring) gruel, thick or thin, spirits or must, soup with vegetables, beans, wheat, spinach, rice, millet, maize, and glutinous millet,—whatever they wish, in fact; with dates, chestnuts, sugar and honey, to sweeten their dishes; with the ordinary or the large-leaved violets, leaves of elm-trees, fresh or dry, and the most soothing rice-water to lubricate them; and with fat and oil to enrich them. The parents will be sure to taste them, and when they have done so, the young people should withdraw¹.

5. Youths who have not yet been capped, and maidens who have not yet assumed the hair-pin, at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands, rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, brush the dust from that which is left free, bind it up in the shape of a horn, and put on their necklaces. They should all hang at their girdles² the ornamental (bags of) perfume; and as soon as it is daybreak, they should (go to) pay their respects (to their parents) and ask what they will eat

¹ The structure of this and the preceding sentences is easy enough, but it is not easy for a translator to assure himself that he is rendering every Chinese character by its correct equivalent in his own language.

² They hang on these instead of the useful appendages mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 3, as being too young to employ these. This determines the meaning of 長者 in the last clause as I have given it. Zottoli's rendering is:—'Si nondum comederint, tunc adjuturi majores inspectabunt praeeparata.'

and drink. If they have eaten already, they should retire; if they have not eaten, they will (remain to) assist their elder (brothers and sisters) and see what has been prepared.

6. All charged with the care of the inner and outer parts (of the house), at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands and mouths, gather up their pillows and fine mats, sprinkle and sweep out the apartments, hall, and courtyard, and spread the mats, each doing his proper work. The children go earlier to bed, and get up later, according to their pleasure. There is no fixed time for their meals.

7. From the time that sons receive an official appointment, they and their father occupy different parts of their residence. But at the dawn, the son will pay his respects, and express his affection by (the offer of) pleasant delicacies. At sunrise he will retire, and he and his father will attend to their different duties. At sundown, the son will pay his evening visit in the same way.

8. When the parents wish to sit (anywhere), the sons and their wives should carry their mats, and ask in what direction they shall lay them. When they wish to lie down, the eldest among them should carry the mats, and ask where they wish to place their feet, while the youngest will carry a (small) bench for them to lean on while they stretch out their legs. (At the same time) an attendant will place a stool by them. They should take up the mat on which they had been lying and the fine mat over it, hang up the coverlet, put the pillow in its case, and roll up the fine mat and put it in its cover.

9. (Sons and their wives) should not move the clothes, coverlets, fine mats, or undermats, pillows, and stools of their parents¹; they should reverently regard their staffs and shoes, but not presume to approach them; they should not presume to use their vessels for grain, liquor, and water, unless some of the contents be left in them; nor to eat or drink any of their ordinary food or drink, unless in the same case.

10. While the parents are both alive, at their regular meals, morning and evening, the (eldest) son and his wife will encourage them to eat everything, and what is left after all, they will themselves eat². When the father is dead, and the mother still alive, the eldest son should wait upon her at her meals; and the wives of the other sons will do with what is left as in the former case. The children should have the sweet, soft, and unctuous things that are left.

11. When with their parents, (sons and their wives), when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it. In going forwards or backwards, or turning round, they should be careful and grave; while going out or coming in, while bowing or walking, they should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance. They should not dare to spit or snivel, nor, if it be cold, to put on more clothes, nor, if they itch anywhere, to scratch

¹ That is, the parents of the husband, and parents-in-law of the wife.

² 'That nothing,' says Khung Ying-tâ, 'may be served up again.'

themselves. Unless for reverent attention to something¹, they should not presume to unbare their shoulders or chest. Unless it be in wading, they should not hold up their clothes. Of their private dress and coverlet, they should not display the inside. They should not allow the spittle or snivel of their parents to be seen². They should ask leave to rinse away any dirt on their caps or girdles, and to wash their clothes that are dirty with lye that has been prepared for the purpose; and to stitch together, with needle and thread, any rent.

Every five days they should prepare tepid water, and ask them to take a bath, and every three days prepare water for them to wash their heads. If in the meantime their faces appear dirty, they should heat the water in which the rice has been cleaned, and ask them to wash with it; if their feet be dirty, they should prepare hot water, and ask them to wash them with it. Elders in serving their youngers, and the low in serving the noble, should all observe these rules.

12. The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside (of the house), nor the women of what belongs to the outside. Except at sacrifices and funeral rites, they should not hand vessels to one another. In all other cases when they have occasion to give and receive anything, the woman should receive it in a basket. If she have no basket, they should both sit down, and the other put the thing on

¹ As for archery. The meaning is, I suppose, that none of the things mentioned should be seen or known, while they are waiting on their parents.

² But instantly wipe it off, according to *Khẩn Hào*.

the ground, and she then take it up. Outside or inside¹, they should not go to the same well, nor to the same bathing-house. They should not share the same mat in lying down; they should not ask or borrow anything from one another; they should not wear similar upper or lower garments. Things spoken inside should not go out, words spoken outside should not come in. When a man goes into the interior of the house, he should not whistle nor point. If he have occasion to move in the night, he should use a light; and if he have no light, he should not stir. When a woman goes out at the door, she must keep her face covered. She should walk at night (only) with a light; and if she have no light, she should not stir. On the road, a man should take the right side, and a woman the left.

13. Sons and sons' wives, who are filial and reverential, when they receive an order from their parents should not refuse, nor be dilatory, to execute it². When (their parents) give them anything to eat or drink, which they do not like, they will notwithstanding taste it and wait (for their further orders); when they give them clothes, which are not to their mind, they will put them on, and wait (in the same way)³. If (their parents) give them anything to do, and then employ another to take their place,

¹ Zottoli has for this—'viri mulieresque.' The writer is speaking of men and women, indeed; but the characters have reference to place, and = 'out of the house or in it.'

² That is, they will not presume on any indulgence which they might expect from the impression made by their general character and behaviour.

³ 'Orders,' consequent on their parents' seeing that the food or garment is not to their mind.

although they do not like the arrangement, they will in the meantime give it into his hands and let him do it, doing it again, if it be not done well.

14. When the sons and their wives are engaged with laborious tasks, although (their parents) very much love them, yet they should let them go on with them for the time ;—it is better that they take other occasions frequently to give them ease.

When sons and their wives have not been filial and reverential, (the parents) should not be angry and resentful with them, but endeavour to instruct them. If they will not receive instruction, they should then be angry with them. If that anger do no good, they can then drive out the son, and send the wife away, yet not publicly showing why they have so treated them¹.

15. If a parent have a fault, (the son) should with bated breath, and bland aspect, and gentle voice, admonish him. If the admonition do not take effect, he will be the more reverential and the more filial ; and when the father seems pleased, he will repeat the admonition. If he should be displeased with this, rather than allow him to commit an offence against any one in the neighbourhood or countryside, (the son) should strongly remonstrate. If the parent be angry and (more) displeased, and beat him till the blood

¹ This last sentence is enigmatical in the original text. Zottoli says :—‘ Si non possint coerceri, filium ejice nurum exclude, quin tamen patefacius agendi morem ;’ adding as an explanation of that ‘ agendi morem,’ ‘ siquidem eos haud certe in finem sic ejectos voles.’ Different views of the Chinese have been given by different critics ; and it would not be difficult to add to their number.

flows, he should not presume to be angry and resentful, but be (still) more reverential and more filial.

16. If parents have a boy born (to the father) by a handmaid, or the son or grandson of one of his concubines, of whom they are very fond, their sons should after their death, not allow their regard for him to decay so long as they live.

If a son have two concubines, one of whom is loved by his parents, while he himself loves the other, yet he should not dare to make this one equal to the former whom his parents love, in dress, or food, or the duties which she discharges, nor should he lessen his attentions to her after their death. If he very much approves of his wife, and his parents do not like her, he should divorce her¹. If he do not approve of his wife, and his parents say, 'she serves us well,' he should behave to her in all respects as his wife,—without fail even to the end of her life.

17. Although his parents be dead, when a son is inclined to do what is good, he should think that he will thereby transmit the good name of his parents, and carry his wish into effect. When he is inclined to do what is not good, he should think that he will thereby bring disgrace on the name of his parents, and in no wise carry his wish into effect.

18. When her father-in-law is dead, her mother-in-law takes the place of the old lady²; but the wife of the eldest son, on all occasions of sacrificing and receiving guests, must ask her directions in every-

¹ *Khân Hào* quotes here from the *Lî* of the elder *Tâi* (Book XIII, chapter 26) the 'seven grounds of divorce,' the first of them being the wife's 'want of accordance with her husband's parents.'

² Who now retires from the open headship of the family.

thing, while the other sons' wives must ask directions from her. When her parents-in-law employ the eldest son's wife, she should not be dilatory, unfriendly, or unpolite to the wives of his brothers (for their not helping her). When the parents-in-law employ any of them, they should not presume to consider themselves on an equality with the other; walking side by side with her, or giving their orders in the same way, or sitting in the same position as she.

19. No daughter-in-law, without being told to go to her own apartment, should venture to withdraw from that (of her parents-in-law). Whatever she is about to do, she should ask leave from them. A son and his wife should have no private goods, nor animals, nor vessels; they should not presume to borrow from, or give anything to, another person. If any one give the wife an article of food or dress, a piece of cloth or silk, a handkerchief for her girdle, an iris or orchid, she should receive and offer it to her parents-in-law. If they accept it, she will be glad as if she were receiving it afresh. If they return it to her, she should decline it, and if they do not allow her to do so, she will take it as if it were a second gift, and lay it by to wait till they may want it. If she want to give it to some of her own cousins, she must ask leave to do so, and that being granted, she will give it.

20. Eldest cousins in the legitimate line of descent and their brothers should do reverent service to the son, who is the representative chief of the family and his wife¹. Though they may be richer and

¹ These are all legitimate members of the same surname or clan, but the honoured cousin is the chief of it in the direct line. He is

higher in official rank than he, they should not presume to enter his house with (the demonstrations of) their wealth and dignity. Although they may have in attendance many chariots and footmen, these should stop outside, and they enter it in more simple style with a few followers.

If to any of the younger cousins there have been given vessels, robes, furs, coverlets, carriages and horses, he must offer the best of them (to his chief), and then use those that are inferior to this himself. If what he should thus offer be not proper for the chief, he will not presume to enter with it at his gate, not daring to appear with his wealth and dignity, to be above him who is the head of all the clan with its uncles and elder cousins.

A wealthy cousin should prepare two victims, and present the better of them to his chief. He and his wife should together, after self-purification, reverently assist at his sacrifice in the ancestral temple. When the business of that is over, they may venture to offer their own private sacrifice.

21. Of grain food, there were millet, the glutinous rice, rice, maize, the white millet, and the yellow maize, cut when ripe, or when green.

Of prepared meats, there were beef soup, mutton soup, pork soup, and roast beef; pickle, slices of beef, pickle and minced beef; roast mutton, slices

the chieftain of the clan. They are heads of subordinate branches of it. They may have become more wealthy and attained to higher rank in the service of their common ruler, but within the limits of the clan, he is their superior, and has duties of sacrifice to the ancestors of it, with which they cannot of themselves intermeddle.

of mutton, pickle, and roast pork ; pickle, slices of pork, mustard sauce, and minced fish ; pheasant, hare, quail, and partridge¹.

22. Of drinks, there was must in two vessels, one strained, the other unstrained, made of rice, of millet, or of maize. In some cases, thin preparations were used as beverages, as millet gruel, pickle, with water syrup of prunes, and of steeped rice ; clear wine and white².

Of confections, there were dried cakes, and rice-flour scones.

23. For relishes, snail-juice and a condiment of the broad-leaved water-squash were used with pheasant soup ; a condiment of wheat with soups of dried slices and of fowl ; broken glutinous rice with dog soup and hare soup ; the rice-balls mixed with these soups had no smart-weed in them.

A sucking-pig was stewed, wrapped up in sonchus leaves and stuffed with smart-weed ; a fowl, with the same stuffing, and along with pickle sauce ; a fish, with the same stuffing and egg sauce ; a tortoise, with the same stuffing and pickle sauce.

For meat spiced and dried they placed the brine of ants ; for soup made of sliced meat, that of hare ; for a ragout of elk, that of fish ; for minced fish, mustard sauce ; for raw elk flesh, pickle sauce ; for preserved peaches and plums, egg-like suet.

24. All condiments for grain food were of a

¹ In all, four rows of prepared meats, consisting of four dishes each.

² Both the old wine and occasional wine, mentioned in the note on page 447, were 'white.' The *kiû* here, probably, were the three *kiû* there.

character corresponding to the spring ; for soup, to the summer ; for sauces, to the autumn ; and for beverages, to the winter.

In all attempering ingredients, sour predominated in the spring ; bitter, in the summer ; acrid, in the autumn ; and salt, in the winter :—with the due proportioning of the unctuous and sweet.

The glutinous rice (was thought) to suit beef ; millet, to suit mutton ; glutinous millet, to suit pork ; maize, to suit dog ; wheat, to suit goose ; and the broad-leaved squash, to suit fish.

25. Lamb and sucking-pig were (thought to be) good in spring, fried with odorous (beef) suet ; dried pheasant and fish, in summer, fried with the strong-smelling suet (of dog) ; veal and fawn, in autumn, fried with strong suet (of fowl) ; fresh fish and goose, in winter, fried with the frouzy suet (of goat).

26. There were dried beef, and dried stalks of deer's flesh, of wild pig's, of elk's, and of the muntjac's. Elk's flesh, deer's, wild pig's, and muntjac's, was (also eaten uncooked ; and) cut in large leaf-like slices. Pheasants and hares were (made into soup) with the duckweed. There were sparrows and finches, partridges, cicadas, bees, lichens, small chestnuts, the water-caltrops, the hovenia dulcis, the zizyphus, chestnuts, hazel-nuts, persimmons, cucumbers, peaches, plums, ballaces, almonds, haws, pears, ginger, and cinnamon ¹.

¹ In this there are the names of more than thirty condiments or relishes, which, according to most commentators, were, or might be, served up at the meals of the rulers of states. But from paragraph 21 we have a list of viands, drinks, and their accom-

27. If a Great officer, at his ordinary meals, had mince, he did not have, at the same time, dried slices of meat; and if he had the latter, he did not have the former. An ordinary officer did not have two kinds of soup, or sliced flesh. (But) old men of the common people, did not eat their meat alone without accompaniments.

28. Mince was made in spring, with onions; in autumn, with the mustard plant. Sucking-pig was used in spring, with scallions; in autumn, with smart-weed. With lard they used onions; with fat, chives. With the three victim-animals they used pepper, and employed pickle as an accompaniment. For wild animals' flesh they used plums. In quail soup, fowl soup, and with the curlew, the condiment was smart-weed. Bream and tench were steamed; pullets, roasted; and pheasants, (boiled), with fragrant herbs and no smart-weed.

29. Things not eaten were the turtle, when hatching; the intestines of the wolf, which were removed, as also the kidneys of the dog; the straight spine of the wild cat; the rump of the hare; the head of the fox; the brains of the sucking-pig; the y1-like bowels of fish¹; and the perforated openings of the turtle¹.

30. (Bones and sinews) were taken from the flesh; the scales were scraped from fish; dates were made to appear as new; chestnuts were

paniments with no information as to when and by whom they were used. To descend to further particulars about them would be troublesome.

¹ Z. It is uncertain what some of these forbidden articles really were.

selected; peaches were made smooth; 𪛗 and pears had the insects drilled out of them¹.

31. When an ox lowed at night, its flesh was (considered) to be rank; that of a sheep, whose long hair showed a tendency to get matted, to be frouzy; that of a dog which was uneasy and with (the inside of) its thighs red, to be coarse; that of birds when moulting and with their voices hoarse, to be fetid; that of pigs, when they looked upwards and closed their eyes, to be measly; that of a horse, black along the spine and with piebald fore-legs, to smell unpleasantly.

A pullet, whose tail could not be grasped by the hand, was not eaten, nor the rump of a tame goose, nor the ribs of a swan or owl, nor the rump of a tame duck, nor the liver of a fowl, nor the kidneys of a wild goose, nor the gizzard of the wild goose without the hind-toe, nor the stomach of the deer.

32. Flesh cut small was made into mince; cut into slices it was made into hash. Some say that the flesh of elks, deer, and fish was pickled; that of muntjacs also, being cut in small pieces; that of fowls and wild pigs, in larger pieces; of hares, the stomach was pickled. Onions and scallions were mixed with the brine to soften the meat².

¹ The explanation of these brief notes is also perplexing. Zottoli makes the 𪛗 to have been a kind of medlar (azarolus). Medhurst calls it, after the Khang-hsi dictionary, 'a kind of pear.' Williams, explaining it under a synonym (of the same sound), 'a sour red fruit of the size of a cherry, a kind of hawthorn.'

² The manner of these preparations has not been definitely explained. The meaning is uncertain. So also is what is said of the cupboards in the next paragraph.

33. Soup and boiled grain were used by all, from the princes down to the common people, without distinction of degree. Great officers did not regularly have savoury meat, but when seventy they had their cupboards. The cupboards of the son of Heaven were five on the right (of the dining hall), and five on the left; those of dukes, marquises, and earls were five, all in one room; those of Great officers three (in a side chamber), and other officers had one on their buffet.

SECTION II.

1. In nourishing the aged¹, (Shun), the lord of Yü, used the ceremonies of a drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Hsiâ, those (at entertainments after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Kâu cultivated and used all the three².

Those of fifty years were entertained in the schools of the districts; those of sixty, in the school of the capital; and those of seventy, in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's invitation by kneeling once and bringing his head to the ground twice. The blind did the same. An

¹ *Khân Hào* says:—The nourishment of the aged took place in four cases: 1st, in the case of the three classes of ancients; 2nd, in that of the father and grandfather of one who had died in the service of the country; 3rd, in that of officers who had retired from age; and 4th, in that of the aged of the common people. On seven occasions of the year it was done formally.

² On the different designations of the dynasties, see on Confucian Analects, III, 21.

old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him).

For those of fifty, the grain was (fine and) different (from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, there was meat kept in store (from the day before). For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. Those of eighty were supplied regularly with delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers; wherever they wandered, it was deemed right that savoury meat and drink should follow them.

After sixty (the coffin and other things for the funeral) were seen to be in readiness (once) a year; after seventy, once a season; after eighty, once a month; and after ninety, they were every day kept in good repair. The bandages, however, the sheet, the larger coverlets, and the cases were prepared after death¹.

At fifty, one was supposed to begin to decay; at sixty, not to feel satisfied unless he had flesh to eat. At seventy, he was thought to require silk in order to make him feel warm; at eighty, to need some one (to sleep) with him, to keep him warm; and at ninety, not to feel warm even with that.

At fifty, one kept his staff in his hand in the family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (an officer of) ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him.

¹ The sheet was for the slighter dressing of the corpse immediately after death; the coverlets for the fuller dressing at the coffin-ing; the cases were for the upper part of the corpse and for the legs.

At seventy, (an officer) did not wait till the court was over (before he retired). At eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive ; at ninety, he had (delicate food) sent to him regularly every day.

At fifty, one was not employed in services requiring strength ; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others ; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors ; at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning.

When one received at fifty the rank (of a Great officer), at sixty he did not go in person to the school¹. At seventy he resigned office ; and then and afterwards, in mourning he used only the unhemmed dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites)¹.

The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always caused the members of families who were advanced in years to be brought to their notice². Where an officer was eighty, one of his friends was free from all service of government ; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were exempted from them. So also it was in the case of the blind.

(Shun), the lord of Yü, entertained the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher hsiang, and the aged of the common people in (the school called) the lower

¹ Does this intimate, that if he had learned better at school, when young, he might have become a Great officer earlier? He was now too old to learn.

² The government could not attend to all the aged ; but it wished to hear of all cases of remarkable age, and would then do what it could for them.

hsiang. The sovereigns of the line of Hsiâ entertained the former in (the school called) the hsü on the east, and the latter in (that called) the hsü on the west. The men of Yin entertained the former in the School of the Right, and the latter in that of the Left. The men of Kâu entertained the former in the kiao on the east, and the latter in the Yü hsiang. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west.

The lord of Yü wore the hwang cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in entertaining the aged. The sovereigns of Hsiâ sacrificed in the shân cap, and entertained the aged in the dark garments of undress. Those of Yin sacrificed in the hsü cap, and entertained in the garments of white thin silk. Those of Kâu sacrificed in the mien cap, and entertained the aged in the dark upper garment (and the lower white one)¹.

2. 3ăng-ze said, 'A filial son, in nourishing his aged, (seeks to) make their hearts glad, and not to go against their wishes; to promote their comfort in their bed-chambers and the whole house; and with leal heart to supply them with their food and drink:—such is the filial son to the end of life. By "the end of life," I mean not the end of parents' lives, but the end of his own life. Thus what his parents loved he will love, and what they revered he will reverence. He will do so even in regard to all their

¹ The above long paragraph constitutes, with very little difference, the first twelve paragraphs of Section v of Book III. K'ü Hsi says that in this Book we have 'old text,' whereas Book III is a compilation of the Han dynasty; and that the authors of it incorporated this passage. I am willing to allow that they did so; but it may be doubted if this Book in its present form be older than the time of Han.

dogs and horses, and how much more in regard to the men (whom they valued)!'

3. In all their nourishment of the aged, (the object of) the five Ts was to imitate (their virtue), while the kings of the three dynasties also begged them to speak (their lessons). The five Ts taking them as models, sought to nourish their bodily vigour, and did not beg them to speak; but what good lessons they did speak were taken down by the faithful recorders. The three (lines of) kings also took them as models, and after nourishing their age begged them to speak. If they (seemed to) diminish the ceremonies (of entertainment), they all had their faithful recorders as well (to narrate their virtue).

4. For the Rich Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over rice that had been grown on a dry soil, and then enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Rich Fry.

5. For the Similar Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over the millet grains, and enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Similar Fry.

6. For the Bake, they took a sucking-pig or a (young) ram, and having cut it open and removed the entrails, filled the belly with dates. They then wrapped it round with straw and reeds, which they plastered with clay, and baked it. When the clay was all dry, they broke it off. Having washed their hands for the manipulation, they removed the crackling and macerated it along with rice-flour, so as to form a kind of gruel which they added to the pig. They then fried the whole in such a quantity of melted fat as to cover it. Having prepared a large pan of hot water, they placed in it a small tripod,

which was filled with fragrant herbs, and the slices of the creature which was being prepared. They took care that the hot water did not cover this tripod, but kept up the fire without intermission for three days and nights. After this, the whole was served up with the addition of pickled meat and vinegar.

7. For the Pounded Delicacy, they took the flesh of ox, sheep, elk, deer and muntjac, a part of that which lay along the spine, the same in quantity of each, and beat it now as it lay flat, and then turning it on its side; after that they extracted all the nerves. (Next), when it was sufficiently cooked, they brought it (from the pan), took away the outside crust, and softened the meat (by the addition of pickle and vinegar).

8. For the Steeped Delicacy, they took the beef, which was required to be that of a newly killed animal, and cut it into small pieces, taking care to obliterate all the lines in it. It was then steeped from one morning to the next in good wine, when it was eaten with pickle, vinegar, or the juice of prunes.

9. To make the Grill, they beat the beef and removed the skinny parts. They then laid it on a frame of reeds, sprinkled on it pieces of cinnamon and ginger, and added salt. It could be eaten thus when dried. Mutton was treated in the same way as beef, and also the flesh of elk, deer, and muntjac. If they wished the flesh wet, they added water and fried it with pickled meat. If they wished it dry, they ate it as eaten (at first).

10. For the (Soup) Balls, they took equal quantities of beef, mutton and pork, and cut them small. Then they took grains of rice, which they mixed

with the finely cut meat, two parts of rice to one of meat, and formed cakes or balls, which they fried.

11. For the Liver and Fat, they took a dog's liver, and wrapped it round with its own fat. They then wet it and roasted it, and took it in this condition and scorched it. No smartweed was mixed with the fat.

12. They took the grains of rice and steeped them in prepared rice-water. They then cut small the fat from a wolf's breast, and with it and the grains of rice made a fry¹.

13. The observances of propriety commence with a careful attention to the relations between husband and wife. They built the mansion and its apartments, distinguishing between the exterior and interior parts. The men occupied the exterior; the women the interior. The mansion was deep, and the doors were strong, guarded by porter and eunuch. The men did not enter the interior; the women did not come out into the exterior.

14. Males and females did not use the same stand or rack for their clothes. The wife did not presume to hang up anything on the pegs or stand of her husband; nor to put anything in his boxes or satchels; nor to share his bathing-house. When her husband had gone out (from their apartment), she put his pillow in its case, rolled up his upper and under mats, put them in their covers, and laid them away in their proper receptacles. The young served the old; the low served the noble;—also in this way.

¹ This and the other paragraphs from 4 are understood to describe the 'eight delicacies (八珍),' which were specially prepared for the old. See the *Káu Lí*, Book IV, par. 18.

15. As between husband and wife, it was not until they were seventy, that they deposited these things in the same place without separation. Hence though a concubine were old, until she had completed her fiftieth year, it was the rule that she should be with the husband (once) in five days. When she was to do so, she purified herself, rinsed her mouth and washed, carefully adjusted her dress, combed her hair, drew over it the covering of silk, fixed her hair-pins, tied up the hair in the shape of a horn, brushed the dust from the rest of her hair, put on her necklace, and adjusted her shoe-strings. Even a favourite concubine was required in dress and diet to come after her superior. If the wife were not with the husband, a concubine waiting on him, would not venture to remain the whole night¹.

16. When a wife was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, she occupied one of the side apartments, where her husband sent twice a day to ask for her. If he were moved and came himself to ask about her², she did not presume to see him, but made her governess dress herself and reply to him.

When the child was born, the husband again sent twice a day to inquire for her. He fasted now, and did not enter the door of the side apartment. If the child were a boy, a bow was placed on the left of the door; and if a girl, a handkerchief on the

¹ This paragraph has given rise to a great deal of discussion and writing among the commentators, into which it is not desirable to enter.

² The first character in this clause occasions difficulty to a translator. Zottoli has:—'Negotiisque ipsemet interrogabit illam.' Wang Tâo understands it as I have done.

right of it. After three days the child began to be carried, and some archery was practised for a boy, but not for a girl.

17. When a son and heir to the ruler of a state was born, and information of the fact was carried to him, he made arrangements to receive him at a feast where the three animals should all be provided; and the cook took in hand the (necessary) preparations. On the third day the tortoise-shell was consulted for a good man to carry the child; and he who was the lucky choice, kept a vigil over night, and then in his court robes, received him in his arms outside the chamber. The master of the archers then took a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild rubus, and shot towards heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. After this the nurse received the child and carried it in her arms. The cook (at the same time) gave (a cup of) sweet wine to the man who had carried the child, and presented him with a bundle of silks, and the tortoise-shell was again employed to determine the wife of an officer, or the concubine of a Great officer, who should be nurse.

18. In all cases of receiving a son, a day was chosen; and if it were the eldest son of the king, the three animals were killed (for the occasion). For the son of a common man, a sucking-pig was killed; for the son of an officer, a single pig; for the son of a Great officer, the two smaller animals; and for the son of the ruler of a state, all the three. If it were not the eldest son, the provision was diminished in every case one degree.

19. A special apartment was prepared in the

palace for the child, and from all the concubines and other likely individuals there was sought one distinguished for her generosity of mind, her gentle kindness, her mild integrity, her respectful bearing, her carefulness and freedom from talkativeness, who should be appointed the boy's teacher; one was next chosen who should be his indulgent mother, and a third who should be his guardian mother. These all lived in his apartment, which others did not enter unless on some (special) business.

20. At the end of the third month a day was chosen for shaving off the hair of the child, excepting certain portions,—the horn-like tufts of a boy, and the circlet on the crown of a girl. If another fashion were adopted, a portion was left on the left of the boy's head, and on the right of the girl's. On that day the wife with the son appeared before the father. If they were of noble families, they were both in full dress. From the commissioned officer downwards, all rinsed their mouths and washed their heads. Husband and wife rose early, bathed and dressed as for the feast of the first day of the month. The husband entered the door, going up by the steps on the east, and stood at the top of them with his face to the west. The wife with the boy in her arms came forth from her room and stood beneath the lintel with her face to the east.

21. The governess then went forward and said for the lady, 'The mother, So and So, ventures to-day reverently to present to you the child!' The husband replied, 'Reverently (teach him to) follow the right way.' He then took hold of the right hand of his son, and named him with the smile and voice of a child. The wife responded, 'We will remember.

May your words be fulfilled !' She then turned to the left, and delivered the child to his teacher, who on her part told the name all round to the wives of the relatives of all ranks who were present. The wife forthwith proceeded to the (festal) chamber.

22. The husband informed his principal officer of the name, and he in turn informed all the (young) males (of the same surname) of it. A record was made to the effect—'In such a year, in such a month, on such a day, So and So was born,' and deposited. The officer also informed the secretaries of the hamlets, who made out two copies of it. One of these was deposited in the office of the village, and the other was presented to the secretary of the larger circuit, who showed it to the chief of the circuit ; he again ordered it to be deposited in the office of the circuit. The husband meanwhile had gone into (the festal chamber), and a feast was celebrated with the ceremonies of that with which a wife first entertains her parents-in-law.

23. When an heir-son has been born, the ruler washed his head and whole body, and put on his court robes. His wife did the same, and then they both took their station at the top of the stairs on the east with their faces towards the west. One of the ladies of quality, with the child in her arms, ascended by the steps on the west. The ruler then named the child ; and (the lady) went down with it.

24. A (second) son or any other son by the wife proper was presented in the outer chamber¹, when

¹ It seems plain that the sons in this paragraph were all by the proper wife or chief lady of the harem, for it is not till paragraph 26 that sons by inferior members of it are spoken of. The *K'ien-*

(the ruler) laid his hand on its head, and with gentle voice named it. The other observances were as before, but without any words.

25. In naming a son, the name should not be that of a day or a month or of any state, or of any hidden ailment¹. Sons of Great and other officers must not be called by the same name as the heir-son of the ruler.

26. When a concubine was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, the husband sent once a day to ask for her. When the son was born, at the end of three months, she washed her mouth and feet, adjusted herself early in the morning and appeared in the inner chamber (belonging to the wife proper). There she was received with the ceremonies of her first entrance into the harem. When the husband had eaten, a special portion of what was left was given to her by herself; and forthwith she entered on her duties of attendance.

27. When the child of an inferior member of the ruler's harem was about to be born, the mother went to one of the side apartments, and at the end of three months, having washed her head and person, and

lung editors clearly establish this point. K'ang Hsüan took a different view, saying that "the (second) son" was a brother of the heir-son (in paragraph 23), and "any other son" a son by a concubine, and P. Zottoli adopts this view:—'Reguli haeres (世子), ejus germanus frater (適子), a subnuba filius (庶子);' adding, 'Regulus excipiebat primum in praecipua diaeta (路寢); secundum in postica diaeta (蒸寢), quae hic exterior dicitur relate ad adjacentes aedes, quibus nobilis puerpera morari solebat; tertium excipiebat in adjacentibus aedibus (側室).' But these 'side apartments' are not mentioned till paragraph 27.

¹ See page 78, paragraph 42.

put on her court robes, she appeared before the ruler. (One of) her waiting women (also) appeared with the child in her arms. If (the mother) was one to whom the ruler had given special favours, he himself named the son. In the case of such children generally, an officer was employed to name them.

28. Among the common people who had no side chambers, when the month of confinement was come, the husband left his bed-chamber, and occupied a common apartment. In his inquiries for his wife, however, and on his son's being presented to him, there was no difference (from the observances that have been detailed).

29. In all cases though the father is alive, the grandson is presented to the grandfather, who also names him. The ceremonies are the same as when the son is presented to the father; but there is no (interchange of) words (between the mother and him).

30. The nurse of the ruler's boy¹ quitted the palace after three years, and, when she appeared before the ruler, was rewarded for her toilsome work. The son of a Great officer had a nurse. The wife of an ordinary officer nourished her child herself.

31. The son of a commissioned officer and others above him on to the Great officer was presented (to the father once) in ten days. The eldest son of a ruler was presented to him before he had eaten, when he took him by the right hand; his second or any other son by the wife proper² was presented after he had eaten, when he laid his hand on his head.

32. When the child was able to take its own food,

¹ See above, par. 17.

² See above, par. 24.

it was taught to use the right hand. When it was able to speak, a boy (was taught to) respond boldly and clearly; a girl, submissively and low. The former was fitted with a girdle of leather; the latter, with one of silk¹.

¹ The account which follows this of the teaching and training of the brothers and sisters is interesting; and we may compare it with what is said in volume iii, p. 350, of the different reception given to sons and daughters in the royal family, though the distinction between them is not accentuated here so strongly. The passage treats of the children in a family of the higher classes, but those of the common people would be dealt with in a corresponding manner according to their circumstances. And even in the early feudal times the way was open for talent and character to rise from the lower ranks in the social scale, and be admitted to official employment. The system of competitive examinations was even then casting a shadow before. To number the days was, and is, a more complicated affair in China than with us, requiring an acquaintance with all the terms of the cycle of sixty, as well as the more compendious method by decades for each month. The education of a boy, it will be seen, comprehended much more than what we call the three R's. The conclusion of paragraph 33 gives the translator some difficulty. Zottoli has—*'et petet exerceri lectionibus sermonisque veritate,'* and my own first draft was—*'he would ask to be exercised in (reading) the tablets, and in truthful speaking.'* But it is making too much of the boys of ancient China to represent them as anxious to be taught to speak the truth. The meaning of the concluding characters, as given in the text, is that assigned to them by K'ang Hsüan.

There is nothing in what is said of the daughters to indicate that they received any literary training. They were taught simply the household duties that would devolve on them in their state of society; though among them, be it observed, were the forms and provision for sacrifice and worship. It will be observed, also, at how early an age all close intercourse between them and their brothers came to an end, and that at ten they ceased to go out from the women's apartments. On what is said about the young men marrying at the age of thirty I have spoken in a note on page 65.

33. At six years, they were taught the numbers and the names of the cardinal points; at the age of seven, boys and girls did not occupy the same mat nor eat together; at eight, when going out or coming in at a gate or door, and going to their mats to eat and drink, they were required to follow their elders:—the teaching of yielding to others was now begun; at nine, they were taught how to number the days.

At ten, (the boy) went to a master outside, and stayed with him (even) over the night. He learned the (different classes of) characters and calculation; he did not wear his jacket or trousers of silk; in his manners he followed his early lessons; morning and evening he learned the behaviour of a youth; he would ask to be exercised in (reading) the tablets, and in the forms of polite conversation.

34. At thirteen, he learned music, and to repeat the odes, and to dance the *k'o* (of the duke of *K'áu*)¹. When a full-grown lad, he danced the *hsiang* (of king *Wû*)¹. He learned archery and chariot-driving. At twenty, he was capped, and first learned the (different classes of) ceremonies, and might wear furs and silk. He danced the *tâ hsiâ* (of *Yü*)¹, and attended sedulously to filial and fraternal duties. He might become very learned, but did not teach others;—(his object being still) to receive and not to give out.

35. At thirty, he had a wife, and began to attend

¹ It is difficult to describe exactly, amid the conflict of different views, these several dances. Dances were of two kinds, the civil and military. The *k'o* was, perhaps, the first of the civil dances, ascribed to the duke of *K'áu* (vol. iii, p. 334); and the *hsiang*, the first of the martial. The two are said to have been combined in the *tâ hsiâ*.

to the business proper to a man. He extended his learning without confining it to particular subjects. He was deferential to his friends, having regard to the aims (which they displayed). At forty, he was first appointed to office ; and according to the business of it brought out his plans and communicated his thoughts. If the ways (which he proposed) were suitable, he followed them out ; if they were not, he abandoned them. At fifty, he was appointed a Great officer, and laboured in the administration of his department. At seventy, he retired from his duties. In all salutations of males, the upper place was given to the left hand.

36. A girl at the age of ten ceased to go out (from the women's apartments). Her governess taught her (the arts of) pleasing speech and manners, to be docile and obedient, to handle the hempen fibres, to deal with the cocoons, to weave silks and form fillets, to learn (all) woman's work, how to furnish garments, to watch the sacrifices, to supply the liquors and sauces, to fill the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and to assist in setting forth the appurtenances for the ceremonies.

37. At fifteen, she assumed the hair-pin ; at twenty, she was married, or, if there were occasion (for the delay), at twenty-three. If there were the betrothal rites, she became a wife ; and if she went without these, a concubine. In all salutations of females, the upper place was given to the right hand.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.					Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
				III Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k					क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
2 " aspirata	kh					ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
3 Media	g					ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	
4 " aspirata	gh					घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q											
6 Nasalis	h (ng)					ङ	{ 𐬙 (ng) }					
7 Spiritus asper	h					ह	𐬚 (h)	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis	,											
9 " asper faucalis	'h											
10 " lenis faucalis	'h											
11 " asper fricatus		'h										
12 " lenis fricatus		'h										
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis		k				𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
14 " aspirata		kh				𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
15 Media		g				𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	
16 " aspirata		gh				𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
17 " Nasalis		h				𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlev.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									III Class.
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ی	ي	י	י	
19 Spiritus asper			(y)								
20 " lenis			(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus			s	स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	ס	
22 " lenis assibilatus			z	ז	𐬪	𐬪	ز	ز	ז	ז	
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔		ت	ת	ת	
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬕	𐬕		ת	ת	ת	
25 " assibilata	d			द	𐬌	𐬌		ד	ד	ד	
26 Media	dh			ढ	𐬎	𐬎		ד	ד	ד	
27 " aspirata											
28 " assibilata	n			न	𐬨	𐬨		נ	נ	נ	
29 Nasalis	l			ल	𐬌	𐬌		ל	ל	ל	
30 Semivocalis											
31 " mollis 1			l								
32 " mollis 2											
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬰	𐬰		ס	ס	ס	
34 " asper 2											
35 " lenis	z			ז	𐬪	𐬪		ז	ז	ז	
36 " asperimus 1											
37 " asperimus 2											

VOVVELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0									ǎ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ě									...
3 " labialis	ö									...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	ا	ا	א	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	آ	آ	א	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	ی	ی	י	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	ی	ی	י	...
8 Dentalis brevis	h			ह						...
9 " longa	h			ह						...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि						...
11 " longa	rī			रि						...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	ه	ه	ה	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	ه	ه	ה	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		आइ	𐬆	𐬆	ه	ه	ה	...
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)			ऐ	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ه	ה	...
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬈	𐬈	ه	ه	ה	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬉	𐬉	و	و	ו	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ	𐬊	𐬊	و	و	ו	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आउ	𐬋	𐬋	و	و	ו	...
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			ऐउ	𐬌	𐬌	و	و	ו	...
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			औउ	𐬍	𐬍	و	و	ו	...
24 Gutturals fracta	ä			अ						...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			इ						...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ						...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ऊ						...

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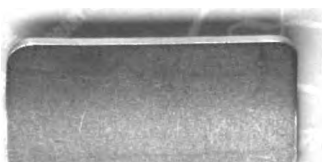
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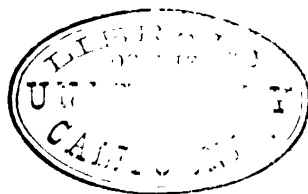
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THE LÎ KÎ.



A COLLECTION OF TREATISES ON THE RULES
OF PROPRIETY OR CEREMONIAL USAGES.

BOOK XI. YÜ 3ÂO

OR

THE JADE-BEAD PENDANTS OF THE ROYAL CAP¹.

SECTION I.

1. The son of Heaven, when sacrificing², wore (the cap) with the twelve long pendants of beads of jade hanging down from its top before and behind, and the robe embroidered with dragons.

2. When saluting the appearance of the sun³ outside the eastern gate⁴, he wore the dark-coloured square-cut robes; and (also) when listening to the notification of the first day of the month⁵ outside the southern gate.

¹ See introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 27, 28.

² Probably, to Heaven; K'ang thought it was to the former kings. Many try to unite both views.

³ At the vernal equinox. Callery has 'Quand de bon matin il sacrifie au soleil.' Probably there was a sacrifice on the occasion; but the text does not say so. The character 朝 (*chiáo*) means 'to appear at audience.'

⁴ Probably, of the city; many say, of the Hall of Distinction.

⁵ This announcement was to the spirits of his royal ancestors in the first place. Compare Analects III, 16.

3. If the month were intercalary, he caused the left leaf of the door to be shut, and stood in the middle of that (which remained open)¹.

4. He wore the skin cap at the daily audience in the court, after which he proceeded to take the morning meal in it. At midday he partook of what was left in the morning. He had music at his meals. Every day a sheep and a pig were killed and cooked; and on the first day of the month an ox in addition. There were five beverages:—water, which was the principal; rice-water, spirits, must, and millet-water.

5. When he had done eating, he remained at ease in the dark-coloured square-cut robes². His actions were written down by the recorder of the Left, and his utterances by the recorder of the Right. The blind musician in attendance judged whether the music were too high or too low³.

6. If the year were not good and fruitful, the son of Heaven wore white and plain robes, rode in the plain and unadorned carriage, and had no music at his meals.

¹ This is not easy to understand, nor easy to make intelligible. An intercalary month was an irregular arrangement of the year. It and the previous month formed one double month. The shutting half the door showed that one half of the time was passed. There remained the other leaf to be given—in the temple or in the palace—to the king for all the ceremonies or acts of government appropriate in such a position for the whole intercalary month. Something like this is sketched out as the meaning by the *K'ien-lung* editors.

² These were so named from the form in which they were made, the cloth being cut straight and square.

³ And judged, it is said, of the character of the measures of government; but this is being 'over-exquisite' to account for the custom.

7. The princes of states, in sacrificing, wore their dark-coloured square-cut robes. At court-audiences (of the king), they wore the cap of the next inferior degree of rank to their own¹. They wore the skin-cap, when listening to the notification of the first day of the month in the Grand temples; and their court robes when holding their daily audience in the inner court-yard.

8. (Their ministers and officers) entered (the palace) as soon as they could distinguish the dawning light², and the ruler came out daily (to the first court, inside the Khû gate), and received them. (After this audience), he retired, and went to the great chamber, there to listen to their proposals about the measures of government. He employed men to see whether the Great officers (were all withdrawn)³; and when they had left, he repaired to the smaller chamber, and put off his (court) robes.

9. He resumed his court robes, when he was about to eat. There was a single animal; with three (other) dishes of meat, the lungs forming the sacrificial offering. In the evening he wore the long robe in one piece, and offered some of the flesh of the animal. On the first day of the moon,

¹ So it seems to be said; but why it was done so, does not clearly appear.

² Several pieces in the Shih allude to this early attendance at court. See Book II, ii, 8; iii, 8, et al.

³ They sat or waited, not inside the chamber, but outside. Some Great officer might wish to bring a matter before the ruler which he had not ventured to mention in public. The ruler, therefore, would give him a private audience; and did not feel himself free from business till all had withdrawn.

a sheep and a pig were killed, and there were five (other) dishes of meat, and four of grain. On 3ze and Mão days¹ there were only the glutinous rice and vegetable soup. His wife used the same kitchen as the ruler².

10. Without some cause for it, a ruler did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor a lower officer a pig or a dog. A superior man had his shambles and kitchen at a distance (from the) house; he did not tread wherever there was such a thing as blood or (tainted) air³.

11. When the eighth month came without rain, the ruler did not have full meals nor music. If the year were not abundant, he wore linen, and stuck in his girdle the tablet of an officer⁴. Duties were not levied at the barrier-gates and dams; the prohibitions of the hills and meres were enforced, but no contributions were required (from hunters and fishermen). No earthworks were undertaken, and Great officers did not make (any new) carriages for themselves.

12. The officer of divination by the tortoise-shell fixed the shell (to be used); the recorder applied the ink; and the ruler determined the figures (produced by the fire)⁵.

¹ See vol. xxvii, p. 180.

² That is, the wife was supplied with what was left from the ruler's meals.

³ Lî Tien says, 'He would not tread on ants.' The *Khien-lung* editors characterise this as 'a womanish remark.'

⁴ A ruler's tablet was of ivory; an officer's only of bamboo, tipped with ivory.

⁵ See the *Kâu Lî*, Book XXII, 25. The *Khien-lung* editors say that the methods of this divination are lost.

13. (The cross-board in front of) the ruler was covered with lambskin, edged with tiger's fur; for his sacred carriage and court-carriage a Great officer had a covering of deer skin, edged with leopard's fur; as also had an ordinary officer for his sacred carriage¹.

14. The regular place for a gentleman was exactly opposite the door, (facing the light). He slept with his head to the east. When there came violent wind, or rapid thunder, or a great rain, he changed (countenance). It was the rule for him then, even in the night, to get up, dress himself, put on his cap, and take his seat.

15. He washed his hands five times a day. He used millet-water in washing his head, and maize-water in washing his face. For his hair (when wet) he used a comb of white-grained wood, and an ivory comb for it when dry. (After his toilet), there were brought to him the (usual) cup and some delicacy; and the musicians came up² and sang.

In bathing he used two towels; a fine one for the upper part (of his body), and a coarser for the lower part. When he got out of the tub, he stepped on a straw mat; and having next washed his feet with hot water, he stepped on the rush one. Then in his (bathing) robe of cloth, he dried his body (again), and put on his shoes; and a drink was then brought into him.

16. When he had arranged to go to the ruler's,

¹ 'The sacred carriage' was one used for going in to some temple service that required previous fasting. The paragraph is strangely constructed. It is supposed that the ruler's carriage at the beginning of it was also a sacred one.

² Came up on the raised hall, that is.

he passed the night in vigil and fasting, occupying an apartment outside his usual one. After he had washed his head and bathed, his secretary brought him the ivory tablet, on which were written his thoughts (which he should communicate to the ruler), and how he should respond to orders (that he might receive). When he was dressed he practised deportment and listened to the sounds of the gems (at his girdle pendant). When he went forth, he bowed to all in his own private court elegantly, and proceeded to mount his carriage (to go to the ruler's) in brilliant style.

17. The son of Heaven carried in his girdle the thing tablet, showing how exact and correct he should be in his relations with all under heaven. The feudal lords had the shû, rounded at the top and straight at the bottom, showing how they should give place to the son of Heaven. The tablet of the Great officers was rounded both at the top and the bottom; showing how they should be prepared to give place in all positions¹.

18. When (a minister) is sitting in attendance on his ruler, the rule was that he should occupy a mat somewhat behind him on one side. If he did not occupy such a mat, he had to draw the one assigned to him back and keep aloof from the ruler's kindred who were near him².

One did not take his place on his mat from the

¹ It is not clear what the tablets of this paragraph were, and whether they were carried in the hand or inserted in the girdle. The character 楮 (3in) seems to imply the latter.

² The *K'ien-lung* editors say that after these two sentences; the subject of the rest of the paragraph is a student before his teacher.

front, to avoid seeming to step over it. When seated and unoccupied he did not take up the whole of the mat by at least a cubit. If he were to read any writings or to eat, he sat forward to the edge. The dishes were put down a cubit from the mat¹.

19. If food were given (to a visitor), and the ruler proceeded to treat him as a guest, he would order him to present the offering, and the visitor would do so. If he took the precedence in eating, he would take a little of all the viands, drink a mouthful, and wait (for the ruler to eat)². If there were one in attendance to taste the viands, he would wait till the ruler ate, and then eat himself. After this eating, he would drink (a mouthful), and wait (again).

20. If the ruler ordered him to partake of the delicacies, he took of that which was nearest to him. If he were told to take of all, he took of whatever he liked. In all cases, in tasting of what was some way off, they began with what was near.

(The visitor) did not dare to add the liquid to his rice till the ruler had touched the corners of his mouth with his hands and put them down³. When the ruler had done eating, he also took of the rice in this fashion, repeating the process three times. When the ruler had the things removed, he took his rice and sauces, and went out and gave them to his attendants.

21. Whenever pressed (by his host) to eat, one should not eat largely; when eating at another's,

¹ And also any tablets or other things to be referred to.

² Tasting the things before the ruler to see that they were good and safe.

³ That is, touched those parts with his fingers to see that no grains were sticking to them.

one should not eat to satiety. It was only of the water and sauces that some was not put down as an offering;—they were accounted too trivial for such a purpose.

22. If the ruler gave a cup (of drink) to an officer, he crossed over from his mat, bowed twice, laid his head to the ground, and received it. Resuming his place, he poured a portion of it as an offering, drank it off, and waited. When the ruler had finished his cup, he then returned his empty.

The rule for a superior man in drinking (with the ruler) was this:—When he received the first cup, he wore a grave look; when he received the second, he looked pleased and respectful. With this the ceremony stopped. At the third cup, he looked self-possessed and prepared to withdraw. Having withdrawn, he knelt down and took his shoes, retired out of the ruler's (sight) and put them on. Kneeling on his left knee, he put on the right shoe; kneeling on the right knee, he put on the left one¹.

23. (At festive entertainments), of all the vases that with the dark-coloured liquor (of water) was considered the most honourable²; and only the ruler sat with his face towards it. For the uncultivated people in the country districts, the vases all con-

¹ The subject in the two parts of this paragraph does not appear to be the same. The officer in the former was merely an attendant we may suppose; in the latter, one of a superior rank. The cup in the one case was of special favour; in the second the cups were such as were drunk with the ruler at certain times, but were always confined to three.

² 'Mindful,' says K'ang, 'of the ways of antiquity.' See Book VII, i, 10, 11, et al. on the honour paid to water at sacrifices and feasts, and the reasons for it.

tained prepared liquors¹. Great officers had the vase on one side of them upon a tray without feet; other officers had it in a similar position on a tray with feet².

SECTION II.

1. At the ceremony of capping, the first cap put on was one of black linen. The use of this extended from the feudal lords downwards. It might, after having been thus employed, be put away or disused³.

2. The dark-coloured cap, with red strings and tassels descending to the breast, was used at the capping of the son of Heaven. The cap of black linen, with strings and tassels of various colours, was used at the capping of a feudal prince. A dark-coloured cap with scarlet strings and tassels was worn by a feudal lord, when fasting. A dark-coloured cap with gray strings and tassels was worn by officers when similarly engaged.

3. A cap of white silk with the border or roll of a dark colour was worn (? at his capping) by a son or grandson (when in a certain stage of mourning)⁴. A similar cap with a plain white edging, was worn after the sacrifice at the end of the year's mourning. (The same cap) with strings hanging down five inches,

¹ The gratification of their taste was the principal thing at festive entertainments of the common people.

² On the two trays mentioned here,—the yü (composed of 木, and 於 on the right of it) and the k'in (禁),—see Book VIII, i, 12.

³ Such a cap had been used anciently; and it was used in the ceremony, though subsequently disused, out of respect to the ancient custom.

⁴ When his grandfather was dead, and his father (still alive) was in deep mourning for him.

served to mark the idle and listless officer¹. A dark-coloured cap with the roll round it of white silk was worn by one excluded from the ranks of his compeers².

4. The cap worn in private, with the roll or border attached to it, was used by all from the son of Heaven downwards. When business called them, the strings were tied and their ends allowed to hang down.

5. At fifty, one did not accompany a funeral with his sackcloth hanging loose. When his parents were dead, (a son) did not have his hair dressed in tufts (any more). With the large white (cap) they did not use strings hanging down. The purple strings with the dark-coloured cap began with duke Hwan of Lû³.

6. In the morning they wore the dark-coloured square-cut dress; in the evening, the long dress in one piece. That dress at the waist was thrice the width of the sleeve; and at the bottom twice as wide as at the waist. It was gathered in at each side (of the body). The sleeve could be turned back to the elbow.

7. The outer or under garment joined on to the sleeve and covered a cubit of it⁴. The collar was 2 inches wide; the cuff, a cubit and 2 inches long; the border, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad. To wear silk under or inside linen was contrary to rule.

8. An (ordinary) officer did not wear anything woven of silk that had been first dyed⁵. One who had left the service of his ruler wore no two articles of different colours.

¹ By way of punishment or disgrace.

² Also in punishment. See Book III, iv, 2-5. ³ B.C. 711-694.

⁴ If we could see one dressed as in those early days, we should understand this better than we do.

⁵ Because of its expensiveness.

If the upper garment were of one of the correct colours, the lower garment was of the (corresponding) intermediate one ¹.

9. One did not enter the ruler's gate without the proper colours in his dress; nor in a single robe of grass-cloth, fine or coarse; nor with his fur robe either displayed outside, or entirely covered.

10. A garment wadded with new floss was called *kien*; with old, *pháo*. One unlined was called *kiung*; one lined, but not wadded, *tieh*.

11. The use of thin white silk in court-robos began with *Ki Khang-ze*. Confucius said, 'For the audience they use the (regular) court-robos, which are put on after the announcement of the first day of the month (in the temple).' He (also) said, 'When good order does not prevail in the states and clans, (the officers) should not use the full dress (as prescribed) ².'

12. Only a ruler wore the chequered fur robe ³ in addressing (his troops or the multitudes), and at the autumnal hunts ⁴. (For him) to wear the Great fur robe was contrary to ancient practice.

13. When a ruler wore the robe of white fox-fur, he wore one of embroidered silk over it to display it ⁵.

¹ The five 'correct' colours were azure (青; of varying shade), scarlet (赤; carnation, the colour of the flesh), white, black, and yellow. The 'intermediate' were green (綠), red (紅), jade-green (碧), purple (紫), and bay-yellow (駢黃).

² See the concluding article in the 'Narratives of the School.' The words of Confucius are understood to intimate a condemnation of *Ki Khang-ze*.

³ Made of black lamb's fur and white fox-fur.

⁴ Or, according to many, in giving charges about agriculture.

⁵ Of one colour, worn by the king, at a border sacrifice.

When (the guards on) the right of the ruler wore tigers' fur, those on the left wore wolves' fur. An (ordinary) officer did not wear the fur of the white fox.

14. (Great and other) officers wore the fur of the blue fox, with sleeves of leopard's fur, and over it a jacket of dark-coloured silk to display it; with fawn's fur they used cuffs of the black wild dog¹, with a jacket of bluish yellow silk, to display it; with lamb's fur, ornaments of leopard's fur, and a jacket of black silk to display it; with fox-fur, a jacket of yellow silk to display it. A jacket of embroidered silk with fox-fur was worn by the feudal lords.

15. With dog's fur or sheep's fur², they did not wear any jacket of silk over it. Where there was no ornamentation, they did not use the jacket. The wearing the jacket was to show its beauty.

When condoling, they kept the jacket covered, and did now show all its ornamental character; in the presence of the ruler, they showed all this.

The covering of the dress was to hide its beauty. Hence, personators of the deceased covered their jackets of silk. Officers holding a piece of jade or a tortoise-shell (to present it) covered it; but if they had no (such official) business in hand, they displayed the silken garment, and did not presume to cover it.

16. For his memorandum-tablet, the son of Heaven used a piece of sonorous jade; the prince of a state, a piece of ivory; a Great officer, a piece of bamboo, ornamented with fishbone³; ordinary

¹ Or foreign dog. An animal like the tapir or rhinoceros is called by the same name, but cannot be meant here.

² 'The dress,' says K'ang, 'worn by the common people.'

³ The bone seems to be specified; 須, read pan. What bone and of what fish, I do not know.

officers might use bamboo, adorned with ivory at the bottom.

17. When appearing before the son of Heaven, and at trials of archery, there was no such thing as being without this tablet. It was contrary to rule to enter the Grand temple without it. During the five months' mourning, it was not laid aside. When engaged in the performance of some business, and wearing the cincture, one laid it aside. When he had put it in his girdle, the bearer of it was required to wash his hands; but afterwards, though he had something to do in the court, he did not wash them (again).

When one had occasion to point to or draw anything before the ruler, he used the tablet. When he went before him and received a charge, he wrote it down on it. For all these purposes the tablet was used, and therefore it was ornamental.

18. The tablet was 2 cubits and 6 inches long. Its width at the middle was 3 inches; and it tapered away to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (at the ends).

19. (A ruler) wore a plain white girdle of silk, with ornamented ends; a Great officer, a similar girdle, with the ends hanging down; an ordinary officer, one of dyed silk, with the edges tucked in, and the ends hanging down; a scholar waiting to be employed, one of embroidered silk; and young lads, one of white silk¹.

¹ From this paragraph to the end of the part, the text is in great confusion; with characters missing here and there, and sentences thrown together without natural connexion. *Khân Hào* has endeavoured to readjust them; but I have preferred to follow the order of the imperial and other editions. The *Khien-lung* editors advise the reader to do so, and make the best he can of them by means of *K'ang Hsüan's* notes. *Khân Hào's* order is—

20. For all these the buttons and loops were made of silk cords.

21. The knee-covers of a ruler were of vermilion colour; those of a Great officer, white; and of another officer, purple:—all of leather; and might be rounded, slanting, and straight. Those of the son of Heaven were straight (and pointed at all the corners); of the prince of a state, square both at bottom and top; of a Great officer, square at the bottom, with the corners at the top rounded off; and of another officer, straight both at bottom and top.

22. The width of these covers was 2 cubits at bottom, and 1 at top. Their length was 3 cubits. On each side of (what was called) the neck were 5 inches, reaching to the shoulders or corners. From the shoulders to the leathern band were 2 inches¹.

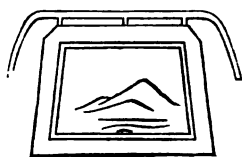
23. The great girdle of a Great officer was 4

paragraphs—25, 19, 20, 27, 23, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29. By this arrangement something like a train of thought can be made out.

¹ The knee-covers of the prince of a state are represented thus—



; and of a Great officer,



The middle suspender joined on to the top strap at the neck; the two others at the shoulders. On the central portions of the cover were represented certain of the emblems of distinction, according to the rank of the wearer:—dragons on the king's; flames on a prince's; and mountains on a Great officer's. But I do not think the makers of these figures had distinct ideas of the articles which they intended to represent. They certainly fail in giving the student such ideas. The colours, &c., moreover, appear to have varied with the occasions on which they were worn.

inches (wide)¹. In variegated girdles, the colours for a ruler were vermilion and green; for a Great officer, cerulean and yellow; for an (ordinary) officer, a black border of 2 inches, and this, when carried round the body a second time, appeared to be 4 inches. On all girdles which were tucked in there was no needlework.

24. (An officer) who had received his first commission wore a cover of reddish-purple, with a black supporter for his girdle-pendant. One who had received the second commission wore a scarlet cover, (also) with a black supporter for the pendant; and one who had received the third commission, a scarlet cover, with an onion-green supporter for the pendant².

25. The son of Heaven wore a girdle of plain white silk, with vermilion lining, and ornamented ends.

26. The queen wore a robe with white pheasants embroidered on it; (a prince's) wife, one with green pheasants³.

27. (The cords that formed the loops and buttons) were 3 inches long, equal to the breadth of the girdle. The rule for the length of the sash (descending from the girdle) was, that, for an officer, it should

¹ This, according to the *K'hien-lung* editors, was the girdle or sash of 'correct dress,' and white. The variegated girdles, they say, were worn in private and when at leisure.

² The character for a knee-cover here (韃, fū) is different from that in paragraph 21 (韃, pī); but the *K'hien-lung* editors say their significance is exactly the same. How the knee-covers and the supporter or balance-yard (衡, hāng) of the girdle pendant are spoken of together, I do not know.

³ The pheasants here referred to are described as I have done in the *R-Ya*. The 'wife' is supposed also to include the ladies called the king's 'three helpmates' in Book I, ii, Part ii, 1.

be 3 cubits; for one discharging a special service, $2\frac{1}{2}$. 3ze-yû said, 'Divide all below the girdle into three parts, and the sash will be equal to two of them. The sash, the knee-covers, and the ties are all of equal length¹.'

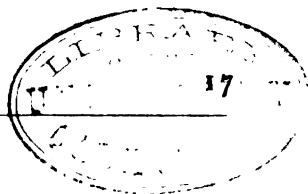
28. (The wife of a count or baron) who had received a degree of honour from the ruler² wore a pheasant cut out in silk on her robe; (the wife of the Great officer of a count or baron), who had received two degrees, wore a robe of fresh yellow; (the wife of a Great officer), who had received one degree, a robe of white; and the wife of an ordinary officer, a robe of black.

29. Only the ladies of honour³ received their degree of appointment, when they presented their cocoons. The others all wore the dresses proper to them as the wives of their husbands.

¹ K'hsan Hsiao says, 'Man's length is 8 cubits; below the waist $4\frac{1}{2}$ (= 45 inches). A third of this is 15 inches. $2 \times 15 = 30$ or 3 cubits, the length of the sash, and of the covers in par. 22.' The cubit must have been shorter than the name now indicates. I do not know what the 'ties' were.

² K'ang Hsüan took the ruler here to be feminine, and to mean 'the queen;' and, notwithstanding the protest of the K'ien-lung editors, I think he was right. This paragraph and the next speak of the queen and ladies who were brought around her by their work in silk. Why may we not suppose that in her department she could confer distinction on the deserving as the king did in his? This passage seems to show that she did so.

³ These ladies—'hereditary wives'—occur also in Bk. I, ii, Part ii, 1. It is commonly said that there were twenty-seven members of the royal harem, who had each that title; but there is much vagueness and uncertainty about all such statements. 'The others' must refer to the ladies, wives of the feudal lords and Great officers, whose rank gave them the privilege to co-operate with the queen in her direction of the nourishing of the silkworms and preparation of silk.



SECTION III.

1. All (officers) in attendance on the ruler let the sash hang down till their feet seemed to tread on the lower edge (of their skirt)¹. Their chins projected like the eaves of a house, and their hands were clasped before them low down. Their eyes were directed downwards, and their ears were higher than the eyes. They saw (the ruler) from his girdle up to his collar. They listened to him with their ears turned to the left ².

2. When the ruler called (an officer) to his presence, he might send three tokens. If two of them came to him, he ran (to answer the message); if (only) one, he yet walked quickly. If in his office, he did not wait for his shoes; if he were outside elsewhere, he did not wait for his carriage.

3. When an officer received a visit from a Great officer, he did not venture to bow (when he went) to meet him ³; but he did so when escorting him on his departure. When he went to visit one of higher rank than himself, he first bowed (at the gate) and then went into his presence. If the other bowed to him in replying, he hurried on one side to avoid (the honour).

4. When an officer was speaking before the ruler, if he had occasion to speak of a Great officer who was dead, he called him by his posthumous epithet, or by the designation of his maturity; if of an officer

¹ See vol. xxvii, page 100, note 1.

² They were on the right of the ruler, and turned their ears to the left to hear him.

³ That the more honourable visitor might not have the trouble of responding with a bow.

(who was similarly dead), he called him by his name. When speaking with a Great officer, he mentioned officers by their name, and (other) Great officers by their designation.

5. In speaking at a Great officer's, he avoided using the name of the (former) ruler, but not that of any of his own dead. At all sacrifices and in the ancestral temple, there was no avoiding of names. In school there was no avoiding of any character in the text.

6. Anciently, men of rank did not fail to wear their girdle-pendants with their precious stones, those on the right giving the notes *Kih* and *Kio*, and those on the left *Kung* and *Yü*¹.

When (the king or ruler) was walking quickly (to the court of audience), he did so to the music of the *Shâi K'hi*; when walking more quickly (back to the reception-hall), they played the *Sze hsiâ*². When turning round, he made a complete circle; when turning in another direction, he did so at a right angle. When advancing, he inclined forward a little; he held himself up straight; and in all these movements, the pieces of jade emitted their tinklings. So also the man of rank, when in his carriage, heard the harmonious sounds of its bells; and, when walking, those of his pendant jade-stones; and in this way evil and depraved thoughts found no entrance into his mind.

7. When the ruler was present, (his son and heir)

¹ *Kih* and *Kio* were the fourth and third notes of the musical scale, corresponding to our D and B; *Kung* and *Yü*, the first and fifth, corresponding to G and E. See the Chinese Classics, vol. iii, p. 84, note.

² *Shâi K'hi* is taken as another name for the *Khû Shze*, Chinese Classics, vol. iii, pp. 317-318.

did not wear the pendant of jade-stones. He tied it up on the left of his girdle, and left free the pendant (of useful things) on the right. When seated at ease, he wore the (jade) pendant; but in court, he tied it up¹.

In fasting and vigil they wore it, but the strings were turned round, and fastened at the girdle. They wore then the purple knee-covers¹.

8. All wore the jade-stone pendant at the girdle, excepting during the mourning rites. (At the end of the middle string) in it was the tooth-like piece, colliding with the others. A man of rank was never without this pendant, excepting for some sufficient reason; he regarded the pieces of jade as emblematic of the virtues (which he should cultivate).

9. The son of Heaven had his pendant composed of beads of white jade, hung on dark-coloured strings; a duke or marquis, his of jade-beads of hill-azure, on vermilion strings; a Great officer, his of beads of aqua-marine, on black strings; an heir-son, his of beads of Yü jade, on variegated strings; an ordinary officer, his of beads of jade-like quartz, on orange-coloured strings.

Confucius wore at his pendant balls of ivory², five inches (round), on gray strings.

10. According to the regulations for (the dress of) a lad³, his upper garment was of black linen,

¹ There were three pendants from the girdle:—the jade-stone in the middle, called the pendant of 'virtue;' and two others of useful things on the left and right, of which we shall read by and by. The subject of the first two sentences is said, correctly as I think, to be the heir-son of a ruler; while the last two have a more general application.

² Or 'an ivory ring.'

³ One who had not yet been capped.

with an embroidered edging. His sash was embroidered, and (also) the strings for the button-loops (of his girdle). With such a string he bound up his hair. The embroidered border and strings were all red.

11. When the ends of fastening strings reached to the girdle, if they had any toilsome business to do, they put them aside. If they were running, they thrust them in the breast¹.

12. A lad did not wear furs, nor silk, nor the ornamental points on his shoes. He did not wear the three months' mourning. He did not wear the hempen band, when receiving any orders. When he had nothing to do (in mourning rites), he stood on the north of the principal mourner, with his face to the south. When going to see a teacher, he followed in the suite of others, and entered his apartment.

13. When one was sitting at a meal with another older than himself, or of a different (and higher) rank, he was the last to put down the offering², but the first to taste the food. When the guest put down the offering, the host apologised, saying that the food was not worthy of such a tribute. When the guest was enjoying the viands, the host apologised for their being scanty and poor. When the host himself put down the pickle (for the guest), the guest himself removed it. When the members of a household ate together, not being host and guests, one of them removed the dishes; and the same was done when a company had eaten together. At all festival meals, the women (of the house) did not remove the dishes.

¹ This paragraph seems to be out of place. K'ang thought should follow the first sentence of paragraph 27 in the last part.

² By way of thanksgiving to the father of Cookery.

14. When eating dates, peaches, or plums, they did not cast the stones away (on the ground)¹. They put down the first slice of a melon as an offering, ate the other slices, and threw away the part by which they held it. When others were eating fruits with a man of rank, they ate them after him; cooked viands they ate before him². At meetings of rejoicing, if there were not some gift from the ruler, they did not congratulate one another; at meetings of sorrow³,

15. If one had any toilsome business to do, he took them in his hand. If he were running, he thrust them in his breast⁴.

16. When Confucius was eating with (the head of) the K'î family, he made no attempt to decline anything, but finished his meal with the rice and liquid added to it, without eating any of the flesh⁵.

17. When the ruler sent (to an officer) the gift of a carriage and horses, he used them in going to give thanks for them. When the gift was of clothes, he wore them on the same occasion. (In the case of similar gifts to a commissioner from the king), until his (own) ruler had given him orders to use them, he did not dare at once to do so⁶. When the ruler's

¹ Compare vol. xxvii, page 81, paragraph 6a.

² Fruits were the productions of nature, and there could be no poison in them. Cooked food might have been tampered with, and those in attendance on a superior man first tasted it as a precaution for his safety.

³ The conclusion is evidently lost.

⁴ A mistaken and meaningless repetition of part of paragraph 11.

⁵ To express, it is supposed, his dissatisfaction with some want of courtesy in his host.

⁶ This sentence is perplexing, and there are different views in interpreting it. I have followed K'ang Hsüan.

gift reached him, he bowed his head to the ground with his two hands also, laying one of them over the other. A gift of liquor and flesh did not require the second expression of thanks (by the visit).

18. Whenever a gift was conferred on a man of rank, nothing was given to a small man on the same day.

19. In all cases of presenting offerings to a ruler, a Great officer sent his steward with them, and an ordinary officer went with them himself. In both cases they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground as they sent the things away; and again the steward and the officer did the same at the ruler's¹. If the offerings were of prepared food for the ruler, there were the accompaniments of ginger and other pungent vegetables, of a peach-wood and a sedge-broom². A Great officer dispensed with the broom, and the officer with the pungent vegetables. (The bearers) went in with all the articles to the cook. The Great officer did not go in person to make obeisance, lest the ruler should come to respond to him.

20. When a Great officer went (next day) to do obeisance for the ruler's gift, he retired after performing the ceremony. An officer, (doing the same), waited to receive the ruler's acknowledgment (of his visit), and then retired, bowing again as he did so; but (the ruler) did not respond to his obeisance.

When a Great officer gave anything in person to an ordinary officer, the latter bowed on receiving

¹ This translation seems to make too much out of the text; but it is after Khung Ying-tâ, K'ân Hào, and others.

² Such presents might decompose or become offensive, and therefore these accompaniments were sent with them.

it ; and also went to his house to repeat the obeisance. He did not, however, wear the clothes (which might have been the gift), in going to make that obeisance.

(In interchanges between) equals, if (the recipient) were in the house (when the gift arrived), he went and made his obeisance in the house (of the donor).

21. When any one presented an offering to his superior in rank, he did not dare to say directly that it was for him¹.

An ordinary officer did not presume to receive the congratulations of a Great officer ; but a Great officer of the lowest grade did so from one of the highest.

When one was exchanging courtesies with another, if his father were alive, he would appeal to his authority ; if the other gave him a gift, he would say, in making obeisance for it, that he did so for his father.

22. If the ceremony were not very great, the (beauty of the) dress was not concealed. In accordance with this, when the great robe of fur was worn, it was without the appendage of one of thin silk to display it, and when (the king) rode in the grand carriage, he did not bend forward to the cross-bar (to show his reverence for any one beyond the service he was engaged on)².

¹ He would say, for instance, that it was for some member of his household.

² There are only fifteen characters in this paragraph, nor is there any intricacy in its structure, but few passages in the collection perplex a translator more. If we leave out the negatives in the former sentence, the meaning becomes clear. The grand carriage and grand fur-robe were used at the greatest of all ceremonies, the solstitial sacrifice to Heaven, which itself so occupied the mind

23. When a father's summons came to him, a son reverently obeyed it without any delay. Whatever work he had in hand, he laid aside. He ejected the meat that was in his mouth, and ran, not contenting himself with a measured, though rapid pace. When his parents were old and he had gone away, he did not go to a second place, nor delay his return beyond the time agreed on; when they were ailing, his looks and manner appeared troubled:—these were less-important observances of a filial son.

24. When his father died, he could not (bear to) read his books;—the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not (bear to) drink from the cups and bowls that she had used;—the breath of her mouth seemed still to be on them.

25. When a ruler, (visiting another ruler), was about to enter the gate, the attendant dusted the low post (at the middle of the threshold). The Great officers stood midway between the side-posts and this short post (behind their respective rulers). An officer, acting as an attendant, brushed the side-posts.

(A Great officer) on a mission from another court, did not enter at the middle of (either half of) the gate, nor tread on the threshold. If he were come on public business, he entered on the west of the short post; if on his own business, on the east of it.

26. A ruler and a representative of the dead brought their feet together step by step when they walked; a Great officer stepped along, one foot after the other; an ordinary officer kept the length of his

of the sovereign that he was supposed to think of nothing else. The paragraph might have had a more appropriate place in the seventh Book or the ninth.

foot between his steps. In walking slowly, they all observed these rules. In walking rapidly, while they wished to push on (and did so), they were not allowed to alter the motion either of hands or feet. In turning their feet inwards or outwards, they did not lift them up, and the edge of the lower garment dragged along, like the water of a stream. In walking on the mats it was the same.

When walking erect, (the body was yet bent, and) the chin projected like the eaves of a house, and their advance was straight as an arrow. When walking rapidly, the body had the appearance of rising constantly with an elevation of the feet. When carrying a tortoise-shell or (a symbol of) jade, they raised their toes and trailed their heels, presenting an appearance of carefulness.

27. In walking (on the road), the carriage of the body was straight and smart ; in the ancestral temple, it was reverent and grave ; in the court, it was exact and easy.

28. The carriage of a man of rank was easy, but somewhat slow ;—grave and reserved, when he saw any one whom he wished to honour. He did not move his feet lightly, nor his hands irreverently. His eyes looked straightforward, and his mouth was kept quiet and composed. No sound from him broke the stillness, and his head was carried upright. His breath came without panting or stoppage, and his standing gave (the beholder) an impression of virtue. His looks were grave, and he sat like a personator of the dead¹. When at leisure and at ease, and in conversation, he looked mild and bland.

¹ See vol. xxvii, page 62, paragraph 6, and note 2.

29. At all sacrifices, the bearing and appearance (of the worshippers) made it appear as if they saw those to whom they were sacrificing.

30. When engaged with the mourning rites, they had a wearied look, and an aspect of sorrow and unrest. Their eyes looked startled and dim, and their speech was drawling and low.

31. The carriage of a martialist was bold and daring; his speech had a tone of decision and command; his face was stern and determined; and his eyes were clear and bright.

32. He stood with an appearance of lowliness, but with no indication of subserviency. His head rose straight up from the centre of the neck. He stood (firm) as a mountain, and his movements were well timed. His body was well filled with the volume of his breath, which came forth powerfully like that of nature. His complexion showed (the beauty and strength of) a piece of jade¹.

33. When they spoke of themselves, the style of the son of Heaven was, 'I, the One man;' a chief of regions described himself as 'The strong minister.

¹ On the translation of this, and many of the paragraphs immediately preceding, Callery says:—'The Chinese text contains dissyllabic expressions very difficult to translate, because they are a sort of onomatopœias, which have nothing in common with the nature of the things to which they are applied. We could do nothing better with them than adopt the sense given by the commentators.' But these binomial combinations, which are often repetitions of the same character, are only onomatopoeitic in the sense in which all words, sensuously descriptive at first, are applied by the mind to express its own concepts; metaphorical rather than onomatopoeitic. They are very common in the Shih, or Book of Poetry, and in all passionate, descriptive composition. So it is in other languages as well as Chinese.

of the son of Heaven;' the relation of a feudal lord expressed itself by 'So and So, the guardian of such and such a territory.' If the fief were on the borders, he used the style—'So and So, the minister in such and such a screen.' Among his equals and those below him, he called himself 'The man of little virtue.' The ruler of a small state called himself 'The orphan.' The officer who answered for him (at a higher court) also styled him so¹.

34. A Great officer of the highest grade (at his own court), called himself 'Your inferior minister;' (at another court), his attendant who answered for him, described him as 'The ancient of our poor ruler.' A Great officer of the lowest grade (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'Our unworthy Great officer.' The son and heir of a feudal prince (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'The rightful son of our unworthy ruler.'

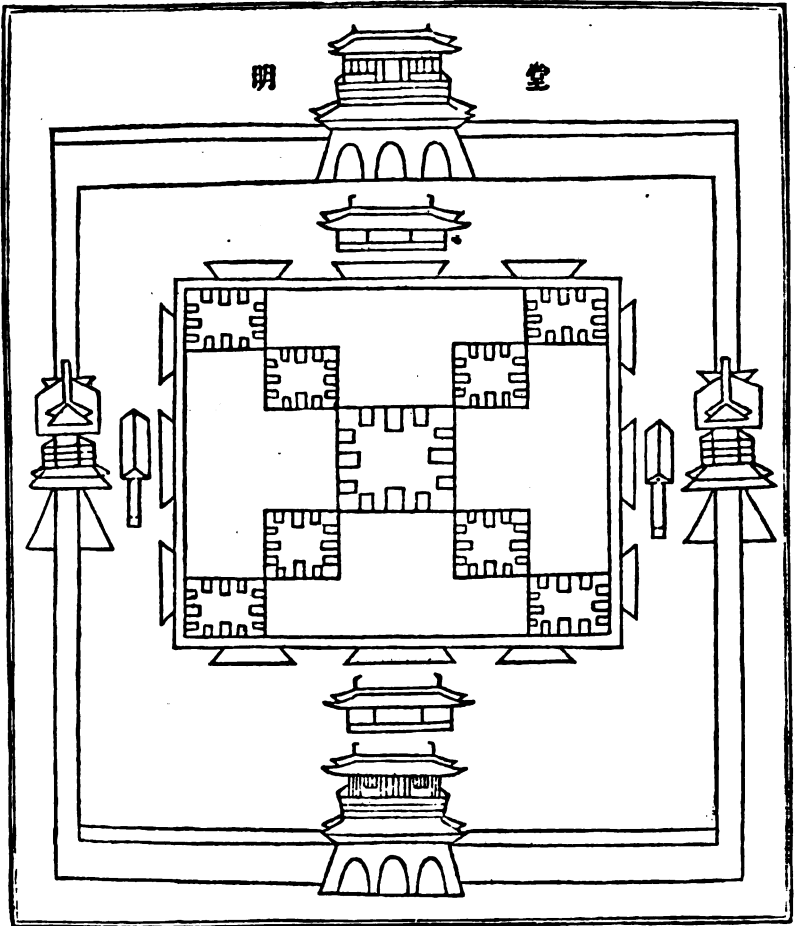
35. A ruler's son (by an inferior lady) called himself 'Your minister, the shoot from the stock.' An (ordinary) officer styled himself 'Your minister, the fleet courier;' to a Great officer, he described himself as 'The outside commoner.' When a Great officer went on a mission about private affairs, a man of his private establishment went with him as his spokesman, and called him by his name.

36. When an officer belonging to the ruler's establishment acted (at another court for a Great officer), he spoke of him as 'Our unworthy Great officer,' or 'The ancient of our unworthy ruler.'

¹ So, most commentators; but this last sentence is not clear.

When a Great officer went on any mission, it was the rule that he should have such an officer from the ruler's establishment with him, to answer for him.

PLAN OF THE HALL OF DISTINCTION.



BOOK XII. MING THANG WEI

OR

THE PLACES IN THE HALL OF DISTINCTION¹.

1. Formerly, when the duke of *Kâu* gave audience to the feudal princes in their several places in the Hall of Distinction, the son of Heaven stood with his back to the axe-embroidered screen², and his face towards the south³.

2. The three dukes⁴ were in front of the steps, in the middle, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the most honourable position⁵. The places of the marquises were at the east of the

¹ See introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 28-30. On the opposite page there is the plan of the Hall, as given in Morrison's Dictionary, vol. i, part i, page 512. Compare it with the less complicated figure in vol. xxvii, page 252.

² See vol. xxvii, page 111, paragraph 11.

³ Many chronological and other perplexing questions arise in connexion with the great audience described in this and the paragraphs that immediately follow. The time should be referred, I think, to the inauguration of Lo as the eastern capital of *Kâu*, probably in B.C. 1109, at the close of the duke of *Kâu*'s regency for the young king *Khăng*; see the *Shû*, V, xiii. That 'the son of Heaven' must be understood of king *Khăng* himself, and not of the duke of *Kâu*, is a point, it seems to me, that no Chinese commentator should ever have called in question.

⁴ The three Kung, I suppose, mentioned in vol. iii, page 227, paragraph 3. The duke of *Kâu* was himself one of them; but perhaps, during his regency, another had been appointed in his place.

⁵ The text here simply = 'the east the upper.' The nearer one was to the king, the more honourable was his position.

eastern steps, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the most honourable position. The lords of the earldoms were at the west of the western steps, with their faces to the east, inclining also and for the same reason to the north. The counts were on the east of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the more honourable position. The barons were on the west of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining also and for the same reason to the east.

3. The chiefs of the nine Î¹ were outside the eastern door, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the position of honour; those of the eight Mân were outside the door on the south, with their faces to the north, inclining for the same reason to the east; those of the six Zung were outside the door on the west, with their faces to the east, inclining for the same reason to the south; and those of the five Tî were outside the door on the north, with their faces to the south, inclining for the same reason to the east.

4. The chiefs of the nine 3hâi were outside the Ying gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the position of honour for them; those of the four Sâi (also) came, who had only once in their time to announce their arrival (at the court). These were the places of the lords in the Hall of Distinction (when they appeared before) the duke of Kâu².

¹ Î was the general name for the wild tribes of the east; Mân, for those of the south; Zung, for those of the west; and Tî, for those of the north.

² It is so difficult to explain what is meant by 'the nine 3hâi,' and again by 'the four Sâi,' that I am inclined to doubt, with Wang Yen (王炎) and others, the genuineness of this paragraph.

5. The Hall of Distinction was so called, because in it the rank of the princes was clearly shown as high or low¹.

6. Formerly, when *Kâu* of Yin was throwing the whole kingdom into confusion, he made dried slices of (the flesh of) the marquis of Kwei², and used them in feasting the princes. On this account the duke of *Kâu* assisted king *Wû* in attacking *Kâu*. When king *Wû* died, king *Khǎng* being young and weak, the duke took the seat of the son of Heaven³, and governed the kingdom. During six years he gave audience to all the princes in the Hall of Distinction; instituted ceremonies, made his instruments of music, gave out his (standard) weights and measures⁴, and there was a grand submission throughout the kingdom.

7. In the seventh year, he resigned the government to king *Khǎng*; and he, in consideration of the duke's services to the kingdom, invested him with (the territory about) *Khü-fû*⁵, seven hundred li square, and sending forth a thousand chariots of

¹ See the introduction, vol. xxvii, page 28.

² 'The marquis of Kwei' appears in Sze-mâ *Khien's* history of Yin (near the end), as the marquis of *Khiû* (九侯), and is made into pickle. The reference, no doubt, is to some act of atrocious and wanton cruelty on the part of *Kâu*.

³ This can only mean that the duke, as regent, administered the government, though the compiler of the Book wanted to exalt his personality beyond the bounds of truth.

⁴ The text is—measures of length and of capacity.

⁵ *Khü-fû* is still a district city in the department of Yen-kâu, Shan-tung. It was the capital of *Lû*; and is called by foreigners 'the city of Confucius.' It contains the great temple of the sage, and is the residence of his representative-descendant, with thousands of other Khungs.

war¹. He (also) gave charge that (the princes of) Lû, from generation to generation, should sacrifice to the duke of Kâu with the ceremonies and music proper at a sacrifice by the son of Heaven.

8. Thus it was that the rulers of Lû, in the first month of spring, rode in a grand carriage, displaying the banner, suspended from its bow-like arm, with the twelve streamers, and having the sun and moon emblazoned on it, to sacrifice to God in the suburb of their metropolis, associating Hâu K' as his assessor in the service ;—according to the ceremonies used by the son of Heaven².

9. In the last month of summer, the sixth month, they used the ceremonies of the great sacrifice in sacrificing to the duke of Kâu in the great ancestral temple, employing for the victim to him a white bull. The cups were those with the figure of a victim bull, of an elephant, and of hills and clouds ; that for the fragrant spirits was the one with gilt eyes on it. For libations they used the cup of jade with the handle made of a long rank-symbol. The dishes with the offerings were on stands of wood, adorned with jade and carved. The cups for the personator were of jade carved in the same way. There were also the plain cups and those of horn, adorned with round pieces of jade ; and for the meat-stands, they used those with four feet and the cross-binders.

10. (The singers) went up to the hall (or stage),

¹ This is one of the gross exaggerations in the Book. The marquisate of Lû was only a hundred lî square on its first constitution.

² Of this and many of the statements in the paragraphs that follow, see the fourth of the 'Praise Odes of Lû,' in the Shih, Metrical version, pp. 379-383.

and sang the *K'ing Miào*; (in the court) below, (the pantomimes) performed the *Hsiang* dance¹, to the accompaniment of the wind instruments. With their red shields and jade-adorned axes, and in their caps with pendants, they danced to the music of the *Tâ Wû*²; in their skin caps, and large white skirts gathered at the waist, and jacket of silk, they danced the *Tâ Hsiâ*³. There (were also) the *Mei*, or music of the wild tribes of the East; and the *Zăn*, or music of those of the South. The introduction of these two in the grand temple was to signalise the distinction of *Lû* all over the kingdom.

11. The ruler, in his dragon-figured robe and cap with pendants, stood at the eastern steps; and his wife, in her head-dress and embroidered robe, stood in her room. The ruler, with shoulder bared, met the victim at the gate; his wife brought in the stands for the dishes. The ministers and Great officers assisted the ruler; their wives⁴ assisted his wife. Each one discharged the duty proper to him or her. Any officer who neglected his duty was severely punished; and throughout the kingdom there was a great acknowledgment of, and submission to, (the worth of the duke of *Kâu*).

12. (In *Lû*) they offered (also) the sacrifices of summer, autumn, and winter (in the ancestral temple); with those at the altars of the land and grain in spring, and that at the autumnal hunt, going on to the great sacrifice of thanksgiving at

¹ See vol. xxvii, page 361, paragraph 21.

² Attributed to king *Wû*.

³ Said to be of the *Hsiâ* dynasty.

⁴ 'The commissioned wives;' including, according to *K'ăn Hão*, the ruler's 'ladies of honour,' as well as the wives of his ministers and Great officers.

the end of the year :—all (after the pattern of) the sacrifices of the son of Heaven.

13. The grand temple (of Lû) corresponded to the Hall of Distinction of the son of Heaven, the Khû gate of the (marquis's palace) to the Kâo (or outer) gate of the king's, and the Kih gate to the Ying¹. They shook the bell with the wooden clapper in the court as was done in the royal court, in announcing governmental orders.

14. The capitals of the pillars with hills carved on them, and the pond-weed carving on the small pillars above the beams; the second storey and the great beams projecting under the eaves; the polished pillars and the windows opposite to one another; the earthen stand on which the cups, after being used, were placed; the high stand on which the jade tokens were displayed aloft; and the slightly carved screen:—all these were ornaments of the temple of the son of Heaven².

15. (The princes of Lû) had, as carriages, that of (Shun), the lord of Yü, furnished with bells; that of the sovereign of Hsiâ, with its carved front; the Great carriage (of wood), or that of Yin; and the carriage (adorned with jade), or that of Kâu.

16. They had, as flags or banners, that of (Shun), the lord of Yü; the yak's tail of the sovereign of Hsiâ; the great white flag of Yin; and the corresponding red one of Kâu.

¹ The five gates of the royal palace, beginning with the outermost, were the Kâo (皇), the Khû (庫), the Kih (雉), the Ying (應), and the Lû (路); the palaces of the princes wanted the Kâo and Ying gates. The grand temples appear to have been constructed on a similar plan, to the east of the palace.

² And in the temple of Lû, also, it is implied.

17. They had the white horses of the sovereign of Hsiâ, with their black manes; the white horses of Yin, with their black heads; and the bay horses of Kâu, with red manes. The sovereigns of Hsiâ preferred black victims; those of Yin, white; and those of Kâu, victims which were red and strong.

18. Of jugs for liquor, they had the earthenware jug of the lord of Yü; the jug of Hsiâ, with clouds and hills figured on it; the *kio* of Yin, with no base, which rested directly on the ground; and the jugs of Kâu, with a victim-bull or an elephant on them.

19. For bowls or cups they had the *kân*¹ of Hsiâ; the *kia* of Yin²; and the *kio* of Kâu³.

20. For libations they had the jug of Hsiâ, with a cock on it; the *kia* of Yin; and that of Kâu, with gilt eyes on it.

For ladles they had that of Hsiâ, with the handle ending in a dragon's head; that of Yin, slightly carved all over; and that of Kâu, with the handle like plaited rushes.

21. They had the earthen drum, with clods for the drumstick and the reed pipe,—producing the music of *Î-khi*⁴; the pillow-like bundles of chaff,

¹ Made of-jade, or adorned with it.

² With plants of grain figured on it.

³ Also made of, or adorned with, jade.

⁴ *Î-khi* is said by K'ang to be 'the dynastic title of an ancient son of Heaven.' Many identify him with Shân N'ang, who generally follows Fû-hsî in the chronology, and who cannot be placed later than the thirty-first century B. C., if we can speak at all of so distant dates. Evidently the compiler is putting down the names of the most ancient instruments which he had heard of. There is in the K'ien-lung edition of our collection, chapter 81, page 5, a representation of the drum and its handle; with a collection of the views about them, contradictory and fantastical,

which were struck¹; the sounding stone of jade; the instruments rubbed or struck, (to regulate the commencement and close of the music)²; the great lute and great cithern; the medium lute and little cithern³:—the musical instruments of the four dynasties.

22. The temple of the duke of Lû was maintained from generation to generation like that of (king) Wăn (in the capital of Kâu), and the temple of duke Wû in the same way like that of (king) Wû⁴.

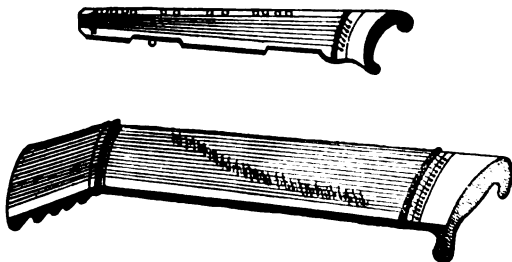
23. They had the hsiang (school) of the lord of Yü, in connexion with which were kept the stores of (sacrificial) rice⁵; the hsü school of the sovereign of Hsiâ; the school of Yin, in which the blind were

so that it is not worth while to reproduce them here. There is a figure also of the reed pipe, which can only have been something a little superior to the early 'oaten pipe' of the west.

¹ This also is represented in the *K'ien-lung* edition; but how anything like music could be brought from the pillows I do not know. The two characters, supposed to give the name, are found, perhaps, in the *Shu*, II, iv, 9, used with verbal force of playing on the lute.

² The *K'ü* and *Yü*; see vol. xxvii, pages 219 and 273.

³ The invention of the lute and cithern is ascribed to Fû-hsi. They are represented thus—



⁴ The duke of Lû here is the first duke, Po-khin (B.C. 1115-1063). Duke Wû was the ninth duke (B.C. 826-817).

⁵ As a lesson, it is said, of filial duty.

honoured¹; and the college of *Kâu*, with its semi-circle of water.

24. They had the tripods of *Khung*² and *Kwan*²; the great jade hemisphere; and the tortoise-shell of *Făng-fû*³:—all articles (properly) belonging to the son of Heaven. They (also) had the lance of *Yüeh*³; and the great bow,—military weapons of the son of Heaven.

25. They had the drum of *Hsiâ* supported on four legs; that of *Yin* supported on a single pillar; the drums of *Kâu*, pendent from a stand; the peal of bells of *Sui*⁴; the differently toned *k'ing* (sonorous stones) of *Shû*⁵; and the organ of *Nü-kwâ*⁶, with its tongues.

26. They had the music-stand of *Hsiâ*, with its face-board and posts, on which dragons were carved; that of *Yin*, with the high-toothed face-board; and that of *Kâu*, with its round ornaments of jade, and feathers (hung from the corners).

¹ The father of Music, it is said, was here sacrificed to, or had offerings presented to him. All this is very uncertain. Blind men were used as musicians.

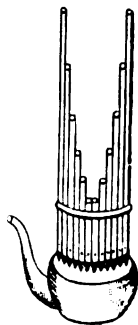
² These are names of states mentioned in the *Shû*, with which we find king *Wăn* at war.

³ *Făng-fû* must also be the name of an ancient state; but where it was I do not know. *Yüeh* was a great state, south of *Wû*, on the seaboard.

⁴ See the *Shû*, II, i, 21, and note.

⁵ *Shû* was also called *Wû-kâu* (無句).

⁶ *Nü-kwâ* is placed between *Fû-hsî* and *Shăn Năng*. Various fabulous marvels are related of him or her (for many hold the name to be that of a female) in the account of the five *Ti*s, prefixed to *Sze-mâ K'ien*'s histories. The organ is represented thus—



27. They had the two tui of the lord of Yü (for holding the grain at sacrifices); the four lien of Hsiâ; the six hû of Yin; and the eight kwei of K'âu¹.

28. They had for stands (on which to set forth the flesh of the victims), the khwan of Shun; the k'üeh of Hsiâ; the k'ü of Yin; and the room-like stand of K'âu. For the tall supports of the dishes, they used those of Hsiâ of unadorned wood; those of Yin, adorned with jade; and those of K'âu, with feathers carved on them.

29. They had the plain leather knee-covers of Shun; those of Hsiâ, with hills represented on them; those of Yin, with flames; and those of K'âu, with dragons.

30. They used for their sacrificial offerings (to the father of Cookery), like the lord of Yü, (portions of) the head; like the sovereigns of Hsiâ, (portions of) the heart; as they did under Yin, (portions of) the liver; and as they did under K'âu, (portions of) the lungs².

31. They used the bright water preferred by Hsiâ; the unfermented liquor preferred by Yin; and the completed liquor preferred by K'âu³.

¹ Figures of all these are given. The number of the vessels in the different dynasties is thought to have been regulated by the number of the kinds of grain; but most of this is conjecture.

² K'ang Hsüan, in explanation of these practices, has only three characters, which I confess I do not fully comprehend. Khung Ying-tâ says nothing about them, nor the K'ien-lung editors. Fang K'ueh writes, on the relation between the five elements and the five colours, and the symbolical colours adopted by the different dynasties, and of the different members of the victims; very mystically and darkly, and failing to elucidate the passage.

³ There have been various references to these points already, and there will be more hereafter.

32. They used (the names) of the 50 officers of the lord of Yü; of the 100 of the sovereigns of Hsiâ; of the 200 of Yin; and of the 300 of K'âu¹.

33. (At their funerals) they used the feathery ornaments of the lord of Yü; the wrappings of white silk (about the flag-staffs) of the sovereigns of Hsiâ; (the flags) with their toothed edges of Yin; and the round pieces of jade and plumes of K'âu².

34. Lû (thus) used the robes, vessels and officers of all the four dynasties, and so it observed the royal ceremonies. It long transmitted them everywhere. Its rulers and ministers never killed one another. Its rites, music, punishments, laws, governmental proceedings, manners and customs never changed. Throughout the kingdom it was considered the state which exhibited the right ways; and therefore dependence was placed on it in the matters of ceremonies and music³.

¹ Compare the Shû, V, xx, 3. Various attempts are made to reconcile the statements there and those of this paragraph; 'all,' says K'han Hào, 'mere conjectures.'

² Compare paragraph 22, page 139, vol. xxvii.

³ Much of what is said here is glaringly false; and justifies what is said of the Book in the introduction, page 29.



BOOK XIII. SANG FŪ HSIÃO KĪ

OR

RECORD OF SMALLER MATTERS IN THE DRESS OF MOURNING¹.

SECTION I.

1. When wearing the unhemmed sackcloth (for a father), (the son) tied up his hair with a hempen (band), and also when wearing it for a mother. When he exchanged this band for the cincture (in the case of mourning for his mother)², this was made of linen cloth.

(A wife)³, when wearing the (one year's mourning) of sackcloth with the edges even, had the girdle (of the same), and the inferior hair-pin (of hazel-wood), and wore these to the end of the mourning.

2. (Ordinarily) men wore the cap, and women the hair-pin; (in mourning) men wore the cincture, and women the same after the female fashion.

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 30.

² This was done after the slighter dressing of the corpse. The cincture (wǎn, 免) is mentioned in the first paragraph of the Than Kung (vol. xxvii, page 120). The hempen band being removed, one of linen cloth, about the breadth of which there are different accounts, was put round the hair on the crown, taken forward to the forehead, there crossed, taken back again, and knotted at the back of the hair.

³ The text does not mention 'the wife' here; but a comparison of different passages shows that this sentence is only applicable to her.

The idea was (simply) to maintain in this way a distinction between them ¹.

3. The dark-coloured staff was of bamboo; that pared and fashioned (at the end) was of eleococca wood ².

4. When the grandfather was dead, and afterwards (the grandson) had to go into mourning for his grandmother, he, being the representative of the family (through the death of his father), did so for three years.

5. The eldest son, (at the mourning rites) for his father or mother, (before bowing to a visitor who had come to condole with him), first laid his forehead to the ground (as an expression of his sorrow).

When a Great officer came to condole (with an ordinary officer), though it might be (only) in a case of the three months' mourning, (the latter first) laid his forehead to the ground ³.

A wife, at the rites for her husband or eldest son, bowed her head to the ground before she saluted

¹ Anciently, it is said, there was no distinction between these two cinctures, but in the name. There probably came to be some difference between them; but what it was I cannot discover.

² This is found also in the 𣎵 Lî, XXXII, 5; but the interpretation there is as difficult as here. The translation of the first character (𣎵, 𣎵) by 'dark-coloured' is from Khung Ying-tâ. The paring away the end of the dryandria branch was to make it square. The round bamboo was carried in mourning for a father, and was supposed to symbolise heaven; the other was carried in mourning for a mother, and its square end symbolised earth. What heaven and earth were to nature that the father and mother were to a child. I can make nothing more or better of the passage.

³ We do not see how this instance coheres with the former one; nor why the two are brought together.

a visitor ; but in mourning for others, she did not do so ¹.

✓ 6. The man employed to preside (at the mourning rites) was required to be of the same surname (as the deceased parent) ; the wife so employed, of a different surname ².

✓ 7. The son ~~who was his father's successor~~ (as now head of the family) did not wear mourning for his mother who had been divorced.

✓ 8. In counting kindred (and the mourning to be worn of them), the three closest degrees become expanded into five, and those five again into nine. The mourning diminished as the degrees ascended or descended, and the collateral branches also were correspondingly less mourned for ; and the mourning for kindred thus came to an end ³.

9. At the great royal sacrifice to all ancestors, the first place was given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him. There came thus to be established four ancestral shrines ⁴. In the

¹ The 'others,' according to K'ang, must be understood of her own parents. She was now identified with a family of another surname ; and her husband's relatives were more to her than her own.

² The son and his wife who should have presided are supposed to be dead. The wife elected for the office would be the wife of some other member of the family, herself therefore of a different surname.

³ The three closest degrees are 'father, son, and son's son.' Add the grandfather and grandson (counting from the son), and we have five ; great-grandfather and great-grandson (here omitted), and we have seven. Then great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandson, make nine ; and the circle of kindred, for whom mourning should be worn, is complete. See Appendix, Book II, vol. xxvii.

⁴ This statement about the four shrines has given occasion to much writing.

case of a son by another than the queen coming to be king, the same course was observed.

10. When a son other than (the eldest) became the ancestor (of a branch of the same line), his successor was its Honoured Head, and he who followed him (in the line) was its smaller Honoured Head. After five generations there was a change again of the Honoured Head; but all in continuation of the High Ancestor.

11. Hence the removal of the ancestor took place high up (in the line), and the change of the Honoured Head low down (in it). Because they honoured the ancestor, they revered the Honoured Head; their reverencing the Honoured Head was the way in which they expressed the honour which they paid to the ancestor and his immediate successor ¹.

12. That any other son but the eldest did not sacrifice to his grandfather showed that (only he was in the direct line from) the Honoured Head (of their branch of the family). So, no son but he wore the (three years') unhemmed sackcloth for his eldest son, because the eldest son of no other continued (the direct line) of the grandfather and father ².

13. None of the other sons sacrificed to a son

¹ The subject imperfectly described in these two paragraphs,—the manner in which a family, ever lengthening its line and multiplying its numbers, was divided into collateral branches, will come before the reader again in the next Book.

² It is difficult to catch exactly the thought in the writer of these, and several of the adjacent, sentences. Even the native critics, down to the *K'hien-lung* editors, seem to experience the difficulty.

(of his own) who had died prematurely, or one who had left no posterity. (The tablet of) such an one was placed along with that of his grandfather, and shared in the offerings made to him.

14. Nor could any of them sacrifice to their father ; showing that (the eldest son was the representative of) the Honoured Head.

15. (In the distinctions of the mourning) for the kindred who are the nearest, the honoured ones to whom honour is paid, the elders who are venerated for their age, and as the different tributes to males and females ; there are seen the greatest manifestations of the course which is right for men.

16. Where mourning would be worn from one's relation with another for parties simply on the ground of that affinity, when that other was dead, the mourning ceased. Where it would have been worn for them on the ground of consanguinity, even though that other were dead, it was still worn ¹.

When a concubine had followed a ruler's wife to the harem, and the wife came to be divorced, the concubine, (following her out of the harem), did not wear mourning for her son ².

17. According to the rules, no one but the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors ³.

¹ Khung Ying-tâ specifies six cases coming under the former of these cases, and four under the second. It is not necessary to set them forth. The K'ien-lung editors say that the paragraph has reference only to the practice of the officer ; for a Great officer did not wear mourning either for his wife or mother's kin.

² This concubine would be either of the near relatives of the wife, who had gone with her on her marriage.

³ This paragraph is out of place. It should have formed part, probably, of paragraph 9.

18. The heir-son (of the king or a feudal lord) did not diminish the mourning for the parents of his wife. For his wife he wore the mourning which the eldest and rightful son of a Great officer did for his ¹.

19. When the father was an officer, and the son came to be king or a feudal prince, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of a king or a lord; but the personator wore the dress of an officer. When the father had been the son of Heaven, or a feudal lord, and the son was (only) an officer, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of an officer, but his personator wore only the dress of an officer ².

20. If a wife were divorced while wearing the mourning (for her father or mother-in-law), she put it off. If the thing took place while she was wearing the mourning for her own parents, and before she had completed the first year's mourning, she continued to wear it for the three years; but if that term had been completed, she did not resume the mourning.

If she were called back before the completion of the year, she wore it to the end of that term; but if that term had been completed before she was called back, she went on wearing it to the regular term of mourning for parents.

21. The mourning which lasted for two complete years was (held to be) for three years; and that

¹ The sackcloth for one year, without carrying the staff.

² Both the cases in this paragraph can hardly be taken as anything more than hypothetical. On the concluding statement, the *K'ien-lung* editors ask how the robes of a king could be exhibited in the ancestral temple of an officer.

which lasted for one complete year for two years¹. The mourning for nine months and that for seven months² was held to be for three seasons; that for five months for two; and that for three months for one. Hence the sacrifice at the end of the completed year was according to the prescribed rule; but the putting off the mourning (or a part of it) then was the course (prompted by natural feeling). The sacrifice was not on account of the putting off of the mourning³.

22. When the interment (for some reason) did not take place till after the three years, it was the rule that the two sacrifices (proper at the end of the first and second years) should then be offered. Between them, but not all at the same time, the mourning was put off⁴.

23. If a relative who had himself to wear only the nine months' mourning for the deceased took the direction of the mourning rites in the case of any who must continue their mourning for three years, it was the rule that he should offer for them the two annual terminal sacrifices. If one who was merely a friend took that direction, he only offered

¹ See the introduction on Book XXXV, vol. xxvii, page 49.

² We have not met before with this mourning term of seven months. It occurs in the 1 LĪ, Book XXIV, 6, as to be worn for those who had died in the second degree of prematurity between the age of twelve and fifteen inclusive.

³ 'This remark is made by the compiler,' say the *K'hien-lung* editors, 'to guard against the sudden abandonment of their grief by the mourners, as if they had done with the deceased when the mourning was concluded.'

⁴ After the first, it is said, men put off the mourning headband, and women that of the girdle. After the second they both put off their sackcloth.

the sacrifice of Repose, and that at the placing of the tablet in the shrine ¹.

24. When the concubine of an officer had a son, he wore the three months' mourning for her. If she had no son, he did not do so ².

25. When one had been born (in another state), and had had no intercourse with his grand-uncles and aunts, uncles and cousins, and his father, on hearing of the death of any of them, proceeded to wear mourning, he did not do so.

26. If one did not (through being abroad) hear of the death of his ruler's father or mother, wife or eldest son, till the ruler had put off his mourning, he did not proceed to wear any.

27. If it were a case, however, where the mourning was reduced to that of three months, he wore it ³.

28. (Small) servants in attendance on the ruler, (who had followed him abroad), when he assumed mourning (on his return, for relatives who had died when he was away), also put it on. Other and (higher officers in his train) also did so; but if the proper term for the mourning in the case were past, they did not do so. (Those who had remained at home), though the ruler could not know of their doing so, had worn the (regular) mourning.

¹ Because of the youth of the son, or of some other reason existing in the case. The director would himself be a cousin.

² But Great officers wore the three months' mourning for the relatives who had accompanied their wives to the harem, though they might have had no son. No such relatives accompanied the wife of an officer.

³ This, it is supposed, should follow paragraph 25. There are doubts as to the interpretation of it.

SECTION II.

1. (The presiding mourner), after the sacrifice of Repose, did not carry his staff in proceeding to his apartment; after the placing of the tablet of the deceased (in the shrine of the grandfather), he did not carry it in going up to the hall¹.

2. The (son of another lady of the harem), who had been adopted as the child of the (childless) wife of the ruler, when that wife died, did not go into mourning for her kindred².

3. The sash was shorter (than the headband), by one-fifth of the length (of the latter). The staff was of the same length as the sash³.

4. For the ruler's eldest son a concubine wore

¹ See vol. xxvii, p. 170. I have met with 'the Pacifying sacrifice,' instead of 'the sacrifice of Repose,' which I prefer for 虞 in this application. The character is explained by 安, the symbol of 'being at rest.' The mourners had done all they could for the body of the deceased. It had been laid in the grave; and this sacrifice of Repose was equivalent to our wish for a departed friend, 'Requiescat in pace.' It was offered in the principal apartment of the house. It remained only to place with an appropriate service the tablet of the deceased in its proper shrine in the ancestral temple next day. The staff was discarded by the mourner, it is said, to show that his grief was beginning to be assuaged. He and the others would pass from the principal apartment to others more private; and on leaving the temple, would have to mount the steps to the hall.

² The *K'ien-lung* editors argue, and, I think, correctly, that this paragraph should say the opposite of what it does. They think it has been mutilated.

³ The purely native staff in China is very long. At temples in the interior of the country I have often been asked to buy choice specimens as long as a shepherd's crook, or an alpenstock.

mourning for the same time as his wife, (the son's mother).

5. In putting off the mourning attire, they commenced with what was considered most important. In changing it, they commenced with what was considered least important.

6. When there was not the (regular) occasion for it, they did not open the door of the temple¹. All wailed in the (mourning) shed (at other times).

7. In calling the dead back, and writing the inscription (to be exhibited over the coffin), the language was the same for all, from the son of Heaven to the ordinary officer. A man was called by his name. For a wife they wrote her surname, and her place among her sisters. If they did not know her surname, they wrote the branch-name of her family.

8. The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed with the unhemmed sackcloth (at the end of the wailing), and the hempen girdle worn when one (first) put on the hemmed sackcloth (of one year's mourning), were of the same size. The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed (as a change) in the hemmed sackcloth mourning, and that of hempen cloth at the (beginning of the) nine months' mourning, were of the same size. When the occasion for assuming the girdle of the lighter mourning occurred, a man wore both it and the other together².

¹ This is not the ancestral temple; but the apartment where the body was kept in the coffin, entered regularly for wailing in the morning and evening.

² So far as I can understand this paragraph, it describes the practice of a man (not of a woman), when, while he was wearing

9. An early interment was followed by an early sacrifice of repose. But they did not end their wailing till the three months were completed.

10. When the mourning rites for both parents occurred at the same time, the sacrifices of repose and of the enshrining of the tablet, for the (mother) who was buried first, did not take place till after the burial of the father. The sackcloth worn at her interment was the unhemmed and jagged¹.

11. A Great officer reduced the (period of) mourning for a son by a concubine²; but his grandson, (the son of that son), did not reduce his mourning for his father.

12. A Great officer did not preside at the mourning rites for an (ordinary) officer.

13. For the parents of his nurse³ a man did not wear mourning.

14. When the husband had become the successor and representative of some other man (than his own father), his wife wore the nine months' mourning for his parents-in-law⁴.

15. When the tablet of an (ordinary) officer was placed in the shrine of (his grandfather who had been) a Great officer, the victim due to him (as an officer) was changed (for that due to a Great officer).

16. A son who had not lived with his step-father (did not wear mourning for him). (They) must

deep mourning, a fresh death in his circle required him to add to it something of a lighter mourning.

¹ Compare vol. xxvii, page 315, paragraph 6.

² To nine months.

³ A concubine of his father's.

⁴ Her husband's own parents. But the paragraph is a difficult one; nor have the commentators elucidated it clearly.

have lived together and both be without sons to preside at their mourning rites; and (the step-father moreover) must have shared his resources with the son, and enabled him to sacrifice to his grandfather and father, (in order to his wearing mourning for him);—under these conditions they were said to live together. If they had sons to preside at the mourning rites for them, they lived apart.

17. When people wailed for a friend, they did so outside the door (of the principal apartment), on the left of it, with their faces towards the south¹.

18. When one was buried in a grave already occupied, there was no divination about the site (in the second case).

19. The tablet of an (ordinary) officer or of a Great officer could not be placed in the shrine of a grandfather who had been the lord of a state; it was placed in that of a brother of the grandfather who had been an (ordinary) officer or a Great officer. The tablet of his wife was placed by the tablet of that brother's wife, and that of his concubine by the tablet of that brother's concubine.

If there had been no such concubine, it was placed by the tablet of that brother's grandfather; for in all such places respect was had to the rules concerning the relative positions assigned to the tablets of father and son². The tablet of a feudal lord could not be placed in the shrine of the son of Heaven (from whom he was born or descended); but that of the son of Heaven, of a feudal lord, or

¹ See vol. xxvii, page 134, paragraph 10.

² See vol. xxvii, page 223, paragraph 4, and note.

of a Great officer, could be placed in the shrine of an (ordinary) officer (from whom he was descended)¹.

20. For his mother's mother, who had been the wife proper of her father, if his mother were dead, a son did not wear mourning².

21. The son who was the lineal Head of his new branch of the surname, even though his mother were alive, (his father being dead), completed the full period of mourning for his wife³.

22. A concubine's son who had been reared by another, might act as son to that other; and she might be any concubine of his father or of his grandfather⁴.

23. The mourning went on to the than ceremony for a parent, a wife, and the eldest son⁵.

24. To a nursing mother, or any concubine who was a mother, sacrifice was not maintained for a second generation.

25. When a grown-up youth had been capped, (and died), though his death could not be considered premature; and a (young) wife, after having worn

¹ A descendant in a low position could not presume on the dignity of his ancestors; but those who had become distinguished glorified their meaner ancestors.

² It is difficult to say exactly what is the significance of the 君母 in the text here.

³ Meaning, say some, performed the than sacrifice at the end of twenty-seven months for her. I cannot think this is the meaning. Even for such a wife there could not be the 'three years' mourning.' According to Wang Yüan (汪琬), the mourning for one year terminated with a than sacrifice in the fifteenth month. This must be what is here intended.

⁴ This is the best I can do for this paragraph, over which there is much conflict of opinion.

⁵ Here is the same difficulty as in paragraph 21.

the hair-pin, (died), though neither could her death be said to be premature; yet, (if they died childless), those who would have presided at their rites, if they had died prematurely, wore the mourning for them which they would then have done ¹.

26. If an interment were delayed (by circumstances) for a long time, he who was presiding over the mourning rites was the only one who did not put off his mourning. The others having worn the hempen (band) for the number of months (proper in their relation to the deceased), put off their mourning, and made an end of it ².

27. The hair-pin of the arrow-bamboo was worn by (an unmarried daughter for her father) to the end of the three years' mourning ³.

28. That in which those who wore the sackcloth with even edges for three months, and those who wore (it) for all the nine months' mourning agreed, was the shoes made of strings (of hemp).

29. When the time was come for the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning, they consulted the divining stalks about the day for it, and the individual who was to act as personator of the deceased. They looked that everything was clean, and that all wore the proper girdle, carried their staffs, and had on the shoes of hempen-string. When the officers charged with this announced that all was ready, (the son) laid aside his staff, and assisted at the divinations for the day and for the

¹ Another difficult paragraph, about the interpretation of which there seem to be as many minds as there are commentators.

² Yet they would keep it by them till the interment took place, and then put it on again for the occasion.

³ Should form part of the first paragraph of Section i.

personator. The officers having announced that these were over, he resumed his staff, bowed to the guests (who had arrived in the meantime), and escorted them away. At the sacrifice for the end of the second year, (the son) wore his auspicious (court) robes, and divined about the personator.

30. The son of a concubine, living in the same house with his father, did not observe the sacrifice at the end of the mourning for his mother.

Nor did such a son carry his staff in proceeding to his place for wailing.

As the father did not preside at the mourning rites for the son of a concubine, that son's son might carry his staff in going to his place for wailing. Even while the father was present, the son of a concubine, in mourning for his wife, might carry his staff in going to that place.

31. When a feudal prince went to condole on the death of a minister of another state¹, (being himself there on a visit), the ruler of that state received him and acted as the presiding mourner. The rule was that he should wear the skin cap and the starched sackcloth. Though the deceased on account of whom he paid his condolences had been interred, the presiding mourner wore the mourning cincture. If he had not yet assumed the full mourning dress, the visitor also did not wear that starched sackcloth.

32. One who was ministering to another who was ill did not do so in the mourning clothes (which he might be wearing); and (if the patient died), he might go on to preside at the mourning rites for him. But if another relative, who had not ministered

¹ That is, if the visit were made before the removal of the coffin.

to the deceased in his illness, came in to preside at the rites for him, he did not change the mourning which he might be wearing. In ministering to one more honourable than himself, the rule required a person to change the mourning he might be wearing, but not if the other were of lower position¹.

33. If there had been no concubine of her husband's grandmother by whose tablet that of a deceased concubine might be placed, it might be placed by that of the grandmother, the victim offered on the occasion being changed.

34. In the mourning rites for a wife, at the sacrifices of repose and on the ending of the wailing, her husband or son presided; when her tablet was put in its place, her father-in-law presided.

35. An (ordinary) officer did not take the place of presiding (at the mourning rites) for a Great officer. It was only when he was the direct descendant of the Honoured Head of their branch of the surname that he could do so.

36. If a cousin arrived from another state (to take part in the rites), before the presiding mourner had put off his mourning, the latter received him in the part of host, but without the mourning cincture².

37. The course pursued in displaying the articles, (vessels to the eye of fancy, to be put into the grave)³, was this:—If they were (too) many as dis-

¹ If the other, it is said, in the former case were elder, an uncle or elder cousin; in the latter, a younger cousin.

² If the ruler came to condole after the interment, the presiding mourner would resume his cincture to receive him, out of respect to his rank; but this was not required on the late arrival of a relative.

³ These articles were the contributions of friends and those

played, a portion of them might be put into the grave; if they were comparatively few as displayed, they might all be put into it.

38. Parties hurrying to the mourning rites for a brother or cousin (whose burial had taken place) first went to the grave and afterwards to the house, selecting places at which to perform their wailing. If the deceased had (only) been an acquaintance, they (first) wailed in the apartment (where the coffin had been), and afterwards went to the grave.

39. A father (at the mourning rites) for any of his other sons did not pass the night in the shed outside (the middle door, as for his eldest son by his wife).

40. The brothers and cousins of a feudal prince wore the unhemmed sackcloth (in mourning for him)¹.

41. In the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest stage of immaturity, the sash was of bleached hemp from which the roots were not cut away. These were turned back and tucked in.

42. When the tablet of a wife was to be placed by that of her husband's grandmother, if there were three (who could be so denominated), it was placed by that of her who was the mother of her husband's father².

43. In the case of a wife dying while her husband

prepared by the family. They were displayed inside the gate of the temple on the east of it when the body was being moved, and in front of the grave, on the east of the path leading to it.

¹ Even though they might not be in the same state with him.

² We must suppose that the grandfather had had three wives; not at the same time, but married one after another's death. Some suppose the three to be a mistake for two. 'The mother of her husband's father' is simply 'the nearest' in the text.

was a Great officer, and his ceasing, after her death, to be of that rank ; if his tablet were placed (on his death) by that of his wife, the victim on the occasion was not changed (from that due to an ordinary officer). But if her husband (who had been an officer) became a Great officer after her death, then the victim at the placing of his tablet by hers was that due to a Great officer ¹.

44. A son who was or would be his father's successor did not wear mourning for his divorced mother. He did not wear such mourning, because one engaged in mourning rites could not offer sacrifice ².

45. When a wife did not preside at the mourning rites and yet carried the staff, it was when her mother-in-law was alive, and she did so for her husband. A mother carried the eleococca staff with its end cut square for the oldest son. A daughter, who was still in her apartment unmarried, carried a staff for her father or mother. If the relative superintending the rites did not carry the staff, then this one child did so ³.

¹ We must suppose that the appointment of the husband, whether as officer or Great officer, had been so recent that there had been no time for any tablets of an elder generation to get into his ancestral temple. His wife's had been the first to be placed in it.

² That is, he might have to preside at the sacrifices in the ancestral temple of his own family, and would be incapacitated for doing so, if he were mourning for her. The reader should bear in mind that there were seven justifiable causes for the divorce of a wife, without her being guilty of infidelity, or any criminal act.

³ It is supposed there was no brother in the family to preside at the rites, and a relative of the same surname was called in to do so. But it was not in rule for him to carry the staff, and this daughter therefore did so, as if she had been a son.

46. In the mourning for three months and five months, at the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they wore the mourning cincture.

After the interment, if they did not immediately go to perform the sacrifice of repose, they all, even the presiding mourner, wore their caps; but when they came to the sacrifice of repose, they all assumed the cincture.

When they had put off the mourning for a relative, on the arrival of his interment, they resumed it; and when they came to the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they put on the cincture. If they did not immediately perform the sacrifice, they put it off.

When they had been burying at a distance, and were returning to wail, they put on their caps. On arriving at the suburbs, they put on the cincture, and came back to wail.

47. If the ruler came to condole with mourners, though it might not be the time for wearing the cincture, even the president of the rites assumed it, and did not allow the ends of his hempen girdle to hang loose. Even in the case of a visit from the ruler of another state, they assumed the cincture. The relatives all did so.

48. When they put off the mourning for one who had died prematurely, the rule was that at the (accompanying) sacrifice, the dress should be dark-coloured. When they put off the mourning for one fully grown, they wore their court robes, with the cap of white, plain, silk.

49. A son, who had hurried to the mourning rites of his father (from a distance), bound up his hair in the raised hall, bared his chest, descended to

the court, and there performed his leaping. (The leaping over, he reascended), covered his chest, and put on his sash in an apartment on the east.

If the rites were for his mother, he did not bind up his hair. He bared his chest, however, in the hall, descended to the court, and went through his leaping. (Reascending then), he covered his chest, and put on the cincture in the apartment on the east.

In the girdle (or the cincture), he proceeded to the appointed place, and completed the leaping. He then went out from the door (of the coffin-room), and went to (the mourning shed). The wailing commencing at death had by this time ceased. In three days he wailed five times, and thrice bared his chest for the leaping.

50. When an eldest son and his wife could not take the place hereafter of his parents, then, (in the event of her death), her mother-in-law wore for her (only) the five months' mourning¹.

¹ The scope of this paragraph is plain enough; but the construing of it is difficult. I have translated after *Khân Hào's* text, which contains a character more than that of the *Khien-lung* edition. The son and his wife could not become the representatives of the family. Various reasons are suggested by the commentators for the fact. The text supposes the death of the wife to take place before that of her mother-in-law.

BOOK XIV. TÂ KWÂN

OR

THE GREAT TREATISE¹.

1. According to the rules, only the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors. The chief place was then given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him².

The sacrifices of the princes of states reached to their highest ancestor. Great officers and other officers, who had performed great services, when these were examined (and approved) by the ruler, were able to carry their sacrifices up to their high ancestor.

2. The field of Mû-yeh was the great achievement of king Wû. When he withdrew after the victory, he reared a burning pile to God; prayed at the altar of the earth; and set forth his offerings in the house of Mû³. He then led all the princes of the kingdom, bearing his offerings in their various stands, and hurrying about, and carried the title of king back to Thái who was Than-fû, Kî-lî, and king Wăn who was Khang;—he would not approach his honourable ancestors with their former humbler titles.

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 30, 31.

² See the last Book, I, paragraphs 9, 17, et al.

³ I suppose that all which is here described was done by king Wû after his victory at Mû, under the advice of his brother, known to us as the duke of Kâu; see the Kung Yung, paragraphs 54, 55. 'The house of Mû' would be a building converted for the occasion into a temple.

3. Thus he regulated the services to be rendered to his father and grandfather before him;—giving honour to the most honourable. He regulated the places to be given to his sons and grandsons below him;—showing his affection to his kindred. He regulated (also) the observances for the collateral branches of his cousins;—associating all their members in the feasting. He defined their places according to their order of descent; and his every distinction was in harmony with what was proper and right. In this way the procedure of human duty was made complete.

4. When a sage sovereign stood with his face to the south, and all the affairs of the kingdom came before him, there were five things which for the time claimed his first care, and the people were not reckoned among them. The first was the regulating what was due to his kindred (as above); the second, the reward of merit; the third, the promotion of worth; the fourth, the employment of ability; and the fifth, the maintenance of a loving vigilance. When these five things were all fully realised, the people had all their necessities satisfied, all that they wanted supplied. If one of them were defective, the people could not complete their lives in comfort.

It was necessary for a sage on the throne of government to begin with the (above) procedure of human duty.

5. The appointment of the measures of weight, length, and capacity; the fixing the elegancies (of ceremony); the changing the commencement of the year and month; alterations in the colour of dress; differences of flags and their blazonry; changes in vessels and weapons, and distinctions in dress:—

these were things, changes in which could be enjoined on the people. But no changes could be enjoined upon them in what concerned affection for kin, the honour paid to the honourable, the respect due to the aged, and the different positions and functions of male and female.

6. Members of the same surname were united together in the various ramifications of their kinship, under the Heads of their different branches¹. Those of a different surname² had their mutual relations regulated principally by the names assigned to them. Those names being clearly set forth, the different positions of males and females were determined.

When the husband belonged to the class of fathers [or uncles]³, the wife was placed in that of mothers [or aunts]; when he belonged to the class of sons [or cousins], the wife was placed in that of (junior) wives⁴. Since the wife of a younger brother was (thus) styled (junior) wife, could the wife of his elder brother be at the same time styled mother [or aunt]? The name or appellation is of the greatest

¹ That is, the males all called by the surname of the family.

² That is, the females, married into the family from other families of different surnames, and receiving different names or appellations from the places of their husbands in the family roll.

³ 'Fathers' and 'mothers' here are really uncles and aunts, the 父 for the former being equivalent to 伯叔父; and the 母 for the latter to 伯叔母. The uncles were of the same category as the father in respect to age, and the aunts in the same category as the mother.

⁴ Fû, the character here for wife, does not in itself contain the idea of this inferiority in point of age. That idea was in the mind of the writer, arising from the subject of which he was treating.

importance in the regulation of the family;—was not anxious care required in the declaration of it?

7. For parties four generations removed (from the same common ancestor) the mourning was reduced to that worn for three months, and this was the limit of wearing the hempen cloth. If the generations were five, the shoulders were bared and the cincture assumed; and in this way the mourning within the circle of the same was gradually reduced. After the sixth generation the bond of kinship was held to be at an end.

8. As the branch-surnames which arose separated the members of them from their relatives of a former time, and the kinship disappeared as time went on, (so far as wearing mourning was concerned), could marriage be contracted between parties (so wide apart)¹? But there was that original surname tying all the members together without distinction, and the maintenance of the connexion by means of the common feast²;—while there were these conditions, there could be no intermarriage, even after a hundred generations. Such was the rule of *K'âu*³.

9. The considerations which regulated the mourning worn were six:—first, the nearness of the kinship⁴;

¹ *K'ăn Hào* says that under the Yin dynasty intermarriages were allowed after the fifth generation in a family of the same surname. The same statement is referred to by *Khung Ying-tâ*, from whom *K'ăn*, probably, took it; but the *K'ien-lung* editors discard it, as being 'without proof.'

² 'The feast' given to all the kindred after the seasonal sacrifices in the ancestral temple.

³ *K'ăn Hào* refers to this prohibition of intermarriages by *K'âu* as the grand distinction of the dynasty, marking clearly 'for the first time the distinction between man and beast.'

⁴ As between parents and children.

second, the honour due to the honourable¹; third, the names (as expressing the position in the relative circle)²; fourth, the cases of women still unmarried in the paternal home, and of those who had married and left it³; fifth, age⁴; and sixth, affinity, and external relationship⁵.

10. Of the considerations of affinity and external relationship there were six cases:—those arising from inter-relationship⁶; those in which there was no inter-relationship⁷; those where mourning should be worn, and yet was not; those where it should not be worn, and yet was; those where it should be deep, and yet was light; and those where it should be light, and yet was deep.

11. Where the starting-point was affection, it began from the father. Going up from him by degrees it reached to the (high) ancestor, and was said to diminish. Where the starting-point was the consideration of what is right, it began with the ancestor. Coming down by natural degrees from him, it reached to the father, and was said to increase. In the diminution and the increase, the considerations of affection and right acted thus.

12. It was the way for the ruler to assemble and feast all the members of his kindred. None of

¹ As to the ruler, Great officers, and ministers.

² See paragraph 6.

³ Spinsters and married aunts, cousins, sisters, &c.

⁴ Relatives dying as minors, and after maturity.

⁵ See next paragraph.

⁶ Mother's kin; husband's kin; wife's kin.

⁷ As when a minister wore mourning for his ruler's kindred; a concubine for the kindred of the wife, &c. The reader must task himself to imagine cases in which the other four conditions would apply.

them could, because of their mutual kinship, claim a nearer kinship with him than what was expressed by the places (assigned to them).

13. Any son but the eldest, (though all sons of the wife proper), did not sacrifice to his grandfather,—to show there was the Honoured Head (who should do so). Nor could he wear mourning for his eldest son for three years, because he was not the continuator of his grandfather ¹.

14. When any other son but the eldest became an ancestor of a line, he who succeeded him became the Honoured Head (of the branch); and his successor again became the smaller Head ¹.

15. There was the (great) Honoured Head whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. There were the (smaller) Honoured Heads whose tablets were removed after five generations. He whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations was the successor and representative of the other than the eldest son (who became an ancestor of a line); and he was so honoured (by the members of his line) because he continued the (High) ancestor from whom (both) he and they sprang; this was why his tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. He who honoured the continuator of the High ancestor was he whose tablet was removed after five generations. They honoured the Ancestor, and therefore they revered the Head. The reverence showed the significance of that honour.

16. There might be cases in which there was a smaller Honoured Head, and no Greater Head (of

¹ See the last Book, I, paragraphs 10-12.

a branch family); cases in which there was a Greater Honoured Head, and no smaller Head; and cases in which there was an Honoured Head, with none to honour him. All these might exist in the instance of the son of the ruler of a state¹.

The course to be adopted for the headship of such a son was this; that the ruler, himself the proper representative of former rulers, should for all his half-brothers who were officers and Great officers appoint a full brother, also an officer or a Great officer, to be the Honoured Head. Such was the regular course.

17. When the kinship was no longer counted, there was no further wearing of mourning. The kinship was the bond of connexion (expressed in the degree of mourning).

18. Where the starting-point was in affection, it began with the father, and ascended by steps to the ancestor. Where it was in a consideration of what was right, it began with the ancestor, and descended in natural order to the deceased father. Thus the course of humanity (in this matter of mourning) was all comprehended in the love for kindred.

19. From the affection for parents came the honouring of ancestors; from the honouring of the

Suppose a ruler had no brother by his father's wife, and appointed one of his brothers by another lady of the harem, to take the headship of all the others, this would represent the first case. If he appointed a full brother to the position, but could not appoint a half-brother to the inferior position, this would represent the second; and if the younger brothers of the ruling house were reduced to one man, he would represent the third case, having merely the name and nothing more. Such is the explanation of the text, so far as I can apprehend it.

ancestor came the respect and attention shown to the Heads (of the family branches). By that respect and attention to those Heads all the members of the kindred were kept together. Through their being kept together came the dignity of the ancestral temple. From that dignity arose the importance attached to the altars of the land and grain. From that importance there ensued the love of all the (people with their) hundred surnames. From that love came the right administration of punishments and penalties. Through that administration the people had the feeling of repose. Through that restfulness all resources for expenditure became sufficient. Through the sufficiency of these, what all desired was realised. The realisation led to all courteous usages and good customs; and from these, in fine, came all happiness and enjoyment :—affording an illustration of what is said in the ode :—

‘ Glory and honour follow Wăn’s great name,
And ne’er will men be weary of his fame¹.’

¹ See vol. iii, page 314, the last two lines of ode 1; Metrical Version, page 351.



BOOK XV. SHĀO Í

OR

SMALLER RULES OF DEMEANOUR¹.

1. I have heard (the following things):—

When one wished to see for the first time another of character and position, his language was, ‘I, so and so, earnestly wish my name to be reported to the officer of communication².’ He could not go up the steps directly to the host. If the visitor were of equal rank with the host, he said, ‘I, so and so, earnestly wish to see him.’ If he were an infrequent visitor, he asked his name to be reported. If he were a frequent visitor, he added, ‘this morning or evening.’ If he were blind³, he asked his name to be reported.

2. If it were on an occasion of mourning, the visitor said he had come as a servant and helper; if he were a youth, that he had come to perform whatever might be required of him. If the visit were at the mourning rites for a ruler or high minister, the language was, ‘I am come to be employed by the chief minister of the household⁴.’

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 31, 32.

² The visitor did not dare to send even a message directly to the master of the establishment where he was calling.

³ That is, an officer of music, high or low.

⁴ The name of the minister here is generally translated by ‘Minister of Instruction.’ But that can hardly be its meaning here; and there were officers so called also in the establishments of Great officers; see vol. xxvii, page 154, paragraph 20.

3. When a ruler was about to go out of his own state¹, if a minister were presenting to him money or pieces of jade, or any other article, the language was, 'I present this to the officer for the expenses of his horses.' To an equal in a similar case it was said, 'This is presented for the use of your followers.'

4. When a minister contributed a shroud to his ruler, he said, 'I send this laid-aside garment to the valuers².' An equal, sending such a gift to another equal, simply said, 'a shroud.' Relatives, such as brothers, did not go in with the shrouds which they presented.

5. When a minister was contributing articles or their value to his ruler who had mourning rites on hand for the previous ruler, he said, 'I present these products of my fields to the officers³.'

6. A carriage and horses presented for a funeral, entered the gate of the ancestral temple. Contributions of money and horses with the accompanying presents of silk, the white flag (of a mourning carriage) and war chariots, did not enter the gate of the temple⁴.

7. When the bearer of the contribution had

¹ About to proceed to the royal court.

² In the *Kâu Lí*, Book I, 35, we find that among the functionaries attached to the 'Treasury of Jade,' there were eight men thus denominated 'valuers.' There were officers, probably, performing a similar duty in the department to which the charge of the offering in this paragraph would be consigned.

³ The things presented here are called 'articles (coarse), shells' (貨貝), the meaning being, I think, what I have given. The things were not the produce of the donor's land; but that land being held by him from the ruler, he so expressed himself.

⁴ It is difficult for us to appreciate the reasons given for the distinction made between these contributions.

delivered his message, he knelt down and left the things on the ground. The officer of communication took them up. The presiding mourner did not himself receive them.

8. When the receiver stood, the giver stood; neither knelt. Parties of a straightforward character might, perhaps, do so.

9. When (the guest was) first entering, and it was proper to give the precedence to him, the officer of communication said (to the host), 'Give precedence.' When they proceeded to their mats, he said to them, 'Yes; be seated.'

When the leaves of the door were opened, only one man could take off his shoes inside the door. If there were already an honourable and elderly visitor, parties coming later could not do so.

10. When asking about the various dishes (of a feast), they said, 'Have you enjoyed such and such a dish?'

When asking one another about their (various) courses¹ and accomplishments², they said, 'Have you practised such and such a course? Are you skilful at such and such an accomplishment?'

11. (A man sought to) give no occasion for doubt about himself, nor to pass his judgment on the articles of others. He did not desire the (possessions of) great families, nor speak injuriously of the things which they valued.

12. Sweeping in general was called *são*. Sweep-

¹ There was the threefold course of aim, diligence, and filial duty, in filialness, friendship, and obedience.

² The accomplishments were six :—ceremonies, music, archery, charioteering, writing, mathematics.

ing up in front of a mat was called *phân*. In sweeping a mat they did not use a common broom¹. The sweeper held the dust-pan with its tongue towards himself.

13. There was no divining (twice about the same thing) with a double mind. In asking about what had been referred to the tortoise-shell or the stalks, two things were to be considered, whether the thing asked about were right, and what was the diviner's own mind. On the matter of right he might be questioned, but not on what was in his own mind.

14. When others more honourable and older than one's self took precedence of him, he did not presume to ask their age. When they came to feast with him, he did not send to them any (formal) message. When he met them on the road, if they saw him, he went up to them, but did not ask to know where they were going. At funeral rites for them, he waited to observe the movements (of the presiding mourner), and did not offer his special condolences. When seated by them, he did not, unless ordered to do so, produce his lutes. He did not draw lines on the ground; that would have been an improper use of his hand. He did not use a fan. If they were asleep, and he had any message to communicate to them, he knelt in doing so.

15. At the game of archery, the inferior carried his four arrows in his hand. At that of throwing darts, he carried the four together in his breast. If he conquered, he washed the cup and gave it to the other, asking him to drink. If he were defeated, the elder went through the same process with him. They

¹ It might be dirty, having been used to sweep the ground.

did not use the (large) horn; they did not remove the (figure of a) horse (for marking the numbers)¹.

16. When holding the reins of the ruler's horses, the driver knelt. He wore his sword on his right side with his back to the best strap (for the ruler). When handing this to him, he faced him and then drew the strap towards the cross-bar. He used the second or inferior strap to help himself in mounting. He then took the reins in hand, and began to move on.

17. One asked permission to appear at court, but not to withdraw.

One was said to withdraw from court; to return home from a feast or a ramble; to close the toils of a campaign.

18. When sitting by a person of rank, if he began to yawn and stretch himself, to turn round his tablet, to play with the head of his sword, to move his shoes about, or to ask about the time of day, one might ask leave to retire.

19. For one who (wished to) serve his ruler, (the rule was) first to measure (his abilities and duties), and then enter (on the responsibilities); he did not enter on these, and then measure those. There was the same rule for all who begged or borrowed from others, or sought to engage in their service. In this way superiors had no ground for offence, and inferiors avoided all risk of guilt.

20. They did not spy into privacies nor form intimacies on matters aside from their proper business. They did not speak of old affairs, nor wear an appearance of being in sport.

¹ See in Book XXXVII.

21. One in the position of a minister and inferior might remonstrate (with his ruler), but not speak ill of him; might withdraw (from the state), but not (remain and) hate (its Head); might praise him, but not flatter; might remonstrate, but not give himself haughty airs (when his advice was followed). (If the ruler were) idle and indifferent, he might arouse and assist him; if (the government) were going to wreck, he might sweep it away, and institute a new one. Such a minister would be pronounced as doing service for the altars (of the state).

22. Do not commence or abandon anything hastily. Do not take liberties with or weary spiritual Beings. Do not try to defend or cover over what was wrong in the past, or to fathom what has not yet arrived. A scholar should constantly pursue what is virtuous, and amuse himself with the accomplishments.

A workman should follow the rules (of his art), and amuse himself with the discussion (of their application). One should not think about the clothes and elegant articles (of others), nor try to make good in himself what is doubtful in words (which he has heard)¹.

23. The style prized in conversation required that it should be grave and distinct. The demeanour prized in the court required that it should be

¹ These cautions are expressed enigmatically in the text. The expurgated edition gives only the third and fourth, which P. Callery translates thus:—'L'homme de lettres s'applique à la vertu par-dessus tout, et ne s'adonne que d'une façon secondaire à la culture des arts libéraux, semblable en cela à l'ouvrier qui suit d'abord les procédés fondamentaux de son art, et ne discute qu'après les changements à introduire dans leur application.'

well regulated and urbane; that at sacrifices was to be grave, with an appearance of anxiety. The horses of the chariot were to be well-paced and matched. The beauty of their bells was that they intimated dignity and harmony ¹.

24. To a question about the age of a ruler's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to attend to the business of the altars.' If he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to drive,' or 'He is not yet able to drive.' To the same question about a Great officer's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to take his part in music;' if still young, it was said, 'He is able to take lessons from the music-master,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.' To the same question about the son of an ordinary officer, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to guide the plough;' if he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to carry firewood,' or 'He is not yet able to do so' ².

25. When carrying a symbol of jade, a tortoise-shell, or the divining stalks, one did not walk hastily. Nor did he do so in the raised hall, or on a city wall. In a war chariot he did not bow forward to the cross-bar. A man in his mail did not try to bow ³.

26. A wife, on festive occasions, even though it were on receiving a gift from the ruler, (only) made

¹ This paragraph is in the expurgated edition, in the commentary to which, however, the whole is understood with reference to the heir-son of the kingdom or a state; and P. Callery translates accordingly:—'(L'héritier présomptif du trône) doit avoir,' &c.

² Compare vol. xxvii, page 115, paragraph 4.

³ Compare vol. xxvii, page 72, paragraph 30; page 96, paragraph 39; et al.

a curtsy¹. When seated as a personatrix (of the deceased grandmother of her husband), she did not bow with her head to her hands, but made the curtsy². When presiding at the mourning rites, she did not bow with her head to her hands lowered to the ground.

27. (After the sacrifice of repose), her head-band was of dolychos cloth, and her girdle of hempen.

28. When taking meat from a stand or putting meat on it, they did not kneel.

29. An empty vessel was carried (with the same care) as a full one, and an empty apartment entered (with the same reverence) as if there were people in it.

30. At all sacrifices, whether in the apartment or in the hall, they did not have their feet bare. At a feast they might.

31. Till they had offered a portion in the temple, they did not eat of a new crop.

32. In the case of a charioteer and the gentleman whom he was driving, when the latter mounted or descended, the other handed him the strap. When the driver first mounted, he bowed towards the cross-bar. When the gentleman descended to walk, (he also descended), but (immediately) returned to the carriage and stood.

33. The riders in an attendant carriage (to court or temple), bowed forward to the bar, but not if it were to battle or hunt. Of such attendant carriages, the ruler of a state had seven; a Great officer of

¹ In Chinese fashion, an inclination of the head towards the hands.

² Some interpret this as saying that she did not even make the curtsy.

the highest grade, five; and one of the lowest grade, three¹.

34. People did not speak of the age of the horses or of the carriages of those who possessed such attendant carriages; nor did they put a value on the dress, or sword, or horses of a gentleman whom they saw before them.

35. In giving (to an inferior) or offering to a superior, four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog, (the messenger) put down the liquor, and carried (only) the dried meat in his hand, when discharging his commission, but he also said that he was the bearer of four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog. In presenting a tripod of flesh, he carried (one piece) in his hand. In presenting birds, if there were more than a couple, he carried a couple in his hand, leaving the others outside.

36. The dog was held by a rope. A watch dog or a hunting dog was given to the officer who was the medium of communication; and on receiving it, he asked its name. An ox was held by the tether, and a horse by the bridle. They were both kept on the right of him who led them; but a prisoner or captive, who was being presented, was kept on the left.

37. In presenting a carriage, the strap was taken off and carried in the hand of the messenger. In presenting a coat of mail, if there were other things to be carried before it, the messenger bore them. If there were no such things, he took off its covering, and bore the helmet in his hands. In the case of a

¹ Compare vol. xxvii, page 125, paragraph 4.

vessel, he carried its cover. In the case of a bow, with his left hand he stript off the case, and took hold of the middle of the back. In the case of a sword, he opened the cover of its case, and placed it underneath. Then he put into the case a silken cloth, on which he placed the sword.

38. Official tablets ; writings ; stalks of dried flesh ; parcels wrapped in reeds ; bows ; cushions ; mats ; pillows ; stools ; spikes ; staffs ; lutes, large and small ; sharp-edged lances in sheaths ; divining stalks ; and flutes :—these all were borne with the left hand upwards. Of sharp-pointed weapons, the point was kept behind, and the ring presented ; of sharp-edged weapons, the handle was presented. In the case of all sharp-pointed and sharp-edged weapons, the point was turned away in handing them to others.

39. When leaving the city, in mounting a war-chariot, the weapon was carried with the point in front ; when returning and entering it again, the end. The left was the place for the general and officers of an army ; the right, for the soldiers.

40. For visitors and guests the principal thing was a courteous humility ; at sacrifices, reverence ; at mourning rites, sorrow ; at meetings and reunions, an active interest. In the operations of war, the dangers had to be thought of. One concealed his own feelings in order to judge the better of those of others.

41. When feasting with a man of superior rank and character, the guest first tasted the dishes and then stopt. He should not bolt the food, nor swill down the liquor. He should take small and frequent mouthfuls. While chewing quickly, he did not make faces with his mouth. When he

proceeded to remove the dishes, and the host declined that service from him, he stopt¹.

42. The cup with which the guest was pledged was placed on the left; those which had been drunk (by the others) on the right. Those of the guest's attendant, of the host himself, and of the host's assistant;—these all were placed on the right².

43. In putting down a boiled fish to be eaten, the tail was laid in front. In winter it was placed with the fat belly on the right; in summer with the back. The slices offered in sacrifice (to the father of the fish-diet were thus more easily cut³).

44. All condiments were taken up with the right (hand), and were therefore placed on the left.

45. He who received the presents offered (to the ruler) was on his left; he who transmitted his words, on the right.

46. A cup was poured out for the driver of a personator of the dead as for the driver of the ruler. In the carriage, and holding the reins in his left hand, he received the cup with his right; offered a little in sacrifice at the end of the axle and cross-

¹ Compare vol. xxvii, pages 80, 81, paragraphs 54, 57, et al. The writer passes in this paragraph from the indicative to the imperative mood.

² The guest sat facing the south, so that the east and west were on his left and right respectively. The cups were set where they could be taken up and put down most conveniently.

³ The fish, as a sacrificial offering and on great occasions, was placed lengthways on the stand. As placed in this paragraph, it was more convenient for the guest. It may be correct that the belly is the best part of a fish in winter, and the back in summer. Let gastronomers and those who are fond of pisciculture decide and explain the point.

bar on the right and left (to the father of charioteering), and then drank off the cup.

47. Of all viands which were placed on the stands, the offering was put down inside the stand.

A gentleman did not eat the entrails of grain-fed animals¹.

A boy² ran, but did not walk quickly with measured steps. When he took up his cup, he knelt in offering (some of the contents) in sacrifice, and then stood up and drank (the rest). Before rinsing a cup, they washed their hands. In separating the lungs of oxen and sheep, they did not cut out the central portion of them³; when viands were served up with sauce, they did not add condiments to it.

In selecting an onion or scallion for a gentleman, they cut off both the root and top.

When the head was presented among the viands, the snout was put forward, to be used as the offering.

48. He who set forth the jugs considered the left of the cup-bearer to be the place for the topmost one. The jugs and jars were placed with their spouts towards the arranger.

The drinkers at the ceremonies of washing the head and cupping, in presence of the stand with the divided victims on it, did not kneel. Before the common cup had gone round, they did not taste the viands.

¹ Dogs (bred to be eaten) and pigs. The reason for not eating their entrails can hardly be stated.

² A waiting-boy.

³ That it might easily be taken in hand and put down as an offering of thanksgiving.

49. The flesh of oxen, sheep, and fish was cut small, and made into mince. That of elks and deer was pickled; that of the wild pig was hashed:—these were all sliced, but not cut small. The flesh of the muntjac was alone pickled, and that of fowls and hares, being sliced and cut small. Onions and shalots were sliced, and added to the brine to soften the meat.

50. When the pieces of the divided body were on the stand, in taking one of them to offer and in returning it¹, they did not kneel. So it was when they made an offering of roast meat. If the offerer, however, were a personator of the dead, he knelt.

51. When a man had his robes on his person, and did not know their names (or the meaning of their names), he was ignorant indeed.

52. If one came late and yet arrived before the torches were lighted, it was announced to him that the guests were all there, and who they were. The same things were intimated to a blind musician by the one who bid him. At a drinking entertainment, when the host carried a light, or bore a torch before them, the guests rise and decline the honour done to them. On this he gave the torch to a torch-bearer, who did not move from his place, nor say a word, nor sing².

53. When one was carrying in water or liquor and food to a superior or elder, the rule was not to

¹ The lungs.

² In the 30 *Kwân* we have many accounts of these entertainments. The singing was almost always of a few lines from one of the pieces of the *Shih King*, expressing a sentiment appropriate to the occasion. The custom was like our after-dinner speeches and toasts.

breathe on it; and if a question was asked, to turn the mouth on one side.

54. When one conducted sacrifice for another, (and was sending to others the flesh of the victim), the message was, 'Herewith (the flesh of) blessing.' When sending of the flesh of his own sacrifice to a superior man, the party simply announced what it was.

If it were flesh of the sacrifice on placing the tablet of the deceased in the temple, or at the close of the first year's mourning, the fact was announced. The principal mourner spread out the portions, and gave them to his messenger on the south of the eastern steps, bowing twice, and laying his head to the ground as he sent him away; when he returned and reported the execution of his commission, the mourner again bowed twice and laid his head to the ground.

If the sacrifice were a great one, consisting of the three victims, then the portion sent was the left quarter of the ox, divided into nine pieces from the shoulder. If the sacrifice were the smaller, the portion sent was the left quarter, divided into seven pieces. If there were but a single pig, the portion was the left quarter, divided into five portions.

55. When the revenues of a state were at a low ebb, the carriages were not carved and painted; the buff-coats were not adorned with ribbons and cords; and the dishes were not carved; the superior man did not wear shoes of silk; and horses were not regularly supplied with grain.

BOOK XVI. HSIO K'1

OR

RECORD ON THE SUBJECT OF EDUCATION¹.

✓ 1. When a ruler is concerned that his measures should be in accordance with law, and seeks for the (assistance of the) good and upright, this is sufficient to secure him a considerable reputation, but not to move the multitudes.

✓ When he cultivates the society of the worthy, and tries to embody the views of those who are remote (from the court), this is sufficient to move the multitudes, but not to transform the people.

If he wish to transform the people and to perfect their manners and customs, must he not start from the lessons of the school?

2. The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way (in which they should go). On this account the ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools a primary object;—as it is said in the Charge to Yüeh, 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning ⁷²⁸ 2.'

✓ 3. However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, he does not know its goodness. Therefore when he learns, one

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 32.

² Vol. iii, page 117.

knows his own deficiencies ; when he teaches, he knows the difficulties of learning. After he knows his deficiencies, one is able to turn round and examine himself ; after he knows the difficulties, he is able to stimulate himself to effort. Hence it is said, 'Teaching and learning help each other ;' as it is said in the Charge to Yüeh, 'Teaching is the half of learning¹.'

4. According to the system of ancient teaching, for the families of (a hamlet)² there was the village school ; for a neighbourhood² there was the *hsiang* ; for the larger districts there was the *hsü* ; and in the capitals there was the college.

5. Every year some entered the college, and every second year there was a comparative examination. In the first year it was seen whether they could read the texts intelligently, and what was the meaning of each ; in the third year, whether they were reverently attentive to their work, and what companionship was most pleasant to them ; in the fifth year, how they extended their studies and sought the company of their teachers ; in the seventh year, how they could discuss the subjects of their studies and select their friends. They were now said to have made some small attainments. In the ninth year, when they knew the different classes of subjects and had gained a general intelligence, were firmly established and would not fall back, they

¹ Vol. iii, page 117.

² The hamlet was supposed to contain twenty-five families ; the neighbourhood 500 ; and the district 2,500. For the four institutions, P. Callery adopts the names of school, college, academy, and university. It would be tedious to give the various explanations of the names *Hsiang* and *Hsü*.

were said to have made grand attainments. After this the training was sufficient to transform the people, and to change (anything bad in) manners and customs. Those who lived near at hand submitted with delight, and those who were far off thought (of the teaching) with longing desire. Such was the method of the Great learning; as is said in the Record, 'The little ant continually exercises the art (of amassing)'¹.

✓ 6. At the commencement of the teaching in the Great college, (the masters) in their skin caps presented the offerings of vegetables (to the ancient sages), to show their pupils the principle of reverence for them; and made them sing (at the same time) the (first) three pieces of the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, as their first lesson in the duties of officers². When they entered the college, the drum was beaten and the satchels were produced, that they might begin their work reverently. The cane and the thorns³ were there to secure in them a proper awe. It was not till the time for the summer sacrifice⁴ was divined for, that the testing examination was held;—to give composure to their minds. They were continually under inspection, but not spoken to,—to keep their minds undisturbed.) They listened, but they did not ask questions; and

¹ See the note of Callery in loc. The quotation is from some old Record; it is not known what.

² The three pieces were the Lí Ming, the 3ze Mâu, and the Hwang-hwang Kê hwâ, the first three pieces in the first decade of the Shih, Part II; showing the harmony and earnestness of officers.

³ Callery calls these 'la latte et la baguette.'

⁴ Khung Ying-tâ thought this was the quinquennial sacrifice. See the K'ien-lung editors on the point.

they could not transgress the order of study (imposed on them). These seven things were the chief regulations in the teaching. As it is expressed in the Record, 'In all learning, for him who would be an officer the first thing is (the knowledge of) business; for scholars the first thing is the directing of the mind.'

7. In the system of teaching at the Great college, every season had its appropriate subject; and when the pupils withdrew and gave up their lessons (for the day), they were required to continue their study at home.

8. If a student do not learn (at college) to play in tune, he cannot quietly enjoy his lutes; if he do not learn extensively the figures of poetry, he cannot quietly enjoy the odes; if he do not learn the varieties of dress, he cannot quietly take part in the different ceremonies; if he do not acquire the various accomplishments, he cannot take delight in learning.

9. Therefore a student of talents and virtue pursues his studies, withdrawn in college from all besides, and devoted to their cultivation, or occupied with them when retired from it, and enjoying himself. Having attained to this, he rests quietly in his studies and seeks the company of his teachers; he finds pleasure in his friends, and has all confidence in their course. Although he should be separated from his teachers and helpers, he will not act contrary to the course;—as it is said in the Charge to Yüeh, 'Maintain a reverent humility, and strive to be constantly earnest. In such a case the cultivation will surely come¹.'

¹ Vol. iii, p. 117. But the quotation is a little different from the text of the Shü.

10. According to the system of teaching now-a-days, (the masters) hum over the tablets which they see before them, multiplying their questions. They speak of the learners' making rapid advances, and pay no regard to their reposing (in what they have acquired). In what they lay on their learners they are not sincere, nor do they put forth all their ability in teaching them. What they inculcate is contrary to what is right, and the learners are disappointed in what they seek for. In such a case, the latter are distressed by their studies and hate their masters; they are embittered by the difficulties, and do not find any advantage from their (labour). They may seem to finish their work, but they quickly give up its lessons. That no results are seen from their instructions :—is it not owing to these defects?

11. The rules aimed at in the Great college were the prevention of evil before it was manifested; the timeliness of instruction just when it was required; the suitability of the lessons in adaptation to circumstances; and the good influence of example to parties observing one another. It was from these four things that the teaching was so effectual and flourishing.

12. Prohibition of evil after it has been manifested meets with opposition, and is not successful. Instruction given after the time for it is past is done with toil, and carried out with difficulty. The communication of lessons in an indiscriminating manner and without suitability produces injury and disorder, and fails in its object. Learning alone and without friends makes one feel solitary and uncultivated, with but little information. Friendships of festivity

lead to opposition to one's master. Friendships with the dissolute lead to the neglect of one's learning. These six things all tend to make teaching vain.

13. When a superior man knows the causes which make instruction successful, and those which make it of no effect, he can become a teacher of others. Thus in his teaching, he leads and does not drag; he strengthens and does not discourage; he opens the way but does not conduct to the end (without the learner's own efforts). Leading and not dragging produces harmony. Strengthening and not discouraging makes attainment easy. Opening the way and not conducting to the end makes (the learner) thoughtful. He who produces such harmony, easy attainment, and thoughtfulness may be pronounced a skilful teacher.

14. Among learners there are four defects with which the teacher must make himself acquainted. Some err in the multitude of their studies; some, in their fewness; some, in the feeling of ease (with which they proceed); and some, in the readiness with which they stop. These four defects arise from the difference of their minds. When a teacher knows the character of his mind, he can save the learner from the defect to which he is liable. Teaching should be directed to develop that in which the pupil excels, and correct the defects to which he is prone.

15. The good singer makes men (able) to continue his notes, and (so) the good teacher makes them able to carry out his ideas. His words are brief, but far-reaching; unpretentious, but deep; with few illustrations, but instructive. In this way he may be said to perpetuate his ideas.

16. When a man of talents and virtue knows the difficulty (on the one hand) and the facility (on the other) in the attainment of learning, and knows (also) the good and the bad qualities (of his pupils), he can vary his methods of teaching. When he can vary his methods of teaching, he can be a master indeed. When he can be a teacher indeed, he can be the Head (of an official department). When he can be such a Head, he can be the Ruler (of a state). Hence it is from the teacher indeed that one learns to be a ruler, and the choice of a teacher demands the greatest care; as it is said in the Record, 'The three kings and the four dynasties were what they were by their teachers¹.'

17. In pursuing the course of learning, the difficulty is in securing the proper reverence for the master. When that is done, the course (which he inculcates) is regarded with honour. When that is done, the people know how to respect learning. Thus it is that there are two among his subjects whom the ruler does not treat as subjects. When one is personating (his ancestor), he does not treat him as such, nor does he treat his master as such. According to the rules of the Great college, the master, though communicating anything to the son of Heaven, did not stand with his face to the north. This was the way in which honour was done to him.

¹ 'The three kings' are of course the Great Yü, founder of the Hsiâ dynasty; Thang the Successful, founder of the Shang; and Wăn and Wû, considered as one, founders of Kâu. The four dynasties is an unusual expression, though we shall meet with it again, as we have met with it already. They are said to be those of Yü (the dynasty of Shun), Hsiâ, Shang, and Kâu. But how then have we only 'the three kings?' I should rather take them to be Hsiâ, Shang (considered as two, Shang and Yin), and Kâu.

18. The skilful learner, while the master seems indifferent, yet makes double the attainments of another, and in the sequel ascribes the merit (to the master). The unskilful learner, while the master is diligent with him, yet makes (only) half the attainments (of the former), and in the sequel is dissatisfied with the master. The skilful questioner is like a workman addressing himself to deal with a hard tree. First he attacks the easy parts, and then the knotty. After a long time, the pupil and master talk together, and the subject is explained. The unskilful questioner takes the opposite course. The master who skilfully waits to be questioned, may be compared to a bell when it is struck. Struck with a small hammer, it gives a small sound. Struck with a great one, it gives a great sound. But let it be struck leisurely and properly, and it gives out all the sound of which it is capable¹. He who is not skilful in replying to questions is the opposite of this. This all describes the method of making progress in learning.

19. He who gives (only) the learning supplied by

¹ P. Callery makes this sentence refer to the master, and not to the bell, and translates it:—'(Mais quelle que soit la nature des questions qu'on lui adresse, le maître) attend que l'élève ait fait à loisir toutes ses demandes, pour y faire ensuite une réponse complète.' He appends a note on the difficulty of the passage, saying in conclusion that the translation which he has adopted was suggested by a citation of the passage in the *Pei-wăn Yun-fû* (佩文韻府), where there is a different reading of (學), 'instruction,' for (聲), 'sound.' I have not been able to find the citation in the great *Thesaurus*, to which he refers. Yen Yüan does not mention any different reading in his examination of the text (皇清經解, chapter 917); and I do not see any reason for altering the translation which I first made.

his memory in conversations is not fit to be a master. Is it not necessary that he should hear the questions (of his pupils)? Yes, but if they are not able to put questions, he should put subjects before them. If he do so, and then they do not show any knowledge of the subjects, he may let them alone.

20. The son of a good founder is sure to learn how to make a fur-robe. The son of a good maker of bows is sure to learn how to make a sieve. Those who first yoke a (young) horse place it behind, with the carriage going on in front of it. The superior man who examines these cases can by them instruct himself in (the method of) learning¹.

21. The ancients in prosecuting their learning compared different things and traced the analogies between them. The drum has no special relation to any of the musical notes; but without it they cannot be harmonised. Water has no particular relation to any of the five colours; but without it they cannot be displayed². Learning has no particular relation to any of the five senses; but without it they cannot be regulated. A teacher has no

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors say that this paragraph is intended to show that the course of learning must proceed gradually. So far is clear; but the illustrations employed and their application to the subject in hand are not readily understood. In his fifth Book (towards the end), Lieh-ze gives the first two illustrations as from an old poem, but rather differently from the text:—'The son of a good maker of bows must first learn to make a sieve; and the son of a good potter must first learn to make a fur-robe.' In this form they would more suitably have their place in paragraph 18.

² That is, in painting. The Chinese only paint in water colours. 'Water itself,' says Khung Ying-tâ, 'has no colour, but the paint requires to be laid on with water, in order to its display.' I cannot follow the text so easily in what it says on the other illustrations.

special relation to the five degrees of mourning; but without his help they cannot be worn as they ought to be.

22. A wise man has said, 'The Great virtue need not be confined to one office; Great power of method need not be restricted to the production of one article; Great truth need not be limited to the confirmation of oaths; Great seasonableness accomplishes all things, and each in its proper time.' By examining these four cases, we are taught to direct our aims to what is fundamental.

When the three sovereigns sacrificed to the waters, they did so first to the rivers and then to the seas; first to the source and then to its result. This was what is called 'Paying attention to the root.'



BOOK XVII. YO KĪ

OR

RECORD OF MUSIC¹.

SECTION I.

1. All the modulations of the voice arise from the mind, and the various affections of the mind are produced by things (external to it). The affections thus produced are manifested in the sounds that are uttered. Changes are produced by the way in which those sounds respond to one another; and those changes constitute what we call the modulations of the voice. The combination of those modulated sounds, so as to give pleasure, and the (direction in harmony with them of the) shields and axes², and of the plumes and ox-tails², constitutes what we call music.

2. Music is (thus) the production of the modulations of the voice, and its source is in the affections of the mind as it is influenced by (external) things.

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 32-34.

² There was a pantomimic exhibition of scenes of war, in which the performers brandished shields and axes; and another of scenes of peace, in which they waved plumes and ox-tails. What I have rendered by 'the modulations of the voice' is in the text the one Chinese character yin (音), for which Callery gives 'air musical,' and which K'ang Hsüan explains as meaning 'the five full notes of the scale.' See the long note of Callery prefixed to this record, concluding:—'La musique Chinoise, telle que l'ont entendue les anciens, avait tous les caractères d'une représentation théâtrale ayant pour but de parler tout à la fois aux yeux, aux oreilles, à l'esprit, et au cœur.'

When the mind is moved to sorrow, the sound is sharp and fading away; when it is moved to pleasure, the sound is slow and gentle; when it is moved to joy, the sound is exclamatory and soon disappears; when it is moved to anger, the sound is coarse and fierce; when it is moved to reverence, the sound is straightforward, with an indication of humility; when it is moved to love, the sound is harmonious and soft. These six peculiarities of sound are not natural¹; they indicate the impressions produced by (external) things. On this account the ancient kings were watchful in regard to the things by which the mind was affected.

3. And so (they instituted) ceremonies to direct men's aims aright; music to give harmony to their voices; laws to unify their conduct; and punishments to guard against their tendencies to evil. The end to which ceremonies, music, punishments, and laws conduct is one; they are the instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government is made to appear.

4. All modulations of the voice spring from the minds of men. When the feelings are moved within, they are manifested in the sounds of the voice; and when those sounds are combined so as to form compositions, we have what are called airs. Hence, the airs of an age of good order indicate composure and enjoyment. The airs of an age of disorder indicate dissatisfaction and anger, and its government is per-

¹ Or, 'are not the nature;' that is, the voice does not naturally, when the mind is not moved, from without itself, give such peculiar expressions of feeling. What belongs to man by his nature is simply the faculty of articulate speech, slumbering until he is awakened by his sensations and perceptions.

versely bad. The airs of a state going to ruin are expressive of sorrow and (troubled) thought. There is an interaction between the words and airs (of the people) and the character of their government.

5. (The note) kung represents the ruler; shang, the ministers; kio, the people; kih, affairs; and yü, things. If there be no disorder or irregularity in these five notes, there will be no want of harmony in the state. If kung be irregular, (the air) is wild and broken; the ruler of the state is haughty. If shang be irregular, (the air) is jerky; the offices of the state are decayed. If kio be irregular, (the air) expresses anxiety; the people are dissatisfied. If kih be irregular, (the air) expresses sorrow; affairs are strained. If yü be irregular, (the air) is expressive of impending ruin; the resources (of the state) are exhausted. If the five notes are all irregular, and injuriously interfere with one another, they indicate a state of insolent disorder; and the state where this is the case will at no distant day meet with extinction and ruin¹.

6. The airs of K'äng² and Wei were those of an age of disorder, showing that those states were near such an abandoned condition. The airs near the river Pû, at the mulberry forest, were those of a state going to ruin³. The government (of Wei) was in a state of dissipation, and the people were unsettled, calumniating their superiors, and pursuing their private aims beyond the possibility of restraint.

¹ On those notes, see Chinese Classics, vol. iii, page 48.

² See Confucian Analects, XV, 10, 6.

³ This place was in the state of Wei. See the ridiculous incident which gave rise to this account of the airs in Sze-mâ K'ien's monograph on music, pages 13, 14.

7. All modulations of sound take their rise from the mind of man; and music is the intercommunication of them in their relations and differences. Hence, even beasts know sound, but not its modulations; and the masses of the common people know the modulations, but they do not know music. It is only the superior man who can (really) know music.

8. On this account we must discriminate sounds in order to know the airs; the airs in order to know the music; and the music in order to know (the character of) the government. Having attained to this, we are fully provided with the methods of good order. Hence with him who does not know the sounds we cannot speak about the airs, and with him who does not know the airs we cannot speak about the music. The knowledge of music leads to the subtle springs that underlie the rules of ceremony. He who has apprehended both ceremonies and music may be pronounced to be a possessor of virtue. Virtue means realisation (in one's self)¹.

9. Hence the greatest achievements of music were not in the perfection of the airs; the (efficacy) of the ceremonies in the sacrificial offerings was not in the exquisiteness of the flavours. In the lutes for the *K'ing Miào* the strings were of red (boiled) silk, and the holes were wide apart; one lute began, and

¹ Virtue (德) and getting or realising (得) have the same name or pronunciation (teh) in Chinese. This concluding sentence, as Callery points out, is only a sort of pun on that common name. And yet 'virtue' is the 'realisation' in one's self 'of what is good.' The next paragraph expands the writer's thought. The greatest achievement of music in its ancient perfection was the softening and refining of the character, and that of the services of the temple was the making men reverent, filial, and brotherly.

(only) three others joined it ; there was much melody not brought out. In the ceremonies of the great sacrifices, the dark-coloured liquor took precedence, and on the stands were uncooked fish, while the grand soup had no condiments : there was much flavour left undeveloped.

10. Thus we see that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies and music, did not seek how fully they could satisfy the desires of the appetite and of the ears and eyes ; but they intended to teach the people to regulate their likings and dislikings, and to bring them back to the normal course of humanity.

11. It belongs to the nature of man, as from Heaven, to be still at his birth. His activity shows itself as he is acted on by external things, and develops the desires incident to his nature. Things come to him more and more, and his knowledge is increased. Then arise the manifestations of liking and disliking. When these are not regulated by anything within, and growing knowledge leads more astray without, he cannot come back to himself, and his Heavenly principle is extinguished.

12. Now there is no end of the things by which man is affected ; and when his likings and dislikings are not subject to regulation (from within), he is changed into the nature of things as they come before him ; that is, he stifles the voice of Heavenly principle within, and gives the utmost indulgence to the desires by which men may be possessed. On this we have the rebellious and deceitful heart, with licentious and violent disorder. The strong press upon the weak ; the many are cruel to the few ; the knowing impose upon the dull ; the bold make it bitter for

the timid; the diseased are not nursed; the old and young, orphans and solitaries are neglected:—such is the great disorder that ensues.

13. Therefore the ancient kings, when they instituted their ceremonies and music, regulated them by consideration of the requirements of humanity. By the sackcloth worn for parents, the wailings, and the weepings, they defined the terms of the mourning rites. By the bells, drums, shields, and axes, they introduced harmony into their seasons of rest and enjoyment. By marriage, capping, and the assumption of the hair-pin, they maintained the separation that should exist between male and female. By the archery gatherings in the districts, and the feastings at the meetings of princes, they provided for the correct maintenance of friendly intercourse.

14. Ceremonies afforded the defined expression for the (affections of the) people's minds; music secured the harmonious utterance of their voices; the laws of government were designed to promote the performance (of the ceremonies and music); and punishments, to guard against the violation of them. When ceremonies, music, laws, and punishments had everywhere full course, without irregularity or collision, the method of kingly rule was complete¹.

¹ With this paragraph ends the first portion of the treatise on music, called *Yo Pān* (樂本), or 'Fundamental Principles in Music.' The *K'ien-lung* editors divide it into four chapters:—the first setting forth that music takes its character as good or bad from the mind of man, as affected by what is external to it; the second, that the character of the external things affecting the mind is determined by government as good or bad; the third, that the ceremonies and music of the ancient kings were designed to

15. Similarity and union are the aim of music ; difference and distinction, that of ceremony. From union comes mutual affection ; from difference, mutual respect. [Where music prevails, we find a weak coalescence ; where ceremony prevails, a tendency to separation.] It is the business of the two to blend people's feelings and give elegance to their outward manifestations.

16. Through the perception of right produced by ceremony, came the degrees of the noble and the mean ; through the union of culture arising from music, harmony between high and low. By the exhibition of what was to be liked and what was to be disliked, a distinction was made between the worthy and unworthy. When violence was prevented by punishments, and the worthy were raised to rank, the operation of government was made impartial. Then came benevolence in the love (of the people), and righteousness in the correction (of their errors) ; and in this way good government held its course.

17. Music comes from within, and ceremonies from without. Music, coming from within, produces the stillness (of the mind) ; ceremonies, coming from without, produce the elegancies (of manner). [The highest style of music is sure to be distinguished by its ease ; the highest style of elegance, by its undemonstrativeness.]

18. Let music attain its full results, and there would be no dissatisfactions (in the mind) ; let ceremony do so, and there would be no quarrels. When

regulate the minds of men in their likings and dislikings ; and the fourth, that that regulation was in harmony with the will of Heaven, as indicated in the nature of man,

bowings and courtesies marked the government of the kingdom, there would be what might be described as music and ceremony indeed. Violent oppression of the people would not arise; the princes would appear submissively at court as guests; there would be no occasion for the weapons of war, and no employment of the five punishments¹; the common people would have no distresses, and the son of Heaven no need to be angry:—such a state of things would be an universal music. When the son of Heaven could secure affection between father and son, could illustrate the orderly relation between old and young, and make mutual respect prevail all within the four seas, then indeed would ceremony (be seen) as power.

19. In music of the grandest style there is the same harmony that prevails between heaven and earth; in ceremonies of the grandest form there is the same graduation that exists between heaven and earth. Through the harmony, things do not fail (to fulfil their ends); through the graduation we have the sacrifices to heaven and those to earth. In the visible sphere there are ceremonies and music; in the invisible, the spiritual agencies. These things being so, in all within the four seas, there must be mutual respect and love.

20. The occasions and forms of ceremonies are different, but it is the same feeling of respect (which they express). The styles of musical pieces are different, but it is the same feeling of love (which they

¹ The 'five punishments' were branding on the forehead, cutting off the nose, other various dismemberments, castration, and death; see Mayers' 'Chinese Readers' Manual,' page 313. But the one word 'punishment' would sufficiently express the writer's meaning.

promote). The essential nature of ceremonies and music being the same, the intelligent kings, one after another, continued them as they found them. The occasions and forms were according to the times when they were made; the names agreed with the merit which they commemorated.

21. Hence the bell, the drum, the flute, and the sounding-stone; the plume, the fife, the shield, and the axe are the instruments of music; the curvings and stretchings (of the body), the bending down and lifting up (of the head); and the evolutions and numbers (of the performers), with the slowness or rapidity (of their movements), are its elegant accompaniments. The dishes, round and square, the stands, the standing dishes, the prescribed rules and their elegant variations, are the instruments of ceremonies; the ascending and descending, the positions high and low, the wheelings about, and the changing of robes, are their elegant accompaniments.

22. Therefore they who knew the essential nature of ceremonies and music could frame them; and they who had learned their elegant accompaniments could hand them down. The framers may be pronounced sage; the transmitters, intelligent. Intelligence and sagehood are other names for transmitting and inventing.

23. Music is (an echo of) the harmony between heaven and earth; ceremonies reflect the orderly distinctions (in the operations of) heaven and earth.) From that harmony all things receive their being; to those orderly distinctions they owe the differences between them. Music has its origin from heaven; ceremonies take their form from the appearances of earth. If the imitation of those appearances were

carried to excess, confusion (of ceremonies) would appear; if the framing of music were carried to excess, it would be too vehement. Let there be an intelligent understanding of the nature and interaction of (heaven and earth), and there will be the ability to practise well both ceremonies and music.

24. The blending together without any mutual injuriousness (of the sentiments and the airs on the different instruments) forms the essence of music; and the exhilaration of joy and the glow of affection are its business. $\sqrt{\text{Exactitude and correctness, without any inflection or deviation, form the substance of ceremonies, while gravity, respectfulness, and a humble consideration are the rules for their discharge.}}$

25. As to the employment of instruments of metal and stone in connexion with these ceremonies and this music, the manifestation of them by the voice and its modulations, the use of them in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and in sacrificing to (the spirits of) the hills and streams, and to the general spiritual agencies (in nature);—these are (external demonstrations), natural even to the people¹.

26. When the (ancient) kings had accomplished their undertakings, they made their music (to commemorate them); when they had established their

¹ The eleven paragraphs ending with this form the second chapter of the Book, called by Liū Hsiang Yo Lun (樂論), while the third chapter, extending to the end of the section, is called Yo Lî (樂理), as if the two were an expansion of the statement in the seventh paragraph, that music is 'the intercommunication of the modulated sounds and the mind in their relations and differences.'

government, they framed their ceremonies. The excellence of their music was according to the greatness of their undertakings; and the completeness of their ceremonies was according to the comprehensiveness of their government. The dances with shields and axes did not belong to the most excellent music¹, nor did the sacrifices with cooked flesh mark the highest ceremonies¹.

27. The times of the five Tîs were different, and therefore they did not each adopt the music of his predecessor. The three kings belonged to different ages, and so they did not each follow the ceremonies of his predecessor. Music carried to an extreme degree leads to sorrow, and coarseness in ceremonies indicates something one-sided. To make the grandest music, which should bring with it no element of sorrow, and frame the completest ceremonies which yet should show no one-sidedness, could be the work only of the great sage.

28. There are heaven above and earth below, and between them are distributed all the (various) beings with their different (natures and qualities):—in accordance with this proceeded the framing of ceremonies. (The influences of) heaven and earth flow forth and never cease; and by their united action (the phenomena of) production and change ensue:—in accordance with this music arose. The processes of growth in spring, and of maturing in summer (suggest the idea of) benevolence; those of in-gather-ing in autumn and of storing in winter, suggest

¹ As being, I suppose, commemorative of the achievements of war, and not the victories of peace; and as marking a progress of society, and a departure from the primitive era of innocent simplicity and reverence.

righteousness. [Benevolence is akin to music, and righteousness to ceremonies.

29. Harmony is the thing principally sought in music:—it therein follows heaven, and manifests the spirit-like expansive influence characteristic of it. Normal distinction is the thing aimed at in ceremonies:—they therein follow earth, and exhibit the spirit-like retractive influence characteristic of it. Hence the sages made music in response to heaven, and framed ceremonies in correspondence with earth. In the wisdom and completeness of their ceremonies and music we see the directing power of heaven and earth¹.

30. (The relation) between ruler and minister was determined from a consideration of heaven (conceived of as) honourable, and earth (conceived of as) mean. The positions of noble and mean were fixed with a reference to the heights and depths displayed by the surface (of the earth). The regularity with which movement and repose follow each other (in the course of nature) led to the consideration of affairs as small

¹ On the first of these two paragraphs, P. Callery says:—"The celebrated Encyclopædist, Mâ Twan-lin (Book 181), says that this passage is one of the most marvellous that ever were written, and he draws from it the proof that the work could not have been written later than the Han, "because reckoning from that dynasty, there did not appear any author capable of conceiving ideas so profound, and expressing them in language so elevated." P. Callery adds, 'As regards the origin of the Li K'í, the reasoning of the Encyclopædist appears to me passably (passablement) false; as to the intrinsic worth of the passage, I leave it to the reader to form his judgment from the translation, which I have endeavoured to render as faithful as possible.'

In the passage of Mâ Twan-lin, however, that author is simply quoting the words of K'û Hsi (Tâ Kwân, Book 37), and expresses no opinion of his own.

and great. The different quarters (of the heavens) are grouped together, and the things (of the earth) are distinguished by their separate characteristics; and this gave rise to (the conception of) natures and their attributes and functions. In heaven there are formed its visible signs, and earth produces its (endless variety of) things; and thus it was that ceremonies were framed after the distinctions between heaven and earth.

31. The breath (or influence) of earth ascends on high, and that of heaven descends below. These in their repressive and expansive powers come into mutual contact, and heaven and earth act on each other. (The susceptibilities of nature) are roused by the thunder, excited by the wind and rain, moved by the four seasons, and warmed by the sun and moon; and all the processes of change and growth vigorously proceed. Thus it was that music was framed to indicate the harmonious action of heaven and earth.

32. If these processes took place out of season, there would be no (vigorous) life; and if no distinction were observed between males and females, disorder would arise and grow:—such is the nature of the (different qualities of) heaven and earth.

33. When we think of ceremonies and music, how they reach to the height of heaven and embrace the earth; how there are in them the phenomena of retrogression and expansion, and a communication with the spirit-like (operations of nature), we must pronounce their height the highest, their reach the farthest, their depth the most profound, and their breadth the greatest.

34. Music appeared in the Grand Beginning (of all things), and ceremonies had their place on the com-

pletion of them.] Their manifestation, being ceaseless, gives (the idea of) heaven; and again, being motionless, gives (the idea of) earth. Through the movement and repose (of their interaction) come all things between heaven and earth. Hence the sages simply spoke of ceremonies and music.

SECTION II.

1. Anciently, Shun made the lute with five strings, and used it in singing the Nan Fǎng. Khwei was the first who composed (the pieces of) music to be employed by the feudal lords as an expression of (the royal) approbation of them¹.

2. Thus the employment of music by the son of Heaven was intended to reward the most virtuous among the feudal lords. When their virtue was very great, and their instructions were honoured, and all the cereals ripened in their season, then they were rewarded by (being permitted) the use of the music. Hence, those of them whose toils in the government of the people were conspicuous, had their rows of pantomimes extended far; and those of them who had been indifferent to the government of the people

¹ Nan Fǎng, 'the South wind,' was the name of a poetical piece made by Shun, and celebrating the beneficent influence of rulers and parents as being like that of the south wind. Four lines of it are found in the Narratives of the School (Article 35):—

'The south wind's genial balm
Gives to my people's sorrows ease;
Its breath amidst the season's calm,
Brings to their wealth a large increase.'

The invention of the *lute* or *lute*, here ascribed to Shun, is also attributed to the more ancient Tis, Shǎn Nǎng and Fû-hsî. Perhaps Shun was the first to make it with five strings. Khwei was his minister of music; see vol. iii, pages 44, 45.

had those rows made short. On seeing their pantomimes, one knew what was (the degree of) their virtue, (just as) on hearing their posthumous designations, we know what had been (the character of) their conduct.

3. The *Tâ K'ang* expressed the brilliance (of its author's virtue); the *Hsien K'ih*, the completeness (of its author's); the *Shão* showed how (its author) continued (the virtue of his predecessor); the *Hsiâ*, the greatness (of its author's virtue); the music of *Yin* and *K'au* embraced every admirable quality¹.

4. In the interaction of heaven and earth, if cold and heat do not come at the proper seasons, illnesses arise (among the people); if wind and rain do not come in their due proportions, famine ensues. The instructions (of their superiors) are the people's cold and heat; if they are not what the time requires, an injury is done to society. The affairs (of their superiors) are the people's wind and rain; if they are not properly regulated, they have no success. In accordance with this, the object of the ancient kings in their practice of music was to bring their government into harmony with those laws (of heaven and earth). If it was good, then the conduct (of the people) was like the virtue (of their superiors).

5. (The feast on) grain-fed animals, with the adjunct of drinking, was not intended to produce evil, and yet cases of litigation are more numerous in consequence of it:—it is the excessive drinking which produces the evil. Therefore the former kings framed

¹ *Tâ K'ang* was the name of *Yáo's* music; *Hsien K'ih*, that of *Hwang Tí's*; *Shão*, that of *Shun's*; and *Hsiâ*, that of *Yü's*. Pages would be required to condense what is said about the pieces and their names.

the rules to regulate the drinking. Where there is (but) one presentation of the cup (at one time), guest and host may bow to each other a hundred times, and drink together all the day without getting drunk. This was the way in which those kings provided against evil consequences.

Such feasts served for the enjoyment of the parties at them. The music was intended to illustrate virtue ; the ceremonies to restrain excess.

6. Hence the former kings, on occasions of great sorrow, had their rules according to which they expressed their grief ; and on occasions of great happiness, they had their rules by which they expressed their pleasure. The manifestations, whether of grief or joy, were all bounded by the limits of these rules¹.

7. In music the sages found pleasure, and (saw that) it could be used to make the hearts of the people good. Because of the deep influence which it exerts on a man, and the change which it produces in manners and customs, the ancient kings appointed it as one of the subjects of instruction.

8. Now, in the nature of men there are both the energy of their physical powers and the intelligence of the mind ; but for their (affections of) grief, pleasure, joy, and anger there are no invariable rules. They are moved according to the external objects which excite them, and then there ensues the manifestation of the various faculties of the mind.

9. Hence, when a (ruler's) aims are small, notes

¹ With this paragraph ends the fourth division of the Book, called Yo Shih (樂施), meaning 'The grant of Music,' or the principles on which the ancient kings permitted their music to be used by the feudal princes, to signify their approval of what was good, and stimulate all to virtue.

that quickly die away characterise the music, and the people's thoughts are sad; when he is generous, harmonious, and of a placid and easy temper, the notes are varied and elegant, with frequent changes, and the people are satisfied and pleased; when he is coarse, violent, and excitable, the notes, vehement at first and distinct in the end, are full and bold throughout the piece, and the people are resolute and daring; when he is pure and straightforward, strong and correct, the notes are grave and expressive of sincerity, and the people are self-controlled and respectful; when he is magnanimous, placid, and kind, the notes are natural, full, and harmonious, and the people are affectionate and loving; when he is careless, disorderly, perverse, and dissipated, the notes are tedious and ill-regulated, and the people proceed to excesses and disorder.

10. Therefore the ancient kings (in framing their music), laid its foundations in the feelings and nature of men; they examined (the notes) by the measures (for the length and quality of each); and adapted it to express the meaning of the ceremonies (in which it was to be used). They (thus) brought it into harmony with the energy that produces life, and to give expression to the performance of the five regular constituents of moral worth. They made it indicate that energy in its Yang or phase of vigour, without any dissipation of its power, and also in its Yin or phase of remission, without the vanishing of its power. The strong phase showed no excess like that of anger, and the weak no shrinking like that of pusillanimity. These four characteristics blended harmoniously in the minds of men, and were similarly manifested in their conduct. Each occupied quietly

in its proper place, and one did not interfere injuriously with another.

11. After this they established schools for (teaching their music), and different grades (for the learners). They marked most fully the divisions of the pieces, and condensed into small compass the parts and variations giving beauty and elegance, in order to regulate and increase the inward virtue (of the learners). They gave laws for the great and small notes according to their names, and harmonised the order of the beginning and the end, to represent the doing of things. Thus they made the underlying principles of the relations between the near and distant relatives, the noble and mean, the old and young, males and females, all to appear manifestly in the music. Hence it is said that 'in music we must endeavour to see its depths.'

12. When the soil is worn out, the grass and trees on it do not grow well. When water is often troubled, the fish and tortoises in it do not become large. When the energy (of nature) is decayed, its production of things does not proceed freely. In an age of disorder, ceremonies are forgotten and neglected, and music becomes licentious.

13. In such a case the notes are melancholy but without gravity, or joyous without repose. There is remissness (in ceremonies), and the violation of them is easy. One falls into such a state of dissoluteness that he forgets the virtue properly belonging to his nature. In great matters he is capable of treachery and villainy; in small matters he becomes greedy and covetous. There is a diminution in him of the enduring, genial forces of nature, and an extinction of the virtue of satisfaction and harmony. On this

account the superior man despises such (a style of music and ceremonies)¹.

14. Whenever notes that are evil and depraved affect men, a corresponding evil spirit responds to them (from within); and when this evil spirit accomplishes its manifestations, licentious music is the result. Whenever notes that are correct affect men, a corresponding correct spirit responds to them (from within); and when this correct spirit accomplishes its manifestations, harmonious music is the result. The initiating cause and the result correspond to each other. The round and the deflected, the crooked and the straight, have each its own category; and such is the character of all things, that they affect one another severally according to their class.

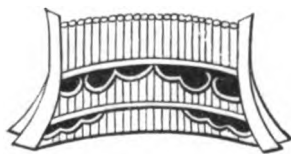
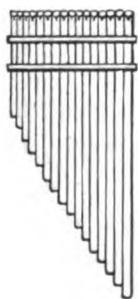
15. Hence the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature) in order to bring his will into harmony with them, and compares the different qualities (of actions) in order to perfect his conduct. Notes that are evil and depraved, and sights leading to disorder, and licentiousness, are not allowed to affect his ears or eyes. Licentious music and corrupted ceremonies are not admitted into the mind to affect its powers. The spirit of idleness, indifference, depravity, and perversity finds no exhibition in his person. And thus he makes his ears, eyes, nose, and mouth, the apprehensions of his mind, and the movements of all the parts of his body, all follow the course that is correct, and do that which is right.

¹ This and the six previous paragraphs form the fifth division of the Book, and are called Yo Yen (樂言), 'Words about Music.' The K'ien-lung editors, however, propose changing the Yen (言) into Hsing (形), so that the meaning would be 'Manifestations of Music.'

16. After this there ensues the manifestation (of the inward thoughts) by the modulations of note and tone, the elegant accompaniments of the lutes, small and large, the movements with the shield and battle-axe, the ornaments of the plumes and ox-tails, and the concluding with the pipes and flutes¹. All this has the effect of exhibiting the brilliance of complete virtue, stirring up the harmonious action of the four (seasonal) energies; and displaying the true natures and qualities of all things.

17. Hence in the fine and distinct notes we have an image of heaven; in the ample and grand, an image of earth; in their beginning and ending, an image of the four seasons; in the wheelings and revolutions (of the pantomimes), an image of the wind and rain. (The five notes, like) the five colours, form a complete and elegant whole, without any confusion. (The eight instruments of different materials, like) the eight winds, follow the musical accords, without any irregular deviation. The lengths of all the different notes have their definite measurements, without any uncertainty. The small and the great complete one another. The end leads on to the beginning, and the beginning to the end. The key notes and those harmonising with them, the sharp and the bass, succeed one another in their regular order.

¹ Thus:—



18. Therefore, when the music has full course, the different relations are clearly defined by it; the perceptions of the ears and eyes become sharp and distinct; the action of the blood and physical energies is harmonious and calm; (bad) influences are removed, and manners changed; and all under heaven there is entire repose.

19. Hence we have the saying, 'Where there is music there is joy.' Superior men rejoice in attaining to the course (which they wish to pursue); and smaller men in obtaining the things which they desire. When the objects of desire are regulated by a consideration of the course to be pursued, there is joy without any disorder. When those objects lead to the forgetfulness of that course, there is delusion, and no joy.

20. It is for this purpose that the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature), in order to bring his will into harmony with them, and makes extensive use of music in order to perfect his instructions. When the music has free course, the people direct themselves to the quarter (to which they should proceed), and we can see (the power of) his virtue.

21. Virtue is the strong stem of (man's) nature, and music is the blossoming of virtue. Metal, stone, silk, and bamboo are (the materials of which) the instruments of music (are made). Poetry gives expression to the thoughts; singing prolongs the notes (of the voice); pantomimic movements put the body into action (in harmony with the sentiments). These three things originate in the mind, and the instruments of the music accompany them.

22. In this way the affections (from which comes the music) are deeply seated, and the elegant display

of them is brilliant. All the energies (of the nature) are abundantly employed, and their transforming power is mysterious and spirit-like. A harmonious conformity (to virtue) is realised within, and the blossoming display of it is conspicuous without, for in music, more than other things, there should be nothing that is pretentious or hypocritical.

23. Music springs from the movement of the mind; the notes are the manifestation of the music; the elegant colours and various parts are the ornaments of the notes. The superior man puts its fundamental cause in movement, makes its manifesting notes into music, and regulates its ornaments.

24. Thus they first strike the drum to warn (the performers) to be in readiness, and (the pantomimes) take three steps to show the nature of the dance. This is done a second time and they begin to move forward; and when they have completed their evolutions, they return and dress their ranks. However rapid their movements may be, there is nothing violent in them; however mysterious they may be, they are not beyond the power of being understood. One, studying them alone, finds pleasure in the object of them, and does not tire in his endeavours to understand them. When he has fully understood them, he does not keep what he desires to himself. Thus the affections (of joy) are displayed; the (ideal) of righteousness is established; and when the music is ended, the (due) honour has been paid to virtue. Superior men by it nourish their love of what is good; small men in it hear the (correction of) their errors. Hence it is said, that 'for the courses to be pursued by men the influence of music is great.'

25. In music we have the outcome and bestowal

(of what its framers felt); in ceremonies a return (for what their performers had received). Music expresses the delight in what produces it, and ceremonies lead the mind back to (the favours) which originate them. Music displays the virtue (of the framer); ceremonies are a return of the feelings (which led to them), as carrying the mind back to what originated them.

26. What is called 'a Grand carriage' is one which is (the gift) of the son of Heaven; the flag with dragons, and a nine-scolloped border, was the banner (conferred by) the son of Heaven; that with the azure and black edging exhibited the precious tortoises, and was (also the gift of) the son of Heaven; and when these were followed by herds of oxen and sheep, they were the gifts bestowed on the feudal lords¹.

SECTION III.

1. In music we have the expression of feelings which do not admit of any change; in ceremonies that of principles which do not admit of any alteration. Music embraces what all equally share; ceremony distinguishes the things in which men differ. Hence the theory of music and ceremonies embraces the whole nature of man.

2. To go to the very root (of our feelings) and know the changes (which they undergo) is the province of music; to display sincerity and put away all that is hypocritical is the grand law of ceremonies. Ceremonies and music resemble the nature of Heaven and Earth, penetrate to the virtues of the spiritual Intelligences, bring down the spirits from above, and

¹ With this ends the sixth chapter of the Book, called Yo Hsiang (樂象), meaning the natural symbols of music.

raise up those whose seat is below. They give a sort of substantial embodiment of what is most subtle as well as material, and regulate the duties between father and son, ruler and subject.

3. Therefore, when the Great man uses and exhibits his ceremonies and music, Heaven and Earth will in response to him display their brilliant influences. They will act in happy union, and the energies (of nature), now expanding, now contracting, will proceed harmoniously. The genial airs from above and the responsive action below will overspread and nourish all things. Then plants and trees will grow luxuriantly; curling sprouts and buds will expand; the feathered and winged tribes will be active; horns and antlers will grow; insects will come to the light and revive; birds will breed and brood; the hairy tribes will mate and bring forth; the mammalia will have no abortions, and no eggs will be broken or addled,—and all will have to be ascribed to the power of music¹.

4. When we speak of music we do not mean the notes emitted by the Hwang Kung, Tâ Lü, (and the other musical pipes), the stringed instruments and the singing, or the (brandishing of the) shields and axes. These are but the small accessories of the music; and hence lads act as the pantomimes. (In

¹ There is extravagance in this description. The Great man is the sage upon the throne. The imagination of the eloquent writer runs riot as he dwells on the article of his creed, that 'Heaven, Earth, and Man' are the 'Three Powers (三才)', intended by their harmonious co-operation to make a happy and flourishing world. That would indeed be wonderful music which should bring about such a result. Compare the words of the Hebrew prophet in Hosea ii. 21, 22. Callery's translation of the concluding clause is:—'Tout cela n'est autre chose que l'harmonie de la musique rejaillissant (sous tous les êtres de la nature).'

the same way), the spreading of the mats, the disposing of the vases, and the arranging of the stands and dishes, with the movements in ascending and descending, are but the small accessories of ceremonies; and hence there are the (smaller) officers who direct them. The music-masters decide on the tunes and the pieces of poetry; and hence they have their places with their stringed instruments, and their faces directed to the north. The prayer-officers of the ancestral temple decide on the various ceremonies in it, and hence they keep behind the representatives of the deceased. Those who direct the mourning rites after the manner of the Shang dynasty¹, have their places (for the same reason) behind the presiding mourner.

5. It is for this reason that the practice of virtue is held to be of superior worth, and the practice of any art of inferior; that complete virtue takes the first place, and the doing of anything, (however ingenious, only) the second. Therefore the ancient kings had their distinctions of superior and inferior, of first and last; and so they could frame their music and ceremonies for the whole kingdom².

6. The marquis Wăn of Wei³ asked 3ze-hsiâ, saying, 'When in my square-cut dark robes and cap I listen to the ancient music, I am only afraid that I shall go to sleep. When I listen to the music of

¹ Which was distinguished for the plain simplicity of its observances.

² With this ends the seventh chapter, called *Yo K'ing* (樂情), 'The attributes of Music.'

³ The marquis Wăn ruled in Wei from B.C. 425 to 387. He is said to have received the classical books from 3ze-hsiâ, when that disciple of Confucius must have been a hundred years old, and was blind, in B.C. 407.

K'ang and Wei, I do not feel tired ; let me ask why I should feel so differently under the old and the new music.'

7. 3ze-hsia replied, 'In the old music, (the performers) advance and retire all together ; the music is harmonious, correct, and in large volume ; the stringed instruments (above) and those made from gourd shells with the organs and their metal tongues (below), are all kept waiting for the striking of the drum. The music first strikes up at the sound of the drum ; and when it ends, it is at the sound of the cymbals. The close of each part of the performance is regulated by the Hsiang¹, and the rapidity of the motions by the Yá¹. In (all) this the superior man speaks of, and follows, the way of antiquity. The character is cultivated ; the family is regulated ; and peace and order are secured throughout the kingdom. This is the manner of the ancient music.

8. 'But now, in the new music, (the performers) advance and retire without any regular order ; the music is corrupt to excess ; there is no end to its vileness. Among the players there are dwarfs like monkeys, while boys and girls are mixed together, and there is no distinction between father and son. Such music can never be talked about, and cannot be said to be after the manner of antiquity. This is the fashion of the new music.

9. 'What you ask about is music ; and what you like is sound. Now music and sound are akin, but they are not the same.'

¹ These are names of musical instruments, of which figures are given in the plates to the *K'ien-lung* edition ; but there is much uncertainty about them.

10. The marquis asked him to explain, and 3ze-hsiâ replied, 'In antiquity, Heaven and Earth acted according to their several natures, and the four seasons were what they ought to be. The people were virtuous, and all the cereals produced abundantly. There were no fevers or other diseases, and no apparitions or other prodigies. This was what we call "the period of great order." After this arose the sages, and set forth the duties between father and son, and between ruler and subject, for the guidance of society. When these guiding rules were thus correctly adjusted, all under heaven, there was a great tranquillity; after which they framed with exactness the six accords (upper and lower), and gave harmony to the five notes (of the scale), and the singing to the lutes of the odes and praise-songs; constituting what we call "the virtuous airs." Such virtuous airs constituted what we call "Music," as is declared in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 7, 4).

"Silently grew the fame of his virtue,
His virtue was highly intelligent;
Highly intelligent, and of rare discrimination;
Able to lead, able to rule,—
To rule over this great country,
Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial
union.
When (the sway) came to king Wăn,
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.
He received the blessing of God,
And it was extended to his descendants."

11. 'May I not say that what you love are the vile airs?' The marquis said, 'Let me ask where the vile airs come from?' 3ze-hsiâ replied, 'The

airs of *Kǎng* go to a wild excess, and debauch the mind; those of *Sung* tell of slothful indulgence and women, and drown the mind; those of *Wei* are vehement and rapid, and perplex the mind; and those of *Kh* are violent and depraved, and make the mind arrogant. The airs of those four states all stimulate libidinous desire, and are injurious to virtue;—they should therefore not be used at sacrifices.

12. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i [Part ii], ode 5),

"In solemn unison (the instruments) give forth their notes;

Our ancestors will hearken to them."

That solemn unison denotes the grave reverence and harmony of their notes:—with reverence, blended with harmony, what is there that cannot be done?

13. 'A ruler has only to be careful of what he likes and dislikes. What the ruler likes, his ministers will practise; and what superiors do, their inferiors follow. This is the sentiment in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 6),

"To lead the people is very easy."

14. 'Seeing this, and after (the repose of the people was secured), the sages made hand-drums and drums, the stopper and the starter, the earthen whistle and the bamboo flute,—the six instruments which produced the sounds of their virtuous airs. After these came the bell, the sounding-stone, the organ with thirty-six pipes, and the large lute, to be played in harmony with them; the shields, axes, ox-tails, and plumes, brandished by the pantomimes in time and

tune. These they employed at the sacrifices in the temple of the former kings, at festivals in offering and receiving the pledge cup; in arranging the services of officers (in the temple) according to the rank due to each, as noble or mean, and in showing to future ages how they observed the order due to rank and to age.

15. 'The bells give out a clanging sound as a signal. The signal is recognised by all, and that recognition produces a martial enthusiasm. When the ruler hears the sound of the bell, he thinks of his officers of war.

'The sounding-stones give out a tinkling sound, as a summons to the exercise of discrimination. That discrimination may lead to the encountering of death. When the ruler hears the sounding-stone, he thinks of his officers who die in defence of his frontiers.

'The stringed instruments give out a melancholy sound, which produces the thought of purity and fidelity, and awakens the determination of the mind. When the ruler hears the sound of the lute and cithern, he thinks of his officers who are bent on righteousness.

'The instruments of bamboo give out a sound like that of overflowing waters, which suggests the idea of an assembly, the object of which is to collect the multitudes together. When the ruler hears the sound of his organs, pipes, and flutes, he thinks of his officers who gather the people together.

'The drums and tambours give out their loud volume of sound, which excites the idea of movement, and tends to the advancing of the host. When the ruler hears the sounds of his drums and tam-

bours, he thinks of his leaders and commanders. When a superior man thus hears his musical instruments, he does not hear only the sounds which they emit. There are associated ideas which accompany these¹.'

16. Pin-máu Kĭá² was sitting with Confucius. Confucius talked with him about music, and said, 'At (the performance of) the Wû, how is it that the preliminary warning (of the drum) continues so long?' The answer was, 'To show (the king's) anxiety that all his multitudes should be of one mind with him.'

'How is it that (when the performance has commenced) the singers drawl their notes so long, and the pantomimes move about till they perspire?' The answer was, 'To show his apprehension that some (princes) might not come up in time for the engagement.'

'How is it that the violent movement of the arms and stamping fiercely with the feet begin so soon?' The answer was, 'To show that the time for the engagement had arrived.'

'How is it that, (in the performance of the Wû,) the pantomimes kneel on the ground with the right

¹ With this fifteenth paragraph ends the eighth chapter of the Book called simply 'Marquis Wan of Wei's Chapter' (魏文侯章); and the K'ien-lung editors say nothing more about it.

² Pin-máu Kĭá must have been a scholar of Confucius' time, a master of music; but, so far as I have read, nothing is known about him beyond what appears here. The K'ang Hung at the end of the paragraph was a historiographer of K'áu, with whom Confucius is said to have studied music. The Wû was the dance and music which king Wû is said to have made after his conquest of Shang or Yin.

knee, while the left is kept up?' The answer was, 'There should be no kneeling in the Wû.'

'How is it that the words of the singers go on to speak eagerly of Shang?' The answer was, 'There should be no such sounds in the Wû.'

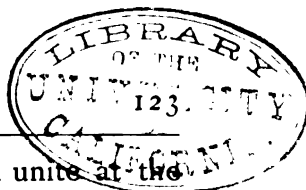
'But if there should be no such sound in the Wû, where does it come from?' The answer was, 'The officers (of the music) failed to hand it down correctly. If they did not do so, the aim of king Wû would have been reckless and wrong.'

The Master said, 'Yes, what I heard from *Khang Hung* was to the same effect as what you now say.'

17. Pin-mâu *K'ia* rose up, left his mat, and addressed Confucius, saying, 'On the long-continued warning (of the drum) in the Wû, I have heard your instructions; but let me ask how it is that after that first delay there is another, and that a long one?'

The Master said, 'Sit down, and I will tell you. Music is a representation of accomplished facts. The pantomimes stand with their shields, each erect and firm as a hill, representing the attitude of king Wû. The violent movements of the arms and fierce stamping represent the enthusiasm of *Thâi-kung*. The kneeling of all at the conclusion of the performance represents the government (of peace, instituted) by (the dukes of) *Kâu* and *Shão*.

18. 'Moreover, the pantomimes in the first movement proceed towards the north (to imitate the marching of king Wû against Shang); in the second, they show the extinction of Shang; in the third, they show the return march to the south; in the fourth, they show the laying out of the Southern states; in the fifth, they show how (the dukes of) *Kâu* and *Shão* were severally put in charge of the states on the



left and right; in the sixth, they again unite at the point of starting to offer their homage to the son of Heaven. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite them with bells, and four times they stop and strike and thrust, showing the great awe with which (king Wû) inspired the Middle states. Their advancing with these men on each side shows his eagerness to complete his helpful undertaking. The performers standing long together show how he waited for the arrival of the princes.

19. 'And have you alone not heard the accounts of Mû-yeh? King Wû, after the victory over Yin, proceeded to (the capital of) Shang; and before he descended from his chariot he invested the descendants of Hwang Tî with *Kî*; those of the Tî Yâo with *Kû*; and those of the Tî Shun with *Khân*. When he had descended from it, he invested the descendant of the sovereign of Hsiâ with *Kî*; appointed the descendants of Yin to Sung; raised a mound over the grave of the king's son, Pi-kan; released the count of *Khi* from his imprisonment, and employed him to restore to their places the officers who were acquainted with the ceremonial usages of Shang. The common people were relieved from (the pressure) of the (bad) government which they had endured, and the emoluments of the multitude of (smaller) officers were doubled.

'(The king then) crossed the Ho, and proceeded to the west. His horses were set free on the south of mount Hwâ, not to be yoked again. His oxen were dispersed in the wild of the Peach forest, not to be put to the carriages again. His chariots and coats of mail were smeared with blood, and despatched to his arsenals, not to be used again. The

shields and spears were turned upside down and conveyed away, wrapped in tiger skins, which were styled "the appointed cases." The leaders and commanders were then constituted feudal lords; and it was known throughout the kingdom that king Wû would have recourse to weapons of war no more¹.

20. 'The army having been disbanded (the king commanded) a practice of archery at the colleges in the suburbs. At the college on the left (or east) they shot to the music of the Lî-shâu²; at that on the right (or west) they shot to the music of the 3âu-yü; and (from this time) the archery which consisted in going through (so many) buffcoats ceased. They wore (only) their civil robes and caps, with their ivory tokens of rank stuck in their girdles; and the officers of the guard put off their swords. (The king) offered sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction, and the people learned to be filial. He gave audiences at court, and the feudal lords knew how they ought to demean themselves. He ploughed in the field set apart for that purpose, and the lords learned what should be the object of reverence to them (in their states). These five things constituted great lessons for the whole kingdom.'

21. In feasting the three (classes of the) old and the five (classes of the) experienced in the Great college, he himself (the son of Heaven) had his

¹ See the account of all these proceedings after the victory of Mû in the Shû, V, iii, 9, though it is difficult to reconcile the two accounts in some of their details.

² See the K'âu Lî, Book 22, 32. The ode Lî-shâu was used at the archery celebrations of the feudal lords, and is now lost. The 3âu-yü is the last ode in the second Book of the Shih, Part I. It was used at contests where the king presided.

breast bared and cut up the animals. He (also) presented to them the condiments and the cups. He wore the royal cap, and stood with a shield before him. In this way he taught the lords their brotherly duties.

22. 'In this manner the ways of *Kâu* penetrated everywhere, and the interaction of ceremonies and music was established;—is it not right that in the performance of the *Wû* there should be that gradual and long-continuing action¹?'

23. A superior man says: 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered completely (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long-continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) Heaven. Heaven-like, (his action) is spirit-like. Heaven-like, he is believed without the use of words. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, without any display of rage. So it is, when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart.

24. 'When one has mastered completely (the principle of) ceremonies so as to regulate his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he comes to be regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter

¹ The preceding seven paragraphs form the ninth chapter, which, like the former, simply bears the name of one of the parties in it, and is called 'The chapter of Pin-mâu *Kiá*.'

it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and respectfulness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

25. 'Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies a perfect observance (of propriety). When one's inner man is (thus) harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and acts within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule), and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are sure (in the same way) to accept and obey him. Hence it is said, "Carry out perfectly ceremonies and music, and give them their outward manifestation and application, and under heaven nothing difficult to manage will appear."'

26. Music springs from the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This rule for ceremonies leads to the forward exhibition of them, and therein their beauty resides; that for music leads to the introspective consideration of it, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies demanding this condensation were not performed with this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with this introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it

is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is its introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure; and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises the (feeling of) repose. The responses of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.

27. Now music produces pleasure;—what the nature of man cannot be without. That pleasure must arise from the modulation of the sounds, and have its embodiment in the movements (of the body);—such is the rule of humanity. These modulations and movements are the changes required by the nature, and they are found complete in music. Thus men will not be without the ministration of pleasure, and pleasure will not be without its embodiment, but if that embodiment be not suitably conducted, it is impossible that disorder should not arise. The ancient kings, feeling that they would feel ashamed (in the event of such disorder arising), appointed the tunes and words of the Yâ and the Sung to guide (in the music), so that its notes should give sufficient pleasure, without any intermixture of what was bad, while the words should afford sufficient material for consideration without causing weariness; and the bends and straight courses, the swell and diminution, the sharp angles, and soft melody throughout all its parts, should be sufficient to stir up in the minds of the hearers what was good in them, without inducing any looseness of thought or depraved air to be suggested. Such was the plan of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

28. Therefore in the ancestral temple, rulers and

ministers, high and low, listen together to the music, and all is harmony and reverence ; at the district and village meetings of the heads of clans, old and young listen together to it, and all is harmony and deference. Within the gate of the family, fathers and sons, brothers and cousins, listen together to it, and all is harmony and affection. Thus in music there is a careful discrimination (of the voices) to blend them in unison so as to bring out their harmony ; there is a union of the (various) instruments to give ornamental effect to its different parts ; and these parts are combined and performed so as to complete its elegance. In this way fathers and sons, rulers and subjects are united in harmony, and the people of the myriad states are associated in love. Such was the method of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

29. In listening to the singing of the Yâ and the Sung, the aims and thoughts receive an expansion. From the manner in which the shields and axes are held and brandished, and from the movements of the body in the practice with them, now turned up, now bent down, now retiring, now stretching forward, the carriage of the person receives gravity. From the way in which (the pantomimes) move to their several places, and adapt themselves to the several parts (of the performance), the arrangement of their ranks is made correct, and their order in advancing and retiring is secured. In this way music becomes the lesson of Heaven and Earth, the regulator of true harmony, and what the nature of man cannot dispense with.

30. It was by music that the ancient kings gave elegant expression to their joy ; by their armies and

axes that they gave the same to their anger. Hence their joy and anger always received their appropriate response. When they were joyful, all under heaven were joyful with them; when they were angry, the oppressive and disorderly feared them. In the ways of the ancient kings, ceremonies and music may be said to have attained perfection¹.

31. (Once), when 3ze-kung had an interview with the music-master Yt, he asked him, saying, 'I have heard that in the music and words belonging to it there is that which is specially appropriate to every man; what songs are specially appropriate to me?' The other replied, 'I am but a poor musician, and am not worthy to be asked what songs are appropriate for particular individuals;—allow me to repeat to you what I have heard, and you can select for yourself (what is appropriate to you). The generous and calm, the mild and correct, should sing the Sung; the magnanimous and calm, and those of wide penetration and sincere, the Tâ Yâ (Major Odes of the Kingdom); the courteous and self-restraining, the lovers of the rules of propriety, the Hsiâo Yâ (Minor Odes of the Kingdom); the correct, upright, and calm, the discriminating and humble, the Făng (Airs of the States); the determinedly upright, but yet gentle and loving, the Shang; and the mild and honest, but yet capable of decision, the K'hi. The object of this singing is for one to make himself right, and then to display his virtue. When he has thus put

¹ From paragraph 23 to this forms the tenth chapter of the Book, which has the name of Yo Hwâ (樂化), 'The Transforming Operation of Music,' supplementing and summarising all the previous chapters.

himself in a condition to act, Heaven and Earth respond to him, the four seasons revolve in harmony with him, the stars and constellations observe their proper laws, and all things are nourished and thrive.

32. 'What are called the Shang¹ were the airs and words transmitted from the five Tis; and having been remembered by the people of Shang, we call them the Shang. What are called the *K'hi* were transmitted from the three dynasties; and having been remembered by the people of *K'hi*, we call them the *K'hi*. He who is versed in the airs of the Shang will generally be found to manifest decision in the conduct of affairs. He who is versed in the airs of the *K'hi*, when he is attracted by the prospect of profit, will yet give place to others. To manifest decision in the conduct of affairs is bravery; to give place to others in the prospect of gain is righteousness. Who, without singing these songs, can assure himself that he will always preserve such bravery and righteousness?

33. 'In singing, the high notes rise as if they were borne aloft; the low descend as if they were falling to the ground; the turns resemble a thing broken off; and the finale resembles (the breaking) of a willow tree; emphatical notes seem made by the

¹ All the other pieces of song mentioned in the preceding paragraph are well known, as the divisions under which the odes of the Shih King are arranged. What are called the Shang and *K'hi* are lost, but some account of them is given in this paragraph. When it is said that the people of Shang remembered the airs and poetry of the five Tis, we must understand by Shang the duchy of Sung, which was ruled by the representation of the line of the Shang kings. Why the state of *K'hi* should have remembered the airs and songs of 'the three dynasties' more than any other state, I cannot tell.

square; quavers are like the hook (of a spear); and those prolonged on the same key are like pearls strung together. Hence, singing means the prolonged expression of the words; there is the utterance of the words, and when the simple utterance is not sufficient, the prolonged expression of them. When that prolonged expression is not sufficient, there come the sigh and exclamation. When these are insufficient, unconsciously there come the motions of the hands and the stamping of the feet¹.

(Such was the answer to) 3ze-kung's question about music².

¹ On this passage, P. Callery says:—' Quoique, à la rigueur, on puisse comparer des airs à des objets, ou à des accidents matériels, comme nous disons de tel motif musical qu'il est "Large," "Sec," "Dur," etc., il faut avouer que les comparaisons adoptées par l'artiste Chinois sont, en général, fort mauvaises, c'est une amplification gâtée de ce qu'il a dit plus haut.'

² This and the two preceding paragraphs form the eleventh chapter of the Book, the last of those of which the text has been preserved. It is called, 'Questions of 3ze-kung about Music.'

BOOK XVIII. 3Â KĪ

OR

MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS¹.

SECTION I. PART I.

1. When a feudal lord was on the march and died in his lodging², they called back his soul in the same way as in his state. If he died on the road, (one) got up on the nave of the left wheel of the chariot in which he had been riding, and called it, waving the pennon of his flag.

(For the carriage with the bier) there was a pall, and attached to it a fringe made of black cloth, like a lower garment, serving as a curtain (to the temporary coffin), and the whole was made into a sort of house by a covering of white brocade. With this they travelled (back to his state), and on arriving at the gate of the temple, without removing the (curtain) wall, they entered and went straight to the place where the confining was to take place. The pall was removed at the outside of the door.

2. When a Great officer or an ordinary officer died on the road, (one) got up on the left end of the nave of his carriage, and called back his soul, waving his pennon. If he died in his lodging, they called the soul back in the same manner as if he had died in his house.

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 34.

² The public lodging assigned to him in the state where he was.

In the case of a Great officer they made a pall of cloth, and so proceeded homewards. On arriving at the house, they removed the pall, took the (temporary) coffin on a handbarrow, entered the gate, and proceeding to the eastern steps, there halted and removed the barrow, after which they took the body up the steps, right to the place where it was to be coffined.

3. The pall-house made over the body of an ordinary officer was made of the phragmites rush; and the fringe for a curtain below of the typha.

4. In every announcement of a death to the ruler it was said, 'Your lordship's minister, so and so, has died.' When the announcement was from a parent, a wife, or an eldest son, it was said, 'Your lordship's minister, my —, has died.' In an announcement of the death of a ruler to the ruler of another state, it was said, 'My unworthy ruler has ceased to receive his emoluments. I venture to announce it to your officers¹.' If the announcement were about the death of his wife, it was said, 'The inferior partner of my poor ruler has ceased to receive her emoluments.' On the death of a ruler's eldest son, the announcement ran, 'The heir-son of my unworthy ruler, so and so, has died.'

5. When an announcement of the death of a Great officer was sent to another of the same grade, in the same state, it was said, 'So and so has ceased to receive his emoluments.' The same terms were employed when the announcement was to an ordinary officer. When it was sent to the ruler of another state, it ran, 'Your lordship's outside minister,

¹ Not daring to communicate the evil tidings directly to the ruler.

my poor Great officer, so and so, has died.' If it were to one of equal degree (in the other state), it was said, 'Sir, your outside servant, our poor Great officer, has ceased to receive his emoluments, and I am sent here to inform you.' If it were to an ordinary officer, the announcement was made in the same terms.

6. In the announcement of the death of an ordinary officer to the same parties, it was made in the same style, only that 'So and so has died,' was employed in all the cases.

7. A Great officer had his place in the lodgings about the palace, till the end of the mourning rites (for a ruler), while another officer returned to his home on the completion of a year. An ordinary officer had his place in the same lodgings. A Great officer occupied the mourning shed; another officer, the unplastered apartment¹.

8. In the mourning for a cousin, either paternal or maternal, who had not attained to the rank of a Great officer, a Great officer wore the mourning appropriate

¹ Two places of lodging about the palace are mentioned here :— the mourning shed, and the unplastered apartment. Both these appear to have been in the courtyard, outside the palace itself; the former, a hut, formed by trees and branches of trees, placed against the wall on the east, with the most slender provision for accommodation and comfort; the latter, an apartment in some other place, made of unburnt bricks, and unplastered, more commodious, but nearly as destitute of comfort. In the former, the chief mourners 'afflicted themselves,' while those whose mourning was not so intense occupied the other.

The ordinary officer, who returned home at the end of a year, is supposed to have had his charge in some town at a distance from court, where his presence could no longer be dispensed with; and the other, who occupies the unplastered apartment to the end of the rites, to have been employed at the court.

for an ordinary officer; and an ordinary officer, in mourning similarly for a cousin on either side who had been a Great officer, wore the same mourning.

9. The son of a Great officer by his wife proper wore the mourning appropriate for a Great officer.

10. The son of a Great officer by any other member of his harem, who was himself a Great officer, wore for his father or mother the mourning of a Great officer; but his place was only the same as that of a son by the proper wife who was not a Great officer.

11. When the son of an ordinary officer had become a Great officer, his parents could not preside at his mourning rites. They made his son do so; and if he had no son, they appointed some one to perform that part, and be the representative of the deceased.

12. When they were divining by the tortoise-shell about the grave and the day of interment of a Great officer, the officer superintending (the operation) wore an upper robe of sackcloth, with (strips of) coarser cloth (across the chest), and a girdle of the same and the usual mourning shoes. His cap was of black material, without any fringe. The diviner wore a skin cap.

13. If the stalks were employed, then the manipulator wore a cap of plain silk, and the long robe. The reader of the result wore his court robes.

14. At the mourning rites for a Great officer (preparatory to the interment), the horses were brought out. The man who brought them wailed, stamped, and went out. After this (the son) folded up the offerings, and read the list (of the gifts that had been sent).

15. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, one from the department of the chief superintendent of the ancestral temple assisted (the presiding mourner), and one from that of the assistant superintendent put the question to the tortoise-shell, which was then manipulated in the proper form by the diviner.

16. In calling back (the soul of) a feudal lord, they used the robe which had first been conferred on him, with the cap and corresponding robes, varying according to the order of his nobility.

17. (In calling back the soul of) a friend's wife, they used the black upper robe with a purple border, or that with pheasants embroidered on it in various colours; both of them lined with white crape.

18. (In calling back that of) the wife of a high noble, they used the upper robe of light green, worn on her first appointment to that position, and lined with white crape; (in calling back that of the wife of) a Great officer of the lowest grade, the upper robe of plain white. (The souls of other wives were called back) by parties with the same robe as in the case of an ordinary officer.

19. In the calling back, they stood (with their faces to the north), inclining to the west¹.

20. (To the pall over the coffin of a Great officer) there was not attached the (curtain of) yellow silk with pheasants on it, descending below the (bamboo) catch for water.

21. (The tablet of a grandson who had been) a Great officer was placed (in the shrine of his grandfather who had (only) been an officer; but not if he

¹ Paragraph 18 in the ordinary editions is before 16. The tablets must have been confused, and were, perhaps, defective.

had only been an officer, and the grandfather a Great officer. In that case, the tablet was placed in the shrine of a brother of the grandfather (who had only been an officer). If there were no such brother, (it was placed in the shrine of their high ancestor), according to the regular order of relationship. Even if his grand-parents were alive, it was so.

22. The (tablet of a) wife was placed after that of the wife (of the principal of the shrine), in which her husband's tablet was placed. If there had been no such wife, it was placed in the shrine of the wife of the high ancestor, according to the regular order of relationship. The (tablet of a) concubine was placed in the shrine of her husband's grandmother (concubine). If there had been no such concubine, then (it was placed in that of the concubine of the high ancestor) according to the regular order of relationship.

23. (The tablet of) an unmarried son was placed in the shrine of his grandfather, and was used at sacrifices. That of an unmarried daughter was placed in the shrine of her grandmother, but was not used at sacrifices. The (tablet of) the son of a ruler was placed in the shrine of (one of) the sons (of his grandfather), that grandfather having also been a ruler.

24. When a ruler died, his eldest son was simply styled son (for that year), but he was treated (by other rulers) as the ruler.

25. If one, after wearing for a year the mourning and cap proper to the three years for a parent, met with the death of a relative for whom he had to wear the mourning of nine months, he changed it for the hempen-cloth proper to the nine months; but he did not change the staff and shoes.

26. In mourning for a parent, (after a year) the sackcloth of the nine months' mourning is preferred; but if there occurred the placing in its shrine of the tablet of a brother who had died prematurely, the cap and other mourning worn during that first year was worn in doing so. The youth who had died prematurely was called 'The Bright Lad,' and (the mourner said), 'My so and so,' without naming him. This was treating him with reference to his being in the spirit-state.

27. In the case of brothers living in different houses, when one first heard of the death of another, he might reply to the messenger simply with a wail. His first step then was to put on the sackcloth, and the girdle with dishevelled edges. If, before he had put on the sackcloth, he hurried off to the mourning rites, and the presiding mourner had not yet adjusted his head-band and girdle, in the case of the deceased being one for whom he had to mourn for five months, he completed that term along with the presiding mourner. If nine months were due to the deceased, he included the time that had elapsed since he assumed the sackcloth and girdle.

28. The master, presiding at the mourning rites for a concubine, himself conducted the placing of her tablet (in its proper shrine). At the sacrifices at the end of the first and second years, he employed her son to preside at them. The sacrifice at her offering did not take place in the principal apartment.

29. A ruler did not stroke the corpse of a servant or a concubine.

30. Even after the wife of a ruler was dead, the concubines (of the harem) wore mourning for her

relatives. If one of them took her place (and acted as mistress of the establishment), she did not wear mourning for the relatives¹.

PART II.

1. If one heard of the mourning rites for a cousin for whom he had to wear mourning for nine months or more, when he looked in the direction of the place where those rites were going on, he wailed. If he were going to accompany the funeral to the grave, but did not get to the house in time, though he met the presiding mourner returning, he himself went on to the grave. The president at the mourning rites for a cousin, though the relationship might not have been near, also presented the sacrifice of Repose.

2. On all occasions of mourning, if, before the mourning robes had all been completed, any one arrived to offer condolences, (the president) took the proper place, wailed, bowed to the visitor, and leaped.

3. At the wailing for a Great officer, another of the same rank, wore the conical cap, with a sack-cloth band round it. He wore the same also when engaged with the coffining.

If he had on the cap of dolichos-cloth in mourning for his own wife or son, and were called away to the lighter mourning for a distant relative, he put on the conical cap and band.

4. (In wailing for) an eldest son, he carried a staff, but not for that son's son; he went without it

¹ This lady took the deceased wife's place, and performed many of the duties; but she had not the position of wife. Anciently, a feudal ruler could only, in all his life, have one wife, one lady, that is, to be called by that name.

to the place of wailing. (An eldest son), going to wail for his wife, if his parents were alive, did not carry a staff, nor bow so as to lay his forehead on the ground. If (only) his mother were alive, he did not lay his forehead to the ground. Where such a prostration should have taken place, as in the case of one who brought a gift with his condolence, an ordinary bow was made.

5. (An officer) who had left a feudal prince and gone into the service of a Great officer did not on the lord's death return and wear mourning for him; nor did one who had left a Great officer to serve a prince, return to mourn on the death of the former.

6. The strings of the mourning cap served to distinguish it from one used on a festive occasion. The silk cap worn after a year's mourning, and belonging to that for three years, had such strings, and the seam of it was on the right. That worn in the mourning of five months, and a still shorter time, was seamed on the left. The cap of the shortest mourning had a tassel of reddish silk. The ends of the girdle in the mourning of nine months and upward hung loose.

7. Court robes were made with fifteen skeins (1200 threads) in the warp. Half that number made the coarse cloth for the shortest mourning, which then was glazed by being steeped with ashes.

8. In sending presents to one another for the use of the dead, the princes of the states sent their carriages of the second class with caps and robes. They did not send their carriages of the first class, nor the robes which they had themselves received (from the king).

9. The number of (small) carriages sent (to the

grave) was according to that of the parcels of flesh to be conveyed. Each one had a pall of coarse cloth. All round were ornamental figures. These parcels were placed at the four corners of the coffin.

10. (Sometimes) rice was sent, but Yû-ze said that such an offering was contrary to rule. The food put down (by the dead) in mourning was only dried meat and pickled.

11. At the sacrifices (after the sacrifice of Repose), the mourner styled himself 'The filial son,' or 'The filial grandson;' at the previous rites, 'The grieving son,' or 'The grieving grandson.'

12. In the square upper garment of the mourner and the sackcloth over it, and in the carriage in which he rode to the grave, there was no difference of degree.

13. The white cap of high (antiquity) and the cap of black cloth were both without any ornamental fringe. The azure-coloured and that of white silk with turned-up rim had such a fringe.

14. A Great officer wore the cap with the square top when assisting at a sacrifice of his ruler; but that of skin when sacrificing at his own shrines. An ordinary officer used the latter in his ruler's temple, and the cap (of dark cloth) in his own. As an officer wore the skin cap, when going in person to meet his bride, he might also use it at his own shrines.

15. The mortar for the fragrant herbs, in making sacrificial spirits, was made of cypress wood, and the pestle of dryandria. The ladle (for lifting out the flesh) was of mulberry wood, three, some say five, cubits long. The scoop used in addition was of mulberry, three cubits long, with its handle and end carved.

16. The girdle over the shroud used for a prince

or a Great officer was of five colours; that used for another officer, only of two.

17. The must (put into the grave) was made from the malt of rice. There were the jars (for it and other liquids), the baskets (for the millet), and the boxes (in which these were placed). These were placed outside the covering of the coffin; and then the tray for the mats was put in.

18. The spirit-tablet (which had been set up over the coffin) was buried after the sacrifice of Repose.

19. (The mourning rites for) all wives were according to the rank of their husbands.

20. (Visitors who had arrived) during the slighter dressing of the corpse, the more complete dressing, or the opening (the enclosure where the coffin was), were all saluted and bowed to (after these operations were finished).

21. At the wailing morning and evening, (the coffin) was not screened from view. When the bier had been removed, the curtain was no more suspended.

22. When the ruler came to condole, after the carriage with its coffin (had reached the gate of the temple), the presiding mourner bowed towards him with his face towards the east, and moving to the right of the gate, leaped there, with his face towards the north. Going outside, he waited till the ruler took his departure and bade him go back, after which he put down (by the bier the gifts which the ruler had brought).

23. When 3ze-káo was fully dressed after his death, first, there were the upper and lower garments both wadded with floss silk, and over them a suit of black with a purple border below; next, there was a suit of white made square and straight, (the

suit belonging to) the skin cap ; next, that belonging to the skin cap like the colour of a sparrow's head ; and next, (that belonging to) the dark-coloured cap, with the square top. 3ăng-ze said, 'In such a dressing there should be nothing of woman's dress.'

24. When an officer died on some commission, upon which he had gone for his ruler, if the death took place in a public hotel, they called his soul back ; if in a private hotel, they did not do so. By a public hotel was meant a ruler's palace, or some other building erected by him, and by a private hotel, the house of a noble, a Great officer, or an officer below that rank¹.

25. (On the death of) a ruler, there is the leaping for him for seven days in succession ; and on that of a Great officer, it lasts for five days. The women take their share in this expression of grief at intervals, between the presiding mourner and his visitors. On the death of an ordinary officer, it lasts for three days ; the women taking their part in the same way.

26. In dressing the corpse of a ruler, there is first put on it the upper robe with the dragon ; next, a dark-coloured square-cut suit ; next, his court-robcs ; next, the white lower garment with gathers ; next, a purple-coloured lower garment ; next, a sparrow-head

¹ It is generally supposed that the 3ze-káo here was the disciple of Confucius, so styled, and also known as Káo K'ái ; but the dressing here is that of the corpse of a Great officer, and there is no evidence that the disciple ever attained to that rank ; and I am inclined to doubt, with K'iang K'áo-hsî and others, whether the party in the text may not have been another 3ze-káo. The caps of the last three suits are understood to be used for the suits themselves, with which they were generally worn. 3ăng-ze's condemnation of the dressing was grounded on the purple border of one of the articles in the first suit. See Analects X, 4.

skin cap ; next, the dark-coloured cap with the square top ; next, the robe given on his first investiture ; next, a girdle of red and green ; over which was laid out the great girdle.

27. At the slight dressing of the corpse the son (or the presiding mourner) wore the band of sackcloth about his head. Rulers, Great officers, and ordinary officers agreed in this.

28. When the ruler came to see the great dressing of the corpse, as he was ascending to the hall, the Shang priest spread the mat (afresh), and proceeded to the dressing.

29. The gifts (for the dead, and to be placed in the grave), contributed by the people of Lû, consisted of three rolls of dark-coloured silk, and two of light red, but they were (only) a cubit in width, and completing the length of (one) roll¹.

30. When one came (from another ruler) with a message of condolence, he took his place outside, on the west of the gate, with his face to the east. The chief officer attending him was on the south-east of him, with his face to the north, inclining to the west, and west from the gate. The orphan mourner, with his face to the west, gave his instructions to the officer waiting on him, who then went to the visitor and said, 'My orphaned master has sent me to ask why you have given yourself this trouble,' to which the visitor replies, 'Our ruler has sent me to ask for your master in his trouble.' With this reply the officer returned to the mourner and reported it,

¹ This paragraph, which it is not easy to construe or interpret, is understood to be condemnatory of a stinginess in the matter spoken of, which had begun in the Lû. The rule had been that such pieces of silk should be twenty-five cubits wide, and eighteen cubits long.

returning and saying, 'My orphaned master is waiting for you.' On this the visitor advanced. The mourning host then went up to the reception hall by the steps on the east, and the visitor by those on the west. The latter, with his face to the east, communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has heard of the bereavement you have sustained, and has sent me to ask for you in your sorrows.' The mourning son then bowed to him, kneeling with his forehead to the ground. The messenger then descended the steps, and returned to his place.

31. The attendant charged with the jade for the mouth of the deceased, and holding it in his hand—a flat round piece of jade—communicated his instructions, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me with the gem for the mouth.' The officer in waiting went in and reported the message, then returning and saying, 'Our orphaned master is waiting for you.' The bearer of the gem then advanced, ascended the steps, and communicated his message. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. The bearer then knelt, and placed the gem on the south-east of the coffin, upon a phragmites mat; but if the interment had taken place, on a typha mat. After this, he descended the steps, and returned to his place. The major-domo, in his court robes, but still wearing his mourning shoes, then ascended the western steps, and kneeling with his face to the west, took up the piece of jade, and descending by the same steps, went towards the east (to deposit it in the proper place).

32. The officer charged with the grave-clothes said, 'Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.' The officer in waiting, having gone in and reported,

returned and said, 'Our orphaned master is waiting for you.' Then the other took up first the cap with the square top and robes, with his left hand holding the neck of the upper garment, and with his right the waist. He advanced, went up to the hall, and communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.' The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground; and when the bearer laid down the things on the east of the coffin, he then went down, and received the skin cap of the sparrow's-head colour, with the clothes belonging to it inside the gate, under the eaves. These he presented with the same forms; then the skin cap and clothes which he received in the middle of the courtyard; then the court robes; then the dark-coloured, square-cut garments, which he received at the foot of the steps on the west. When all these presentations were made, five men from the department of the major-domo took the things up, and going down the steps on the west, went away with them to the east. They all took them up with their faces towards the west.

33. The chief of the attendants (of the messenger) had charge of the carriage and horses, and with a long symbol of jade in his hand communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me to present the carriage and horses.' The officer in waiting went in and informed the presiding mourner, and returned with the message, 'The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.' The attendant then had the team of yellow horses and the grand carriage exhibited in the central courtyard, with the front to the north; and with the symbol in hand he communicated his message. His grooms were all below, on

the west of the carriage. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. He then knelt, and placed his symbol in the corner, on the south-east of the coffin. The major-domo then took the symbol up, and proceeded with it to the east.

34. The message was always delivered with the face turned towards the coffin, and the son always bowed to the attendant charged with it, with his forehead down to the ground. The attendant then knelt with his face to the west, and deposited his gift (or its representative). The major-domo and his employes ascended by the steps on the west to take these up, and did so with their faces towards the west, descending (again) by the same steps.

The attendant charged with the carriage and horses went out, and returned to his place outside the gate.

35. The chief visitor then, (wishing) to perform the ceremony of wailing, said, 'My ruler, being engaged in the services of his own ancestral temple, could not come and take part in your rites, and has sent me, so and so, his old servant, to assist in holding the rope.' The officer in waiting (reported his request), and returned with the message, 'The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.' The messenger then entered and took his place on the right of the gate. His attendants all followed him, and stood on his left, on the east. The superintendent of ceremonies introduced the visitor, and went up on the hall, and received his ruler's instructions, then descending and saying, 'The orphan ventures to decline the honour which you propose, and begs you to return to your place.' The messenger, however, replied, 'My ruler charged me that I should not

demean myself as a visitor or guest, and I venture to decline doing as you request.' The other then reported this reply, and returned, and told the messenger that the orphan firmly declined the honour which he proposed, and repeated the request that he would return to his place. The messenger repeated his reply, saying that he also firmly declined (to return to his place). The same message from the mourner was repeated, and the same reply to it, (after which) the mourner said, 'Since he thus firmly declines what I request, I will venture respectfully to comply with his wish.'

The messenger then stood on the west of the gate, and his attendants on his left, facing the west. The orphaned mourner descended by the steps on the east, and bowed to him, after which they both ascended and wailed, each of them leaping three times in response to each other. The messenger then went out, escorted by the mourner outside of the gate, who then bowed to him, with his forehead down to the ground.

36. When the ruler of a state had mourning rites in hand for a parent, (any officer who was mourning for a parent) did not dare to receive visits of condolence (from another state).

37. The female relatives of the exterior kept in their apartments; the servants spread the mats; the officer of prayer, who used the Shang forms, spread out the girdle, sash, and upper coverings; the officers washed their hands, standing on the north of the vessel; they then removed the corpse to the place where it was to be dressed. When the dressing was finished, the major-domo reported it. The son then leant on the coffin and leaped. The wife with her

face to the east, also leant on it, kneeling ; and then she got up and leaped¹.

38. There are three things in the mourning rites for an officer which agree with those used on the death of the son of Heaven:—the torches kept burning all night (when the coffin is to be conveyed to the grave); the employment of men to draw the carriage; and the keeping of the road free from all travellers on it.

¹ See the twelfth paragraph in the second section of next Book. It appears here, with some alteration, by mistake.



SECTION II. PART I.

1. When a man was wearing mourning for his father, if his mother died before the period was completed, he put off the mourning for his father (and assumed that proper for his mother). He put on, however, the proper dress when sacrificial services required it; but when they were over ¹, he returned to the mourning (for his mother).

2. When occasion occurred for wearing the mourning for uncles or cousins, if it arrived during the period of mourning for a parent, then the previous mourning was not laid aside, save when the sacrificial services in these cases required it to be so; and when they were finished, the mourning for a parent was resumed.

3. If during the three years' mourning (there occurred also another three years' mourning for the eldest son), then after the coarser girdle of the *Kiung* hemp had been assumed in the latter case, the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year's mourning for a parent might be proceeded with.

4. When a grandfather had died, and his grandson also died before the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year had been performed, (his spirit-tablet) was still placed next to the grandfather's.

5. When a mourner, while the coffin was in the house, heard of the death of another relative at a

¹ That is, the sacrifices regularly presented at the end of the first and second year from the death. The translation here and in the next three paragraphs, if it were from an Aryan or Semitic language, could not be said to be literal; but it correctly represents the ideas of the author.

distance, he went to another apartment and wailed for him. (Next day), he entered where the coffin was, and put down the offerings (to the deceased), after which he went out, changed his clothes, went to the other apartment, and repeated the ceremony of the day before.

6. When a Great officer or another officer was about to take part in a sacrifice at his ruler's, if, after the inspection of the washing of the vessels to be used, his father or mother died, he still went to the sacrifice ; but took his place in a different apartment. After the sacrifice he put off his (sacrificial) dress, went outside the gate of the palace, wailed, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as he would have done in hurrying to the mourning rites. If the parent's death took place before the inspection of the washing, he sent a messenger to inform the ruler of his position ; and when he returned, proceeded to wail (for his deceased parent).

When the death that occurred was that of an uncle, aunt, or cousin, if he had received the previous notice to fast, he went to the sacrifice ; and when it was over, he went out at the ruler's gate, put off his (sacrificial) dress, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as if he had been hurrying to the mourning rites. If the deceased relative lived under the same roof with him, he took up his residence in other apartments ¹.

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors doubt the genuineness of this last sentence. A commissioned officer, they say, and much more a Great officer, occupied his own residence, and had left the family at home ; and they fail to see how the condition supposed could have existed.

7. 3ǎng-íze asked, 'When a high minister or Great officer is about to act the part of the personator of the dead at a sacrifice by his ruler, and has received instructions to pass the night previous in solemn vigil, if there occur in his own family occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what is he to do?' Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave his own house, and lodge in the ruler's palace till the service (for the ruler) is accomplished.'

8. Confucius said, 'When the personator of the dead comes forth in his leathern cap, or that with the square top, ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all should descend from their carriages when he passes. He should bow forward to them, and he should (also) have people going before him (to notify his approach, that people may get out of the way¹).'

9. During the mourning rites for a parent, when the occasion for one of the sacrifices was at hand, if a death occurred in the family of a brother or cousin, the sacrifice was postponed till the burial of the dead had taken place. If the cousin or brother were an inmate of the same palace with himself, although the death were that of a servant or concubine, the party postponed his sacrifice in this way. At the sacrifice the mourner went up and descended the steps with only one foot on each, all assisting him, doing the same. They did so even for the sacrifice of Repose, and to put the spirit-tablet in its place.

10. From the feudal rulers down to all officers, at the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning

¹ See vol. xxvii, page 341, paragraph 26, which is here repeated.

for a parent, when the chief mourner took the cup offered to him by the chief among the visitors, he raised it to his teeth, while, the visitors, brothers, and cousins all sipped the cups presented to them. After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, the chief mourner might sip his cup, while all the visitors, brothers, and cousins might drink off their cups.

11. The attendants at the sacrifices during the funeral rites give notice to the visitors to present the offerings, of which, however, they did not afterwards partake.

12. 3ze-kung asked about the rites of mourning (for parents), and the Master said, 'Reverence is the most important thing ; grief is next to it ; and emaciation is the last. The face should wear the appearance of the inward feeling, and the demeanour and carriage should be in accordance with the dress.'

He begged to ask about the mourning for a brother, and the Master said, 'The rites of mourning for a brother are to be found in the tablets where they are written.'

13. A superior man will not interfere with the mourning of other men to diminish it, nor will he do so with his own mourning¹.

14. Confucius said, 'Shão-lien and Tâ-lien demeaned themselves skilfully during their mourning (for their parents). During the (first) three days they were alert; for the (first) three months they manifested no weariness; for the (first) year they were full of grief; for the (whole) three years they were

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors think paragraph 13 is out of place, and would place it farther on, after paragraph 43.

sorrowful. (And yet) they belonged to one of the rude tribes on the East¹.

15. During the three years of mourning (for his father), (a son) might speak, but did not discourse; might reply, but did not ask questions. In the shed or the unplastered apartment he sat (alone), nobody with him. While occupying that apartment, unless there were some occasion for him to appear before his mother, he did not enter the door (of the house). On all occasions of wearing the sackcloth with its edges even, he occupied the unplastered apartment, and not the shed. To occupy the shed was the severest form in mourning.

16. (The grief) in mourning for a wife was like that for an uncle or aunt; that for a father's sister or one's own sister was like that for a cousin; that for any of the three classes of minors dying prematurely was as if they had been full-grown.

17. The mourning for parents is taken away (at the end of three years), (but only) its external symbols; the mourning for brothers (at the end of one year), (and also) internally.

18. (The period of mourning) for a ruler's mother or wife is the same as that for brothers. But (beyond) what appears in the countenance is this, that (in the latter case) the mourners do not eat and drink (as usual).

19. After a man has put off the mourning (for his father), if, when walking along the road, he sees one like (his father), his eyes look startled. If he hear one with the same name, his heart is agitated.

¹ Sháo-lien; see *Analects* XVIII, 8, 3, and 'Narratives of the School,' Article 43.

In condoling with mourners on occasion of a death, and inquiring for one who is ill, there will be something in his face and distressed manner different from other men. He who is thus affected is fit to wear the three years' mourning. So far as other mourning is concerned, he may walk right on (without anything) having such an effect on him.

20. The sacrifice at the end of the second¹ year is signalized by the principal mourner putting off his mourning dress. The evening (before), he announces the time for it, and puts on his court robes, which he then wears at the sacrifice.

21. 3ze-yû said, 'After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, although the mourner should not wear the cap of white silk, (occasions may occur when) he must do so². Afterwards he resumes the proper dress.'

22. (At the mourning rites of an officer), if, when he had bared his breast, a Great officer arrived (on a visit of condolence), although he might be engaged in the leaping, he put a stop to it, and went to salute and bow to him. Returning then, he resumed his leaping and completed it, after which he re-adjusted his dress and covered his breast.

In the case of a visit from another officer, he went on with his leaping, completed it, readjusted his upper dress, and then went to salute and bow to him, without having occasion to resume and complete the leaping.

23. At the sacrifice of Repose for a Great officer of the highest grade, there were offered a boar and a

¹ So, *Khân Kào*.

² Such as receiving the condolences of visitors on account of some other occasion of mourning.

ram; at the conclusion of the wailing, and at the placing of his spirit-tablet, there was, in addition, the bull. On the similar occasions for a Great officer of the lowest grade, there was in the first case a single victim, and in the others the boar and the ram.

24. In consulting the tortoise-shell about the burial and sacrifice of Repose, the style of the petition was as follows:—A son or grandson spoke of himself as ‘the sorrowing,’ (when divining about his father or grandfather); a husband (divining about his wife) said, ‘So and so for so and so;’ an elder brother about a younger brother, simply said, ‘So and so;’ a younger brother about an elder brother said, ‘For my elder brother, so and so.’

25. Anciently, noble and mean all carried staffs. (On one occasion) Shû-sun Wû-shû¹, when going to court, saw a wheelwright put his staff through the nave of a wheel, and turn it round. After this (it was made a rule that) only men of rank should carry a staff.

26. (The custom of) making a hole in the napkin (covering the face of the dead) by which to introduce what was put into the mouth, was begun by Kung-yang Kíá².

27. What were the grave-clothes (contributed to the dead)? The object of them was to cover the body. From the enshrouding to the slighter dressing, they were not put on, and the figure of the body was seen. Therefore the corpse was first enshrouded, and afterwards came the grave-clothes.

28. Some one asked Ǵǵng-ǵze, ‘After sending

¹ A Great officer of Lí, about B.C. 500.

² We do not find anything about this man elsewhere.

away to the grave the offerings to the dead, we wrap up what remains;—is this not like a man, after partaking of a meal, wrapping up what is left (to take with him)? Does a gentleman do such a thing?’ ᢈᠠᠩ-ᢈᠵᠡ said, ‘Have you not seen what is done at a great feast? At a great feast, given by a Great officer, after all have partaken, he rolls up what is left on the stands for the three animals, and sends it to the lodgings of his guests. When a son treats his parents in this way as his (honoured) guests, it is an expression of his grief (for their loss). Have you, Sir, not seen what is done at a great feast?’

29. ‘Excepting at men’s funeral rites, do they make such inquiries and present such gifts as they then do? At the three years’ mourning, the mourner bows to his visitors in the manner appropriate to the occasion; at the mourning of a shorter period, he salutes them in the usual way¹.’

30. During the three years’ mourning, if any one sent wine or flesh to the mourner, he received it after declining it thrice; he received it in his sackcloth and band. If it came from the ruler with a message from him, he did not presume to decline it;—he received it and presented it (in his ancestral temple).

One occupied with such mourning did not send any gift, but when men sent gifts to him he received them. When engaged in the mourning rites for an uncle, cousin, or brother, and others of a shorter period, after the wailing was concluded, he might send gifts to others.

31. Hsien-ᢈᠵᠡ said, ‘The pain occasioned by the

¹ See vol. xxvii, pp. 122–3, paragraph 5. There is probably something wanting at the beginning of this paragraph.

mourning for three years is like that of beheading ; that arising from the one year's mourning, is like the stab from a sharp weapon.'

32. During the one year's mourning, in the eleventh month, they put on the dress of silk, which was called *lien*; in the thirteenth month they offered the *hsiang* sacrifice, and in the same month that called *than*;—which concluded the mourning.

During the mourning for three years, even though they had occasion to assume the dress proper for the nine months' mourning, they did not go to condole (with the other mourners). From the feudal lords down to all officers, if they had occasion to dress and go to wail (for a relative newly deceased), they did so in the dress proper to the mourning for him. After putting on the *lien* silk, they paid visits of condolence.

33. When one was occupied with the nine months' mourning, if the burial had been performed, he might go and condole with another mourner, retiring after he had wailed without waiting for any other part of the mourner's proceedings.

During the mourning for one year, if before the burial one went to condole with another in the same district, he withdrew after he had wailed, without waiting for the rest of the proceedings.

If condoling during the mourning for nine months, he waited to see the other proceedings, but did not take part in them.

During the mourning for five months or three months, he waited to assist at the other proceedings, but did not take part in the (principal) ceremony¹.

¹ That is, in putting down the offerings to the deceased.

34. When one (was condoling with) another whom he had been accustomed to pass with a hasty step¹, (at the interment of his dead relative), he retired when the bier had passed out from the gate of the temple. If they had been on bowing terms, he retired when they had reached the station for wailing. If they had been in the habit of exchanging inquiries, he retired after the coffin was let down into the grave. If they had attended court together, he went back to the house with the other, and wailed with him. If they were intimate friends, he did not retire till after the sacrifice of Repose, and the placing of the spirit-tablet of the deceased in the shrine.

35. Condoling friends did not (merely) follow the principal mourner. Those who were forty (or less) held the ropes when the coffin was let down into the grave. Those of the same district who were fifty followed him back to the house and wailed ; and those who were forty waited till the grave was filled up.

36. During mourning, though the food might be bad, the mourner was required to satisfy his hunger with it. If for hunger he had to neglect anything, this was contrary to the rules. If he through satiety forgot his sorrow, that also was contrary to the rules. It was a distress to the wise men (who made the rules) to think that a mourner should not see or hear distinctly; should not walk correctly or be unconscious of his occasion for sorrow ; and therefore (they enjoined) that a mourner, when ill, should drink wine and eat flesh; that people of fifty should do nothing to bring on emaciation; that at sixty they should not be emaciated; that at seventy they should drink ✓

¹ This was a mark of respect. Compare Analects IX, 9.

liquor and eat flesh:—all these rules were intended as preventives against death.

- ✓ 37. If one, while in mourning, was invited by another to eat with him, he did not go while wearing the nine months' mourning or that of a shorter period; if the burial had taken place, he might go to another party's house. If that other party belonged to his relative circle, and wished him to eat with him, he might do so; if he did not belong to that circle, he did not eat with him.
- ✓ 38. While wearing the mourning of nine months, one might eat vegetables and fruits, and drink water and congee, using no salt or cream. If he could not eat dry provisions, he might use salt or cream with them.
- ✓ 39. Confucius said, 'If a man have a sore on his body, he should bathe. If he have a wound on his head, he should wash it. If he be ill, he should drink liquor and eat flesh. A superior man will not emaciate himself so as to be ill. If one die from such emaciation, a superior man will say of him that he has failed in the duty of a son.'
- ✓ 40. Excepting when following the carriage with the bier to the grave, and returning from it, one was not seen on the road with the mourning cap, which was used instead of the ordinary one.
- ✓ 41. During the course of mourning, from that worn for five months and more, the mourner did not wash his head or bathe, excepting for the sacrifice of Repose, the placing the spirit-tablet in the shrine, the assuming the dress of lien silk, and the sacrifice at the end of a year.
- ✓ 42. During mourning rites, when the sackcloth with the edges even was worn, after the burial, if one asked an interview with the mourner, he saw him, but

he himself did not ask to see any person. He might do so when wearing the mourning of five months. When wearing that for nine months, he did not carry the introductory present in his hand (when seeking an interview). It was only when wearing the mourning for a parent that the mourner did not avoid seeing any one, (even) while the tears were running from him.

43. A man while wearing the mourning for three years might execute any orders of government after the sacrifice at the end of a year. One mourning for a year, might do so when the wailing was ended; one mourning for nine months, after the burial; one mourning for five months or three, after the encoffining and dressing.

44. ᢈᠠᢈ ᢈᠠᢈ asked ᢈᠠᢈ-ᢈᢈ, saying, 'In wailing for a parent, should one do so always in the same voice?' The answer was, 'When a child has lost its mother on the road, is it possible for it to think about the regular and proper voice?'

PART II.

1. After the wailing was ended, there commenced the avoiding of certain names. (An officer) did not use the name of his (paternal) grandfather or grandmother, of his father's brothers or uncles; of his father's aunts or sisters. Father and son agreed in avoiding all these names. The names avoided by his mother the son avoided in the house. Those avoided by his wife he did not use when at her side. If among them there were names which had been borne by his own paternal great-grandfather or great-grand-uncles, he avoided them (in all places).

2. When (the time for) capping (a young man) came during the time of the mourning rites, though they were those for a parent, the ceremony might be performed. After being capped in the proper place, the subject went in, wailed and leaped,—three times each bout, and then came out again.

3. At the end of the nine months' mourning, it was allowable to cap a son or to marry a daughter. A father at the end of the five months' mourning, might cap a son, or marry a daughter, or take a wife (for a son). Although one himself were occupied with the five months' mourning, yet when he had ended the wailing, he might be capped, or take a wife. If it were the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest degree of immaturity, he could not do so¹.

4. Whenever one wore the cap of skin with a sackcloth band (in paying a visit of condolence), his upper garment of mourning had the large sleeves.

5. When the father was wearing mourning, a son, who lived in the same house with him, kept away from all music. When the mother was wearing it, the son might listen to music, but not play himself. When a wife was wearing it, the son, (her husband), did not play music by her side. When an occasion for the nine months' mourning was about to occur, the lute and cithern were laid aside. If it were only an occasion for the five months' mourning, music was not stopped.

6. When an aunt or sister died (leaving no son), if her husband (also) were dead, and there were no

¹ This paragraph seems to me, as to many of the Chinese critics, irretrievably corrupt or defective.

brother or cousin in his relative circle, some other of her husband's more distant relatives was employed to preside at her mourning rites. None of a wife's relatives, however near, could preside at them. If no distant relative even of her husband could be found, then a neighbour, on the east or the west, was employed. If no such person (suitable) could be found, then the head man of the neighbourhood presided. Some say, 'One (of her relatives) might preside, but her tablet was placed by that of the (proper) relative of her husband.'

7. The girdle was not used along with the sack-cloth band. That band could not be used by one who carried in his hand his jade-token; nor could it be used along with a dress of various colours.

8. On occasions of prohibitions issued by the state (in connexion with the great sacrifices), the wailing ceased; as to the offerings deposited by the coffin, morning and evening, and the repairing to their proper positions, mourners proceeded as usual¹.

9. A lad, when wailing, did not sob or quaver; did not leap; did not carry a staff; did not wear the straw sandals; and did not occupy the mourning shed.

10. Confucius said, 'For grand-aunts the mourning with the edges even is worn, but the feet in leaping are not lifted from the ground. For aunts and sisters the mourning for nine months is worn, but the feet in leaping are lifted from the ground. If a man understands these things, will he not (always) follow the right forms of ceremonies? Will he not do so?'

¹ The punctuation and place of this short paragraph vary. Its integrity is also doubted.

11. When the mother of Î Liû died, his assistants in the rites stood on his left; when Î Liû died, they stood on his right. The practice of the assistants (at funeral rites) giving their aid on the right, originated from the case of Î Liû¹.

12. The mouth of the son of Heaven was stuffed after death with nine shells; that of a feudal lord, with seven; that of a Great officer, with five; and that of an ordinary officer, with three².

13. An officer was interred after three months, and the same month the wailing was ended. A Great officer was interred (also) after three months, and after five months the wailing was ended. A prince was interred after five months, and after seven the wailing was ended.

For an officer the sacrifice of Repose was offered three times; for a Great officer, five times; and for a feudal prince, seven times.

14. A feudal lord sent a messenger to offer his condolences; and after that, his contributions for the mouth, the grave-clothes, and the carriage. All these things were transacted on the same day, and in the order thus indicated.

15. When a high minister or Great officer was ill, the ruler inquired about him many times. When an ordinary officer was ill, he inquired about him once. When a Great officer or high minister was buried, the ruler did not eat flesh; when the wailing was finished, he did not have music. When an officer was encoffined, he did not have music.

16. After they had gone up, and made the bier

¹ A minister of duke Mû of Lû, B.C. 409-377.

² This was not the practice in the Kâu dynasty.

ready, in the case of the burial of a feudal lord, there were 500 men to draw the ropes. At each of the four ropes they were all gagged. The minister of War superintended the clappers; eight men with these walking on each side of the bier. The chief artizan, carrying a shade of feathers, guided the progress (of the procession). At the burial of a Great officer, after they had gone up and made the bier ready, 300 men drew the ropes; four men with their clappers walked on each side of the bier; and its progress was guided (by the chief artizan) with a reed of white grass in his hand.

17. Confucius said, 'Kwan Kung had carving on the square vessels for holding the grain of his offerings, and red ornaments for his cap; he set up a screen where he lodged on the way, and had a stand of earth on which the cups he had used, in giving a feast, were replaced; he had hills carved on the capitals of his pillars, and pondweed on the lower pillars supporting the rafters¹. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his superiors (to distinguish themselves from him).

'An Phing-kung², in sacrificing to his father and other progenitors, used only the shoulders of a pig, not large enough to cover the dish. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his inferiors (to distinguish themselves from him).

'A superior man will not encroach on (the observances of) those above him, nor put difficulties in the way of those below him.'

¹ See Confucian Analects III, 22, and V, 17.

² A minister of K'hi, contemporary with Confucius, distinguished for his simple, and perhaps parsimonious, ways.

18. Excepting on the death of her father or mother, the wife (of a feudal lord) did not cross the boundaries of the state to pay a visit of condolence. On that occasion she did so, and went back to her original home, where she used the ceremonies of condolence proper to a feudal lord, and she was treated as one. When she arrived, she entered by the women's gate, and went up (to the reception hall) by steps at the side (of the principal steps), the ruler receiving her at the top of the steps on the east. The other ceremonies were the same as those of a guest who hastened to attend the funeral rites.

19. A sister-in-law did not lay the soothing hand on the corpse of her brother-in-law; and vice versâ.

20. There are three things that occasion sorrow to a superior man (who is devoted to learning):—If there be any subject of which he has not heard, and he cannot get to hear of it; if he hear of it, and cannot get to learn it; if he have learned it, and cannot get to carry it out in practice. There are five things that occasion shame to a superior man (who is engaged in governmental duties):—If he occupy an office, and have not well described its duties; if he describe its duties well, but do not carry them into practice; if he have got his office, and lost it again; if he be charged with the care of a large territory, and the people be not correspondingly numerous; if another, in a charge like his own, have more merit than he.

21. Confucius said, 'In bad years they used in their carriages their poorest horses, and in their sacrifices the victims lowest (in the classes belonging to them).'

22. At the mourning rites for Hsü Yü, duke Âi

sent Zû Pî to Confucius to learn the rites proper at the mourning for the officer. Those rites were thus committed at that time to writing.

23. 3ze-kung having gone to see the agricultural sacrifice at the end of the year, Confucius said to him, '3hze, did it give you pleasure?' The answer was, 'The people of the whole state appeared to be mad; I do not know in what I could find pleasure.' The Master said, 'For their hundred days' labour in the field, (the husbandmen) receive this one day's enjoyment (from the state);—this is what you do not understand. (Even) Wăn and Wû could not keep a bow (in good condition), if it were always drawn and never relaxed; nor did they leave it always relaxed and never drawn. To keep it now strung and now unstrung was the way of Wăn and Wû.'

24. Mâng Hsien-ze said, 'If in the first month at the (winter) solstice it be allowable to offer the (border) sacrifice to God, in the seventh month, at the summer solstice, we may offer the sacrifice in the temple of the ancestor (of our ruling House).' Accordingly Hsien-ze offered that sacrifice to all the progenitors (of the line of Lû) in the seventh month¹.

25. The practice of not obtaining from the son of Heaven the confirmation of her dignity for the wife (of the ruler of Lû) began with duke K'áo².

¹ Hsien-ze was the honorary title of Kung-sun Mieh, a good officer of Lû, under dukes Wăn, Hsüan, K'äng, and Hsiang. He must understand him as speaking of the sacrifices of the state, and not of his own.

² See Confucian Analects VII, 30. Duke K'áo married a lady of Wû, of the same surname with himself, and therefore had not announced the marriage to the king.

26. The mourning of a ruler and his wife were regulated by the same rules for the ladies of his family married in other states and for those married in his own¹.

27. When the stables of Confucius were burned, and the friends of his district came (to offer their condolences) on account of the fire, he bowed once to the ordinary officers, and twice to the Greater officers;—according to the rule on occasions of mutual condolence.

28. Confucius said, 'Kwan K'ung selected two men from among (certain) thieves with whom he was dealing, and appointed them to offices in the state, saying, "They were led astray by bad men with whom they had associated, but they are proper men themselves." When he died, duke Hwan made these two wear mourning for him. The practice of old servants of a Great officer wearing mourning for him, thus arose from Kwan K'ung. But these two men only mourned for him by the duke's orders.'

29. When an officer, in a mistake, used a name to his ruler which should be avoided, he rose to his feet. If he were speaking to any one who had the name that should be avoided with the ruler, he called him by the name given to him on his maturity.

30. (A Great officer) took no part in any seditious movements within his state, and did not try to avoid calamities coming from without.

31. The treatise on the duties of the Chief Inter-nuncius says, 'The length of the long symbol of rank was for a duke, nine inches; for a marquis or

¹ There are differences of opinion as to the meaning of this paragraph, between which it is not easy to decide. It would be tedious to go into an exhibition and discussion of them.

earl, seven; for a count or baron, five. The width in each case was three inches; and the thickness, half an inch. They tapered to the point for one inch and a half. They were all of jade. The mats for them were made with three different colours, (two rows of each,) six in all.'

32. Duke Âi asked 3ze-kão, 'When did members of your family first begin to be in office?' The answer was, 'My ancestor held a small office under duke Wăn¹.'

33. When a temple was completed, they proceeded to consecrate it with the following ceremony:—The officer of prayer, the cook, and the butcher, all wore the cap of leather of the colour of a sparrow's head, and the dark-coloured dress with the purple border. The butcher rubbed the sheep clean, the officer of prayer blessed it, and the cook with his face to the north took it to the pillar and placed it on the south-east of it. Then the butcher took it in his arms, went up on the roof at the middle point between the east and west, and with his face to the south stabbed it, so that the blood ran down in front; and then he descended. At the gate of the temple, and of each of the two side apartments, they used a fowl, one at the gate of each (going up as before and stabbing them). The hair and feathers about the ears were first pulled out under the roof (before the victims were killed). When the fowls were cut at the gates of the temple, and the apartments on each side of it, officers stood, opposite to each gate on the north. When the thing was over, the officer of prayer announced that it

¹ This paragraph is supposed to be defective. Duke Wăn was marquis of Lû from B.C. 626 to 609.

was so, and they all retired, after which he announced it to the ruler, saying, 'The blood-consecration has been performed.' This announcement was made at the door of the back apartment of the temple, inside which the ruler stood in his court-robes, looking towards the south. This concluded the ceremony, and all withdrew¹.

When the great apartment (of the palace) was completed, it was inaugurated (by a feast), but there was no shedding of blood. The consecration by blood of the temple building was the method taken to show how intercourse with the spirits was sought. All the more distinguished vessels of the ancestral temple were consecrated, when completed, by the blood of a young boar.

34. When a feudal lord sent his wife away, she proceeded on her journey to her own state, and was received there with the observances due to a lord's wife. The messenger, accompanying her, then discharged his commission, saying, 'My poor ruler, from his want of ability, was not able to follow her, and take part in the services at your altars and in your ancestral temple. He has, therefore, sent me, so and so, and I venture to inform your officer appointed for the purpose of what he has done.' The officer presiding (on the occasion) replied, 'My poor ruler in his former communication did not lay (her defects) before you, and he does not presume to do anything but respectfully receive your lord's message.' The officers in attendance on the commis-

¹ This ceremony is also described in the 'Rites of the greater Tâi,' Book X, with some difference in the details. It is difficult, even from the two accounts, to bring the ceremony fully before the mind's eye.

sioner then set forth the various articles sent with the lady on her marriage, and those on the other side received them.

35. When the wife went away from her husband, she sent a messenger and took leave of him, saying, 'So and so, through her want of ability, is not able to keep on supplying the vessels of grain for your sacrifices, and has sent me, so and so, to presume to announce this to your attendants.' The principal party (on the other side) replied, 'My son, in his inferiority, does not presume to avoid your punishing him, and dares not but respectfully receive your orders.' The messenger then retired, the principal party bowing to him, and escorting him. If the father-in-law were alive, then he named himself; if he were dead, an elder brother of the husband acted for him, and the message was given as from him; if there were no elder brother, then it ran as from the husband himself. The message, as given above, was, 'The son of me, so and so, in his inferiority.' (At the other end of the transaction), if the lady were an aunt, an elder sister, or a younger, she was mentioned as such.

36. Confucius said, 'When I was at a meal at Shão-shih's, I ate to the full. He entertained me courteously, according to the rules. When I was about to offer some in sacrifice, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "My poor food is not worth being offered in sacrifice." When I was about to take the concluding portions, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "I would not injure you with my poor provisions¹."'

¹ See pages 20, 21, paragraph 13.

37. A bundle of silk (in a marriage treaty) contained five double rolls, each double roll being forty cubits in length.

38. At the (first) interview of a wife with her father and mother-in-law, (her husband's) unmarried aunts and sisters all stood below the reception hall, with their faces towards the west, the north being the place of honour. After this interview, she visited all the married uncles of her husband, each in his own apartment.

Although not engaged to be married, the rule was for a young lady to wear the hair-pin;—she was thus treated with the honours of maturity. The (principal) wife managed the ceremony. When she was unoccupied and at ease, she wore her hair without the pin, on each side of her head.

39. The apron (of the full robes) was three cubits long, two cubits wide at bottom, and one at the top. The border at the top extended five inches; and that at the sides was of leather the colour of a sparrow's head, six inches wide, terminating five inches from the bottom. The borders at top and bottom were of white silk, embroidered with the five colours.

BOOK XIX. SANG TÂ KI

OR

THE GREATER RECORD OF MOURNING RITES¹.

SECTION I.

1. When the illness was extreme, all about the establishment was swept clean, inside and out. In the case of a ruler or Great officer, the stands, with the martial instruments suspended from them, were removed; in that of an officer, his lute and cithern. The sufferer lay with his head to the east, under the window on the north. His couch was removed (and he was laid on the ground). The clothes ordinarily worn at home were removed, and new clothes substituted for them. (In moving the body) one person took hold of each limb. Males and females changed their dress². Some fine floss was put (on the mouth and nostrils), to make sure that the breath was gone. A man was not permitted to die in the hands of the women, or a woman in the hands of the men.

2. A ruler and his wife both died in the Great chamber, a Great officer and his acknowledged wife in the Proper chamber³; the not yet acknowledged

¹ See introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 34, 35.

² The clothes of the dying master and friend were changed; it was right that all about them should also change their dress. The court or best robes were put on, moreover, that inquiring visitors might be properly received.

³ This proper, or 'legitimate' chamber corresponded in the mansion of a Great officer to the Grand chamber in the palace.

wife of a high minister, in an inferior chamber, but the corpse was then removed to the higher chamber. The wives of officers died in their chambers.

3. At (the ceremony of) calling back the soul, if (the deceased were a lord on whose territory) there were forests and copses, the forester arranged the steps (by which to go up on the roof); and if there were no forests, one of the salvage men (employed about the court in menial offices) did so. An officer of low rank performed the ceremony. All who did so employed some of the court robes (of the deceased):—for a ruler, the robe with the descending dragon; for the wife, that with the descending pheasant; for a Great officer, the dark robe and red skirt; for his recognised wife, the robe of fresh yellow; for an officer, that worn with the cap of deep purple leather; and for his wife, the dark dress with the red border. In all cases they ascended from the east wing to the middle of the roof, where the footing was perilous. Facing the north, they gave three loud calls for the deceased, after which they rolled up the garment they had employed, and cast it down in front, where the curator of the robes received it, and then they themselves descended by the wing on the north-west.

If the deceased were a visitor, and in a public lodging, his soul was called back; if the lodging were private, it was not called back. If he were in the open country, one got up on the left end of the nave of the carriage in which he had been riding, and called it back.

Connected with the Grand chamber were two smaller apartments. It is mentioned in the *So Kwan*, under B.C. 627, that duke Hsî of Lû died 'in the small apartment;' which has always been understood as discreditable to him.

4. The garment which had been used in calling the soul back was not employed to cover the corpse, nor in dressing it. In calling back the soul of a wife, the upper robe with the purple border in which she had been married was not employed. In all cases of calling back the soul, a man was called by his name, and a woman by her designation. Nothing but the wailing preceded the calling the soul back. After that calling they did what was requisite on an occasion of death.

5. Immediately after death, the principal mourners sobbed¹; brothers and cousins (of the deceased) wailed; his female relatives wailed and leaped.

6. When the dead body (of a ruler) had been placed properly (beneath the window with the head to the south), his son sat (or knelt) on the east; his ministers, Great officers, uncles, cousins, their sons and grandsons, stood (also) on the east; the multitude of ordinary officers, who had the charge of the different departments, wailed below the hall, facing the north. His wife knelt on the west; the wives, aunts, sisters, their daughters and grand-daughters, whose husbands were of the same surname as he, stood (behind her) on the west; and the wives, his relatives of the same surname, whose position had been confirmed in their relation to their husbands, at the head of all the others married similarly to husbands of other surnames, wailed above in the hall, facing the north.

7. At the mourning rites (immediately after death) of a Great officer, the (son), presiding, knelt on the east, and the wife, presiding, on the west. The

¹ They were too much affected, it is said, to give loud expression to their grief.

husbands and wives (among the relations) whose positions had been officially confirmed, sat (or knelt); others who had not that confirmation, stood.

At the rites for a deceased officer, the son presiding, uncles, brothers, and cousins, with their sons and grandsons, all sat (or knelt) on the east; the wife presiding, aunts, sisters, and cousins, with their female children and grandchildren, all sat (or knelt) on the west.

Whenever they wailed by the corpse in the apartment, the presiding mourner did so, holding up the shroud with his two hands at the same time.

8. At the mourning rites of a ruler, before the slighter dressing was completed, the principal mourner came out to receive the visit of a refugee ruler, or a visitor from another state.

At those for a Great officer, at the same period, he came out to receive a message from his ruler. At those for an ordinary officer, also at the same period, he came out to receive a Great officer, if he were not engaged in the dressing.

9. Whenever the presiding mourner went forth (to meet visitors), he had his feet bare, his skirt tucked under his girdle, and his hands across his chest over his heart. Having gone down by the steps on the west, if a ruler, he bowed to a refugee ruler, or a minister commissioned from another state, each in his proper place. When a message from his ruler came to a Great officer, he came to the outside of the door of the apartment (where the dead was), to receive the messenger who had ascended to the hall and communicated his instructions. (They then went down together), and the mourner bowed to the messenger below.

When a Great officer came himself to condole with an ordinary officer, the latter wailed along with him, but did not meet him outside the gate.

10. The wife of a ruler went out (of her apartment) on a visit from the wife of a refugee ruler.

The confirmed wife (of a Great officer) went out (in the same way) on the arrival of a message from the ruler's wife.

The wife of an officer, if not engaged in the dressing, (also) went out to receive the confirmed wife (of a Great officer).

11. At the slighter dressing, the presiding mourner took his place inside the door (on the east of it), and the presiding wife had her face to the east. When the dressing was ended, both of them made as if they leant on the body, and leaped. The mourner unbared his breast, took off the tufts of juvenility, and bound up his hair with sackcloth. The wife knotted up her hair, and put on her sackcloth girdle in her room.

12. When the curtain (which screened the body) was removed, the men and women carried it and put it down in the hall, (the eldest son) going down the steps and bowing (to the visitors).

13. The (young) ruler (who was mourning) bowed to refugee lords, and to ministers, commissioners from other states. Great officers and other officers bowed to ministers and Great officers in their respective places. In the case of (the three grades of) officers, they received three side-bows¹, one for each grade. The ruler's wife also bowed to the wife of a refugee

¹ The side-bows were somehow made, without the ruler's turning directly towards the officers.

lord, above in the hall. With regard to the wives of Great officers and of other officers, she bowed specially to each whose position had received the official appointment; to the others she gave a general bow;—all above in the hall.

14. When the mourner had gone to his own place (after bowing to his visitors), he closed the robe which was drawn on one side, covering his breast, put on his girdle and head-band, and leapt. When the mourning was for his mother, he went to his place, and tied up his hair, after which he put down the offerings by the body. The visitors who had come to condole, covered their fur robes, put the roll at the back of their caps, assumed their girdles and head-bands, and leapt in correspondence with the mourner.

15. At the funeral rites for a ruler, the chief forester supplied wood and horns; the chief of the salvage-men supplied the vases for water; the chief of the slaughtering department supplied boilers; and (an officer from the department of) the minister of War (saw to the) hanging of these. Thus they secured the succession of wailers. Some of those in the department took their part in the wailing. If they did not hang up the vases, and the Great officers were sufficient to take the wailing in turns, then they did not use those others¹.

In the hall of the ruler there were two lights above and two below; for that of a Great officer, one above

¹ The object of the arrangements in this obscure paragraph was evidently to maintain the wailing uninterrupted, and to provide, by means of the clepsydra, a regular marking of the time for that purpose. See, in the *K'âu Kwan* XXX, 51-52, the duties of the officer of the department of the minister of War who had charge of the vase.

and two below ; for that of an ordinary officer, one above and one below¹.

16. When the guests went out, the curtain was removed².

17. When they were wailing the corpse above in the hall, the principal mourner was at the east ; visitors coming from without, took their place at the west, and the women stood facing the south.

18. The wife (presiding), in receiving guests and escorting them, did not go down from the hall with them. If she did go down (as with the wife of the ruler), she bowed to her, but did not wail.

If the son (presiding), had occasion to go outside the door of the apartment, and saw the guest (whom he so went to meet), he did not wail.

When there was no female to preside, a son did so, and bowed to the female visitors inside the door of the apartment. If there were no son to preside, a daughter did so, and bowed to the male visitors at the foot of the steps on the east.

If the son were a child, then he was carried in his sackcloth in the arms, and his bearer bowed for him.

If the successor of the deceased were not present, and was a man of rank, an apology was made to the guests ; if he were not a man of rank, some other one bowed to them for him.

If he were anywhere in the state, they waited for him ; if he had gone beyond it, the encoffining and burial might go on. The funeral rites might proceed without the presence of the successor of the deceased, but not without one to preside over them.

¹ This must have been towards morning. During the night torches were kept burning.

² This should be at the end of paragraph 14.

19. At the mourning rites for a ruler, on the third day his sons and his wife assumed the staff. On the fifth day, when the corpse was put into the coffin, his daughters who had become the wives of Great officers were allowed to use it. His (eldest) son and Great officers used it outside the door of the apartment (where the coffin was); inside the door they carried it in their hands (but did not use it). The wife and his daughters, the wives of Great officers, used the staff in their rooms; when they went to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was), people were employed to hold it for them.

When a message came from the king, (the son presiding) put away his staff; when one came from the ruler of another state, he only held it in his hand. When attending to any consultation of the tortoise-shell about the corpse, he put away his staff.

A Great officer, in the place of the ruler, carried his staff in his hand; at another Great officer's, he used it.

20. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, on the morning of the third day, when the body was put into the coffin, his son presiding, his wife presiding, and the steward of the House, all assumed the staff. On a message from the ruler, the (new) Great officer put away his staff; on a message from another Great officer, he carried it in his hand. His wife, on a message from the wife of the ruler, put her staff away; on a message from the confirmed wife (of another Great officer), she gave it to some one to hold for her.

21. At the mourning rites for an officer, the body on the second day was put into the coffin. On the morning of the third day, the presiding mourner

assumed the staff, and his wife also. The same observances as in the rites for a Great officer were observed on messages arriving from the ruler or his wife, or from a Great officer and his confirmed wife.

22. All the sons assumed the staff, but only the eldest son used it when they were going to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was). Great officers and other officers, when wailing by the coffin, used the staff; when wailing by the bier, they carried it in their hands. When the staff (used in mourning) was thrown away, it was broken and thrown away in secret.

23. As soon as death took place, the corpse was transferred to the couch¹, and covered with a large sheet. The clothes in which the deceased had died were removed. A servant plugged the mouth open with the spoon of horn; and to keep the feet from contracting, an easy stool was employed². These observances were the same for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer³.

24. The servant in charge of the apartments drew the water, and without removing the well-rope from the bucket gathered it up, and carried the whole up to the top of the steps. There, without going on the hall, he gave it to the attendants in waiting on the body. These then went in to wash the corpse, four

¹ When death seemed to be imminent, the body was removed from the couch and laid on the ground;—if, perhaps, contact with ‘mother’ earth might revive it. When death had taken place, it was replaced on the couch.

² I do not quite understand how this stool was applied so as to accomplish its purpose.

³ This paragraph is the 24th in the *Khien-lung* edition. See below, paragraph 26.

lower servants holding up the sheet, and two performing the washing ; having put the water in basins, to which they took it with ladles. In washing they used napkins of fine linen, and in drying the body the ordinary bathing clothes. Another servant then pared the nails of the feet, after which they threw away the rest of the water into the pit. At the funeral rites for a mother (or other female), the female attendants in waiting in the inner room held up the sheet and washed the body.

25. The servant in charge of the apartments, having drawn water and given it to the attendants in waiting on the body, these prepared the wash for the head, above in the hall :—for a ruler, made from maize-water ; for a Great officer, from that of the glutinous millet ; and for an ordinary officer, that from maize-water. After this, some of the forester's department made a sort of furnace at the foot of the wall on the west ; and the potter brought out a large boiler, in which the servant in charge of the apartments should boil the water. The servants of the forester's department brought the fuel which he had removed from the crypt in the north-west of the apartment, now converted into a shrine, to use for that purpose. When the water was heated, he gave it to the attendants, who proceeded to wash the head, and poured the water into an earthenware basin, using the napkin as on ordinary occasions to dry the head. Another servant then clipped the nails of the fingers, and wiped the beard. The water was then thrown into the pit.

26. For a ruler they put down a large vessel, full of ice ; for a Great officer, a middle-sized one, full of ice ; and for an ordinary officer, only one of earthen-

ware, without any ice in it. Over these they placed the couch with a single sheet and pillow on it; another couch on which the jade should be put into the mouth; and another still, where the fuller dressing should be done. Then the corpse was removed to a couch in the hall, on which was a pillow and mat. The same forms were observed for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer¹.

27. At the mourning rites for a ruler, his (eldest) son, Great officers, his other sons, and all the (other) officers (employed about the court), ate nothing for three days, but confined themselves to gruel. (Afterwards) for their consumption they received in the morning a handful of rice, and another in the evening; which they ate without any observance of stated times. Officers (at a distance) were restricted to coarse rice and water for their drink, without regard to any stated times. The wife (of the new ruler), the confirmed wives (of the Great officers), and all the members of their harems, had coarse rice and drank water, having no regard in their eating to stated times.

28. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, the presiding mourner, the steward, and grandsons, all were confined to gruel. All the inferior officers were restricted to coarse rice, and water to drink. Wives and concubines took coarse rice, and water to drink. At the rites for an ordinary officer the same rules were observed.

29. After the burial, the presiding mourner had (only) coarse rice and water to drink;—he did not

¹ This paragraph is the 23rd in the *K'ien-lung* edition, confessedly out of place.

eat vegetables or fruits. His wife observed the same rule. So it was in the case of rulers, Great officers, and other officers.

After the change of mourning, towards the end of the year, they ate vegetables and fruit; and after the subsequent sacrifice, they ate flesh.

30. They took their gruel in bowls, and did not wash their hands (before doing so). When they took their rice from the basket, they washed their hands. They ate their vegetables along with pickles and sauces. When they first ate flesh, it was dry flesh; when they first drank liquor, it was that newly made.

31. During the mourning of a year, on three occasions they abstained from eating. When eating coarse rice, with water to drink, they did not eat vegetables or fruits. After the burial, at the end of three months, they ate flesh and drank liquor. When the year's mourning was ended, they did not eat flesh nor drink liquor. When the father was alive, in the mourning of nine months, the rules were the same as in that for a year, on account of the mother or of the wife. Though they ate flesh and drank liquor, they could not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others¹.

32. During the mourning for five months, and that for three months, it was allowable to abstain from eating once or twice. Between the coffining and burial², when eating flesh and drinking liquor,

¹ The statements in this paragraph, and those in the next, might certainly be stated more distinctly.

² Such is the meaning of the text here, as fully defined by a Fang Páo (方苞):—比葬者自殯後比至于葬也.

they did not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others. While mourning for an aunt, the confirmed wife of an uncle, one's old ruler, or the head of a clan, they ate flesh and drank liquor.

If a mourner could not eat the gruel, he might eat soup of vegetables. If he were ill, he might eat flesh and drink liquor. At fifty, one did not go through all the observances of mourning. At seventy, he simply wore the sackcloth on his person.

33. After the burial, if his ruler feasted a mourner, he partook of the viands; if a Great officer or a friend of his father did so, he partook in the same way. He did not even decline the grain and flesh that might be set before him, but wine and new wine he declined.

SECTION II.

1. The slighter dressing was performed inside the door (of the apartment where the body was); the fuller dressing (at the top of) the steps (leading up to the reception hall) on the east. The body of a ruler was laid on a mat of fine bamboo; of a Great officer, on one of typha grass; and of an ordinary officer, on one of phragmites grass.

2. At the slighter dressing one band of cloth was laid straight, and there were three bands laid cross-wise. The sheet for a ruler's body was embroidered; for a Great officer's, white; for an ordinary officer's, black:—each had one sheet.

There were nineteen suits of clothes¹; those for

¹ So in all our dictionaries; as in Medhurst, 衣一稱, 'a suit of clothes.' But why nineteen suits? K'ang and Ying-tâ say, 'To make up ten, the concluding number of heaven; and nine, that of

the ruler, displayed in the corridor on the east ; and those for a Great officer, or a common officer, inside the apartments :—all with their collars towards the west, those in the north being the best. The sash and sheet were not reckoned among them.

3. At the fuller dressing there were three bands of cloth laid straight, and five laid cross-wise. There were (also) strings of cloth, and two sheets :—equally for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer. The clothes for a ruler consisted of one hundred suits, displayed in the courtyard, having their collars towards the north, those on the west being the best ; those of a Great officer were fifty suits, displayed in the corridor on the east, having the collars towards the west, those on the south being the best ; those of a common officer were thirty suits, displayed also in the corridor on the east, with their collars towards the west, the best on the south. The bands and strings were of the same quality as the court robes. One strip of the band-cloth was divided into three, but at the ends was not further divided. The sheets were made of five pieces, without strings or buttons.

4. Among the clothes at the slighter dressing, the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. For the ruler no clothes were used that were presented. For a Great officer and a common officer, the sacrificial (and other) robes belonging to the principal mourner were all used, and then they used those contributed by their relatives ; but these were not displayed along with the others.

earth.' But how shall we account for the hundred, fifty, and thirty suits at the greater dressing, in next paragraph ? These suits were set forth, I suppose, for display ; they could hardly be for use.

At the slighter dressing, for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer, they used wadded upper robes and sheets.

At the greater dressing, the number of sacrificial (and other) robes put on a ruler, a Great officer, or another officer, was not definitely fixed; but the upper robes and sheets for a ruler had only a thin lining, (instead of being wadded); for a Great officer and a common officer, they were as at the slighter dressing.

5. The long robe (worn in private) had a shorter one placed over it;—it was not displayed alone. It was the rule that with the upper garment the lower one should also be shown. So only could they be called a suit.

6. All who set forth the clothes took them from the chests in which they had been deposited; and those who received the clothes brought (as contributions) placed them in (similar) chests. In going up to the hall and descending from it, they did so by the steps on the west. They displayed the clothes without rumpling them. They did not admit any that were not correct; nor any of fine or coarse *dolychos* fibre, or of coarse flax.

7. All engaged in dressing the corpse had their arms bared; those who moved it into the coffin, had their breasts covered. At the funeral rites for a ruler, the Great officer of prayer performed the dressing, assisted by all the members of his department; at those for a Great officer, the same officer stood by, and saw all the others dress the body; at those of a common officer, the members of that department stood by, while other officers (his friends) performed the dressing.

8. At both the dressings the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. They were all placed with the lappel to lie on the left side. The bands were tied firmly, and not in a bow-knot.

9. The rule was that the dressers should wail, when they had completed their work. But in the case of an officer, as the dressing was performed by those who had served in office along with him, they, after the work was done, omitted a meal. In all cases the dressers were six.

10. The body cases (used before the dressing) were made :—for a ruler, the upper one embroidered, and the lower one striped black and white, with seven strings on the open side ; for a Great officer, the upper one dark blue, and the lower one striped black and white, with five tie-strings on the side ; for a common officer, the upper one black, and the lower one red, with three tie-strings at the side. The upper case came down to the end of the hands, and the lower case was three feet long. At the smaller dressing and afterwards, they used coverlets laid on the body (instead of these cases), their size being the same as that of the cases.

11. When the great dressing of a ruler's body was about to commence, his son, with the sackcloth band about his cap, went to his place at the (south) end of the (eastern) corridor, while the ministers and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall, with the pillar on their west, their faces to the north, and their row ascending to the east. The uncles, brothers, and cousins were below the hall, with their faces to the north. The (son's) wife, and other wives whose position had been confirmed were on the west of the body, with their faces to

the east. The female relations from other states were in their apartments with their faces to the south. Inferior officers spread the mats. The Shang officers of prayer spread the strings, the coverlet, and clothes. The officers had their hands over the vessels. They then lifted the corpse and removed it to the place for the dressing. When the dressing was finished, the superintendent announced the fact. The son then (seemed to) lean on it, and leaped while his wife did the same, with her face to the east.

12. At the mourning rites of a Great officer, when they were about to proceed to the great dressing, and the tie-strings, coverlets, and clothes had all been spread out, the ruler arrived, and was met by (the son), the principal mourner. The son entered before him, (and stood) at the right of the gate, outside which the exorcist stopped. The ruler having put down the vegetables (as an offering to the spirit of the gate), and the blesser preceding him, entered and went up to the hall. He then repaired to his place at the end of the corridor, while the ministers and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall on the west of the pillar, looking to the north, their row ascending to the east. The presiding mourner was outside the apartment (where the corpse was), facing the south. His wife presiding was on the west of the body, facing the east. When they had moved the corpse, and finished the dressing, the steward reported that they had done so, and the presiding mourner went down below the hall, with his face to the north. There the ruler laid on him the soothing hand, and he bowed with his forehead to the ground. The ruler signified to him to go up, and lean on the

body, and also requested his wife, presiding, to lean on it.

13. At the mourning rites for a common officer, when they were about to proceed to the great dressing, the ruler was not present. In other respects the observances were the same as in the case of a Great officer.

14. They also leaped at the spreading out of the ties and strings; of the sheet; of the clothes; at the moving of the corpse; at the putting on of the clothes; of the coverlet; and of the adjusting of the ties and bands.

15. The ruler laid his hand on the body of a Great officer, and on that of the most honourable ladies of his own harem. A Great officer laid his hand on the body of the steward of his house, and on that of his niece and the sister of his wife, who had accompanied her to the harem.

The ruler and a Great officer leant closely with their breasts over the bodies of their parents, wives, and eldest sons, but not over those of their other sons.

A common officer, however, did so also to all his other sons.

If a son by a concubine had a son, the parents did not perform this ceremony over him. When it was performed, the parents did it first, and then the wife and son.

A ruler laid his hand on the body of a minister; parents, while bending over that of a son, also took hold of his hand. A son bent over his parents, bringing his breast near to theirs. A wife seemed as if she would place her two arms beneath the bodies of her parents-in-law; while they (simply)



laid their hands on her. A wife made as if she would cling to her husband's body; while the husband held her hand as he did that of a brother or cousin. When others brought the breast near the body of a corpse, they avoided the point at which the ruler had touched it. After every such mark of sorrow, the mourner rose up and leaped.

16. At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) occupied the slanting shed, unplastered; slept on straw, with a clod of earth for his pillow. He spoke of nothing but what related to the rites. A ruler enclosed this hut; but Great and common officers left it exposed.

After the burial, the inclined posts were set up on lintels, and the hut was plastered, but not on the outside which could be seen. Rulers, Great and common officers, all had it enclosed.

All the other sons, but the eldest by the proper wife, even before the burial had huts made for themselves in out-of-the-way places.

17. After the burial, the son would stand with others. If a ruler, he would speak of the king's affairs, but not of those of his own state. If a Great officer, or a common officer, he would speak of the ruler's affairs, but not of those of his own clan or family.

18. When the ruler was buried, the royal ordinances came into the state. After the wailing was finished, the new ruler engaged in the king's affairs.

When a Great officer or a common officer was buried, the ordinances of the state came to his family. After the wailing was finished, while continuing the sackcloth band round his cap, and the girdle, he might don his armour and go into the field.

19. After the mourning was changed at the end of a year, (the sons) occupied the unplastered apartment, and did not occupy one along with others. Then the ruler consulted about the government of the state; and Great officers and common officers about the affairs of their clan and families. After the sacrifice at the end of two years, the ground of the apartment was made of a dark green, and the walls were whitened. After this, they no longer wailed outside; and after the sacrifice at the end of twenty-seven months, they did not do so inside; for, after it, music began to be heard.

20. After that sacrifice, at the end of twenty-seven months, (the son) attended to all his duties; and after the felicitous sacrifice (of re-arranging the tablets in his ancestral temple), he returned to his (usual) chamber.

At the one year's mourning, he occupied the hut; and when it was completed, the occasions on which he did not seek the nuptial chamber were:—when his father was alive, and he had been wearing the hemmed sackcloth of a year for his mother or his wife, and when he had been wearing the cloth mourning of nine months; on these occasions, for three months he did not seek the intercourse of the inner chamber.

A wife did not occupy the hut, nor sleep on the straw. At the mourning for her father or mother, when she had changed the mourning at the end of a year, she returned to her husband; when the mourning was that of nine months, she returned after the burial.

21. At the mourning rites for a duke (of the royal domain), his Great officers continued till the

change of mourning at the end of a year, and then returned to their own residences. A common officer returned at the conclusion of the wailing.

22. At the mourning rites for their parents, (the other sons who were) Great officers or common officers, returned to their own residences after the change of the mourning at the end of the year; but on the first day of the month and at full moon, and on the return of the death-day, they came back and wailed in the house of him who was now the Head of their family.

At the mourning for uncles and cousins, they returned to their own residences at the conclusion of the wailing.

23. A father did not take up his quarters (during the mourning) at a son's, nor an elder brother at a younger's.

24. At the mourning rites for a Great officer or his acknowledged wife, a ruler (went to see) the greater dressing; but if he wished to show special favour, he attended the slighter dressing.

The ruler, in the case of an acknowledged wife, married to a Great officer of a different surname from his own, arrived after the lid was put on the coffin.

He went to an officer's, when the body was put into the coffin; but if he wanted to show special favour, he attended at the greater dressing.

The ruler's wife, at the mourning for a (Great officer's) acknowledged wife, attended at the greater dressing; but if she wished to show special favour, at the slighter. In the case of his other wives, if she wished to show special favour, she attended at the greater dressing. In the case of a Great officer's

acknowledged wife, who was of a different surname from her own, she appeared after the coffining had taken place.

25. When the ruler went to a Great officer's or a common officer's, after the coffining had taken place, he sent word beforehand of his coming. The chief mourner provided all the offerings to be set down for the dead in the fullest measure, and waited outside the gate, till he saw the heads of the horses. He then led the way in by the right side of the gate. The exorcist stopped outside, and the bleaser took his place, and preceded the ruler, who put down the offerings of vegetables (for the spirit of the gate) inside it. The bleaser then preceded him up the eastern steps, and took his place with his back to the wall, facing the south. The ruler took his place at (the top of) the steps; two men with spears standing before him, and two behind. The officer of reception then advanced. The chief mourner bowed, laying his forehead to the ground. The ruler then said what he had to say; looked towards the bleaser and leaped. The chief mourner then (also) leaped.

26. If the visit were paid to a Great officer, the offerings might at this point be put down by the coffin. If it were to a common officer, he went out to wait outside the gate. Being requested to return and put down the offerings, he did so. When this was done, he preceded the ruler, and waited for him outside the gate. When the ruler retired, the chief mourner escorted him outside the gate, and bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground.

27. When a Great officer was ill, the ruler thrice inquired for him; and when his body was confined, visited (his son) thrice. When a common officer

was ill, he inquired for him once ; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) once.

When the ruler came to condole (after the coffin-ing), the (son) put on again the clothes he had worn at the coffining.

28. When the ruler's wife went to condole at a Great officer's or a common officer's, the chief mourner went out to meet her outside the gate, and, when he saw her horses' heads, went in before her by the right side of the gate. She then entered, went up to the hall, and took her place. The wife presiding went down by the steps on the west, and bowed with her head to the ground below (the hall). The ruler's wife looked towards her eldest son (who had accompanied her), and leaped.

The offerings were put down according to the rules for them on the visit of the ruler. When she retired, the wife presiding went with her to the inside of the door of the apartment, and bowed to her with her head to the ground. The chief mourner escorted her to the outside of the great gate, but did not bow.

29. When a Great officer came to the mourning rites of one of his officers to whom he stood in the relation of ruler, the officer did not meet him outside the gate. He entered and took his place below the hall. The chief mourner (stood on the south of his place), with his face to the north, though the general rule for chief mourners was to face the south. The wife took her place in the room.

If, at this juncture, there came a message from the ruler of the state, or one from a confirmed (Great) officer or his confirmed wife, or visitors from the neighbouring states, the Great officer-ruler, having

the chief mourner behind him, performed the bow of ceremony to each visitor.

30. When a ruler, on a visit of condolence, saw the bier for the corpse, he leaped.

If a ruler had not given notice beforehand of his coming to a Great officer or a common officer, and he had not prepared the various offerings to be put down by the coffin on the occasion, when the ruler withdrew, the rule was that they should then be put down.

31. The largest (or outermost) coffin of the ruler of a state was eight inches thick ; the next, six inches ; and the innermost, four inches. The larger coffin of a Great officer of the highest grade was eight inches thick ; and the inner, six inches ; for one of the lowest grade, the dimensions were six inches and four. The coffin of a common officer was six inches thick.

32. The (inner) coffin of a ruler was lined with red (silk), fixed in its place with nails of various metals ; that of a Great officer with (silk of a) dark blue, fixed with nails of ox-bone ; that of a common officer was lined, but had no nails.

33. The lid of a ruler's coffin was varnished, with three double wedges (at the edges) over which were three bands ; that of a Great officer's was (also) varnished, with two double wedges and two bands ; that of a common officer was not varnished, but it had two double wedges and two bands.

34. The (accumulated) hair and nails of a ruler and Great officer were placed (in bags) at the four corners of the coffin ; those of an officer were buried (without being put in the coffin).

35. The coffin of a ruler was placed upon a bier,

which was surrounded with high stakes, inclined over it till, when all was finished and plastered, there was the appearance of a house. That of a Great officer, having been covered with a pall, was placed in the western corridor and staked, but the plastering did not reach all over the coffin. That of a common officer was placed so that the double wedges could be seen ; above that it was plastered. All were screened.

36. Of scorched grain there were put by the coffin of a ruler eight baskets, containing four different kinds; by that of a Great officer, six baskets, containing three kinds; by that of a common officer, four baskets, containing two kinds. Besides these, there were (dried) fish and flesh.

37. Ornamenting the coffin (on its way to the grave), there were for a ruler :—the curtains with dragons (figured on them), and over them three gutter-spouts ; the fluttering ornaments (with pheasants figured on them and the ends of the curtains); above (on the sloping roof of the catafalque) were figures of axe-heads, of the symbol of discrimination, thrice repeated, and of flames, thrice repeated. These occupied the pall-like roof of white silk, as embroidery, and above it was the false covering attached to it by six purple ties, and rising up with ornaments in five colours and five rows of shells. There were (at the corners) two streamers of feathers, suspended from a frame with the axes on it; two from another, bearing the symbol of discrimination; two from another, variously figured ; all the frames on staffs, showing jade-symbols at the top. Fishes were made as if leaping at the ends of the gutters. The whole of the catafalque was kept together by six supports rising from the coffin, and wound round with purple

silk, and six sustaining ropes, also purple, (drawn through the curtains).

For the catafalque of a Great officer there were painted curtains, with two gutter-spouts (above them); there were not the fluttering ornaments; above (on the sloping roof) there were flames painted, thrice repeated; and three symbols of discrimination. These formed the pall-like roof, and there were two purple ties, and two of deep blue. At the very top there were ornaments in three colours, and three rows of shells. There were two feather-streamers from a frame with axes, and two from a painted frame; all the frames on staffs with plumage at the tops. Figures of fishes were made at the ends of the gutters. The front supports of a Great officer's catafalque were purple, and those behind deep blue. So also were the sustaining ropes.

For the catafalque of a common officer, the curtains were of (plain) linen, and there was the sloping roof. There was (but) one gutter-spout. There were the fluttering pheasants on the bands. The purple ties were two, and the black also two. At the very top the ornaments were of three colours, and there was only one row of shells. The streamers of feathers from a painted frame were two, the staffs of which had plumage at their tops. The front supports of the catafalque were purple, and those behind black. The sustaining ropes were purple.

38. In burying the coffin of a ruler, they used a bier, four ropes, and two pillars. Those guiding the course of the coffin carried the shade with pendent feathers.

In burying a Great officer, they used two ropes and two pillars. Those who guided the coffin used a reed of white grass.

In burying a common officer, they used a carriage of the state. They employed two ropes and no post. As soon as they left the residence, those who directed the coffin used the shade of merit.

39. In letting down the coffin into the grave, they removed the ropes from the posts, and pulled at them with their backs to the posts. For a ruler's coffin, they also used levers, and for a Great officer's or a common officer's, ropes attached to the sides of the coffin. Orders were given that they should not cry out in letting down that of the ruler. They let it down as guided by the sound of a drum. In letting down a Great officer's, they were commanded not to wail. In letting down a common officer's, those who began to wail stopped one another.

40. The outer shell of the coffin of a ruler was of pine; of a Great officer, of cypress; of another officer, of various kinds of wood.

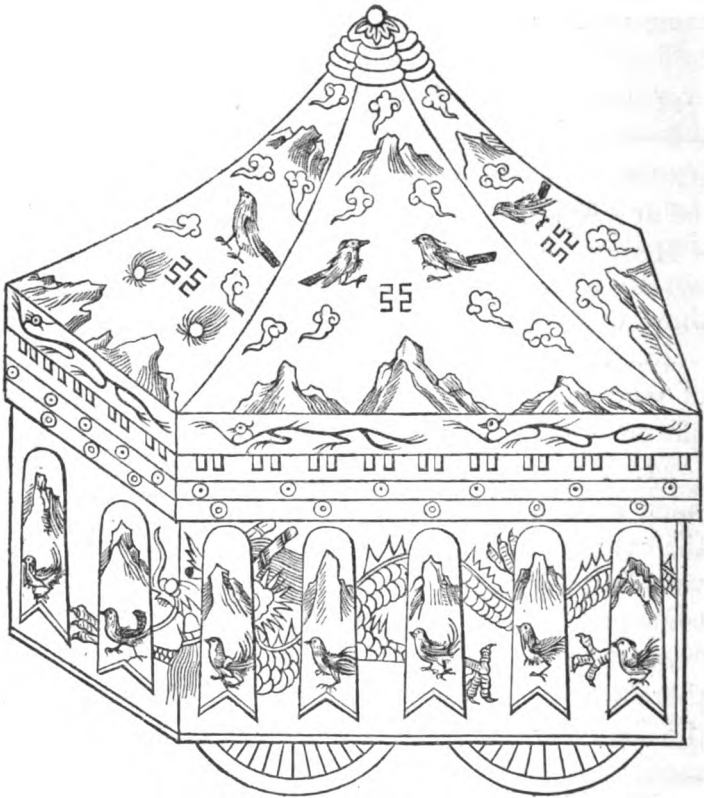
41. The surface between the coffin and shell of a ruler was sufficient to contain a music stopper; in the case of the coffin and shell of a Great officer, a vase for water; in that of the coffin and shell of a common officer, a jar of liquor.

42. In the rites of a ruler, the shell was lined, and there were baskets of yü; in those of a Great officer, the shell was not lined; in those of a common officer, there were no baskets of yü¹.

¹ We cannot tell what these baskets were. *K'ang* says he did not know, and the *K'ien-lung* editors think they may have contained the grain mentioned in paragraph 36. Otherwise, the paragraph is obscure.

On the next page there is given a figure of the catafalque over the coffin as borne to the grave, copied from the second volume of

P. Zottoli's work. A larger one, more fully illustrating the details of the text, forms the last plate in the *K'ien-lung* edition of the Classic ; but it is so rough and complicated that the friend who has assisted me with most of the figures that I have ventured to introduce shrank from attempting to reproduce it on a smaller scale.



BOOK XX. KÎ FÂ

OR

THE LAW OF SACRIFICES¹.

1. According to the law of sacrifices, (Shun), the sovereign of the line of Yü, at the great associate sacrifice, gave the place of honour to Hwang Tî, and at the border sacrifice made *K'û* the correlate of Heaven; he sacrificed (also) to *Kwan-hsü* as his ancestor (on the throne), and to *Yáo* as his honoured predecessor.

¹ See the introduction, vol. xxvii, pp. 35, 36. It is there said that in the idea of sacrifices (*Kî*), which is here given, there is no indication of deprecation by means of them, and much less of atonement, but that they were merely expressions of gratitude. The character *Kî* (祭) is one of those formed by combination of the ideas in its several parts. The *Shwo-wăn*, the earliest Chinese dictionary, says that it is made up of two ideagrams: 𡇗, the symbol for spiritual beings; and another, composed of 肉 and 又, representing a right hand and a piece of flesh. Offerings of flesh must have been common when the character was formed, which then itself entered, as the phonetic element, into the formation of between twenty and thirty other characters. The explanations of it given by Morrison (*Dict.*, part i), taken mostly from the *Khang-hsf* dictionary, are:—‘To carry human affairs before the gods [i. e. spirits]. That which is the medium between, or brings together men and gods [spirits]. To offer flesh in the rites of worship; to sacrifice with worship.’ There is nothing, however, in the *Khang-hsf* corresponding to this last sentence; and I suppose that Morrison gave it from the analysis of the character in the *Shwo-wăn*. The general idea symbolised by it is—an offering whereby communication and communion with spiritual beings is effected.

The sovereigns of Hsiâ, at the corresponding sacrifice, gave the place of honour also to Hwang Tî, and made Khwăn the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Kwan-hsü as their ancestor, and to Yü as their honoured predecessor.

Under Yin, they gave the place of honour to K'ê, and made Ming the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Hsieh as their ancestor, and to Thang as their honoured predecessor.

Under K'au they gave the place of honour to K'ê, and made K'î the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to king Wân as their ancestor, and to king Wû as their honoured predecessor¹.

2. With a blazing pile of wood on the Grand altar they sacrificed to Heaven²; by burying (the victim)

¹ This and other portions of the Book are taken mainly from the seventh article in the second section of the 'Narratives of the States,' part i. The statements have much perplexed the commentators, and are held to be of doubtful authority. Some of them, indeed, are said by K'han Hsiao to be inexplicable. Khwăn, 'the correlate in the sacrifices of Hsiâ, was the father of Yü,' of whom we receive a bad impression from the references to him in the Shû K'ing; and Ming, who occupied the same position in those of Yin, was the fifth in descent from Hsieh, the ancestor of that dynasty, a minister of Works, who died somehow in his labours on a flood. P. Zottoli thinks that of the four sacrifices here mentioned, the first (禘) was to the Supreme Deity (Supremo Numini), and the second, to the Highest Heaven (Summo Coelo). My own view is different, and agrees with that of the K'ien-lung editors. They discuss the different questions that have been agitated on the subject, and their conclusions may be taken as the orthodoxy of Chinese scholars on the subject; into the exhibition of which it is not necessary to go at greater length.

² On the blazing pile were placed the victim and pieces of jade; in the square mound were buried the victim and pieces of silk. For

in the Grand mound, they sacrificed to the Earth. (In both cases) they used a red victim¹.

3. By burying a sheep and a pig at the (altar of) Great brightness, they sacrificed to the seasons. (With similar) victims they sacrificed to (the spirits of) cold and heat, at the pit and the altar, using prayers of deprecation and petition²; to the sun, at the (altar called the) royal palace; to the moon, at the (pit called the) light of the night; to the stars at the honoured place of gloom; to (the spirits of) flood and drought at the honoured altar of rain; to the (spirits of the) four quarters at the place of the four pits and altars; mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds, and occasion winds and rain, were all regarded as (dominated by) spirits.

He by whom all under the sky was held sacrificed to all spirits. The princes of states sacrificed to those which were in their own territories; to those which were not in their territories, they did not sacrifice.

4. Generally speaking, all born between heaven and earth are said to have their allotted times; the death of all creatures is spoken of as their dissolution; but man when dead is said to be in the ghostly

泰折, which follow, Zottoli gives solenni angulari, and I have met with 'the great pit' as a translation of them. Of course a 'pit' was formed in the mound to receive the offerings; but in the Khang-hsi dictionary 折 is specially defined with reference to this passage as 'a mound of earth as a place of sacrifice;' though we do not find this account of the character in Morrison, Medhurst, or Williams.

¹ This was specially the colour of the victims under the K'au dynasty.

² Such is the meaning given by Ying-tâ and others to 相近, which they think should be 禳祈.

state. There was no change in regard to these points in the five¹ dynasties. What the seven² dynasties made changes in, were the assessors at the Great associate and the border sacrifices, and the parties sacrificed to in the ancestral temple;—they made no other changes.

5. The sovereigns, coming to the possession of the kingdom, divided the land and established the feudal principalities; they assigned (great) cities (to their nobles), and smaller towns (to their chiefs); they made ancestral temples, and the arrangements for altering the order of the spirit-tablets; they raised altars, and they cleared the ground around them for the performance of their sacrifices. In all these arrangements they made provision for the sacrifices according to the nearer or more remote kinship, and for the assignment of lands of greater or less amount.

Thus the king made for himself seven ancestral temples, with a raised altar and the surrounding area for each. The temples were—his father's; his grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; his great-great-grandfather's; and the temple of his (high) ancestor. At all of these a sacrifice was offered every month. The temples of the more remote ancestors formed the receptacles for the tablets as they were displaced; they were two, and at these only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For the removed tablet of one more remote, an altar was

¹ Those of Yáo, Shun, Hsiá, Shang or Yin, and Káu.

² What these 'seven' dynasties were is doubtful. Add to the preceding five, the names of Kwan-hsi and K'ü, and we get the number, all descended from Hwang Tí. The writer must have regarded him as the founder of the Chinese kingdom.

raised and its corresponding area ; and on occasions of prayer at this altar and area, a sacrifice was offered, but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no sacrifice);—he was left in his ghostly state.

A feudal prince made for himself five ancestral temples, with an altar and a cleared area about it for each. The temples were—his father's ; his grandfather's ; and his great-grandfather's ; in all of which a sacrifice was offered every month. In the temples of the great-great-grandfather, and that of the (high) ancestor only, the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For one beyond the high ancestor a special altar was raised, and for one still more remote, an area was prepared. If there were prayer at these, a sacrifice was offered ; but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no service) ;—he was left in his ghostly state.

A Great officer made for himself three ancestral temples and two altars. The temples were—his father's ; his grandfather's ; and his great-grandfather's. In this only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. To the great-great-grandfather and the (high) ancestor there were no temples. If there were occasion for prayer to them, altars were raised, and sacrifices offered on them. An ancestor still more remote was left in his ghostly state.

An officer of the highest grade had two ancestral temples and one altar ;—the temples of his father and grandfather, at which only the seasonal sacrifices were presented. There was no temple for his great-grandfather. If there were occasion to pray to him, an altar was raised, and a sacrifice offered to him.

Ancestors more remote were left in their ghostly state.

An officer in charge merely of one department had one ancestral temple ; that, namely, of his father. There was no temple for his grandfather, but he was sacrificed to (in the father's temple.) Ancestors beyond the grandfather were left in their ghostly state.

The mass of ordinary officers and the common people had no ancestral temple. Their dead were left in their ghostly state, (to have offerings presented to them in the back apartment, as occasion required).

6. The king, for all the people, erected an altar to (the spirit of) the ground, called the Grand altar, and one for himself, called the Royal altar.

A feudal prince, for all his people, erected one called the altar of the state, and one for himself called the altar of the prince.

Great officers and all below them in association erected such an altar, called the Appointed altar.

7. The king, for all the people, appointed (seven altars for) the seven sacrifices :—one to the superintendent of the lot ; one in the central court, for the admission of light and the rain from the roofs ; one at the gates of the city wall ; one in the roads leading from the city ; one for the discontented ghosts of kings who had died without posterity ; one for the guardian of the door ; and one for the guardian of the furnace. He also had seven corresponding altars for himself.

A feudal prince, for his state, appointed (five altars for) the five sacrifices :—one for the superintendent of the lot ; one in the central court, for the admission of light and rain ; one at the gates of the city wall ;

one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of princes who had died without posterity. He also had five corresponding altars for himself.

A Great officer appointed (three altars for) the three sacrifices:—one for the discontented ghosts of his predecessors who had died without posterity; one at the gates of his city; and one on the roads leading from it.

An officer of the first grade appointed (two altars for) the two sacrifices:—one at the gates, and one on the roads (outside the gates).

Other officers and the common people had one (altar and one) sacrifice. Some raised one altar for the guardian of the door; and others, one for the guardian of the furnace.

8. The king, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to five classes of those who had died prematurely:—namely, to the rightful eldest sons (of former kings); to rightful grandsons; to rightful great-grandsons; to rightful great-great-grandsons; and to the rightful sons of these last.

A feudal prince, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to three classes; a Great officer similarly to two; another officer of the first grade and the common people sacrificed only to the son who had died prematurely¹.

9. According to the institutes of the sage kings about sacrifices, sacrifice should be offered to him who had given (good) laws to the people; to him

¹ From paragraph 1 down to this is absent from the expurgated edition of Fan Šze-tāng, which P. Callery translated, so that the book contains in it only the one long paragraph that follows.

who had laboured to the death in the discharge of his duties; to him who had strengthened the state by his laborious toil; to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities; and to him who had warded off great evils.

Such were the following:—*Năng*, the son of the lord of *Lí-shan*¹, who possessed the kingdom, and showed how to cultivate all the cereals; and *Khí* (the progenitor) of *Kâu*, who continued his work after the decay of *Hsiâ*, and was sacrificed to under the name of *Kí*²; *Hâu-thú*, a son of the line of *Kung-kung*³, that swayed the nine provinces, who was able to reduce them all to order, and was sacrificed to as the spirit of the ground; the *Tí Khú*, who could define all the zodiacal stars, and exhibit their times to the people; *Yáo*, who rewarded (the worthy), made the penal laws impartial, and the end of whose course was distinguished by his righteousness; *Shun*, who, toiling amid all his affairs, died in the country (far from his capital); *Yü*, (the son of) *Khwăn*, who was kept a prisoner till death for trying to dam up the waters of the flood, while *Yü* completed the work, and atoned for his father's failure; *Hwang Tí*, who gave everything its right name, thereby showing the people how to avail themselves of its qualities; *Kwan-hsü*, who completed this work

¹ *Lí-shan* is generally mentioned as *Lieh-shan*, and sometimes *Lien-shan*. Where the country so-called was, we do not know. *Năng*, or *Shăn Năng*, is generally accepted as the first of the line, about B.C. 3072.

² This account of *Kí* is given confusedly.

³ It is difficult to find a place in chronology for this *Kung-kung*. An article in the 30 *Kwan* (under duke *Kao*'s seventeenth year, paragraph 3) places him between *Fû-hsî* and *Shăn Năng*.

of Hwang Tî ; Hsieh, who was minister of Instruction, and perfected the (condition and manners of the) people ; Ming, who, through his attention to the duties of his office, died in the waters ; Thang, who ruled the people with a benignant sway and cut off their oppressor ; and king Wăn, who by his peaceful rule, and king Wû, who by his martial achievements, delivered the people from their afflictions. All these rendered distinguished services to the people.

As to the sun and moon, the stars and constellations, the people look up to them, while mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mountains supply them with the materials for use which they require. Only men and things of this character were admitted into the sacrificial canon.

BOOK XXI. K'î í

OR

THE MEANING OF SACRIFICES¹.

SECTION I.

1. Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated. Such frequency is indicative of importunateness; and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals. Such infrequency is indicative of indifference; and indifference leads to forgetting them altogether. Therefore the superior man, in harmony with the course of Heaven, offers the sacrifices of spring² and autumn. When he treads on the dew which has descended as hoar-frost he cannot help a feeling of sadness, which arises in his mind, and cannot be ascribed to the cold. In spring, when he treads on the ground, wet with the rains and dews that have fallen heavily, he cannot avoid being moved by a feeling as if he were seeing his departed friends. We meet the approach of our friends with music, and escort them away with sadness, and hence at the sacrifice in spring we use music, but not at the sacrifice in autumn.

2. The severest vigil and purification is maintained and carried on inwardly; while a looser vigil

¹ See the introduction, vol. xxvii, pages 36, 37.

² The spring sacrifice is here called tî (禘), probably by mistake for yó (禴), the proper name for it.

is maintained externally. During the days of such vigil, the mourner thinks of his departed, how and where they sat, how they smiled and spoke, what were their aims and views, what they delighted in, and what things they desired and enjoyed. On the third day of such exercise he will see those for whom it is employed.

3. On the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment (of the temple), he will seem to see (the deceased) in the place (where his spirit-tablet is). After he has moved about (and performed his operations), and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing.

4. Thus the filial piety taught by the ancient kings required that the eyes of the son should not forget the looks (of his parents), nor his ears their voices; and that he should retain the memory of their aims, likings, and wishes. As he gave full play to his love, they seemed to live again; and to his reverence, they seemed to stand out before him. So seeming to live and stand out, so unforgotten by him, how could his sacrifices be without the accompaniment of reverence?

5. The superior man, while (his parents) are alive, reverently nourishes them; and, when they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them;—his (chief) thought is how to the end of life not to disgrace them. The saying that the superior man mourns all his life for his parents has reference to the recurrence of the day of their death. That he does not do his ordinary work on that day does not mean that it would be unpropitious to do so; it

means that on that day his thoughts are occupied with them, and he does not dare to occupy himself as on other days with his private and personal affairs.

6. It is only the sage¹ who can sacrifice to God, and (only) the filial son who can sacrifice to his parents. Sacrificing means directing one's self to. The son directs his thoughts (to his parents), and then he can offer his sacrifice (so that they shall enjoy it). Hence the filial son approaches the personator of the departed without having occasion to blush; the ruler leads the victim forward, while his wife puts down the bowls; the ruler presents the offerings to the personator, while his wife sets forth the various dishes; his ministers and Great officers assist the ruler, while their acknowledged wives assist his wife. How well sustained was their reverence! How complete was the expression of their loyal devotion! How earnest was their wish that the departed should enjoy the service!

7. King Wăn, in sacrificing, served the dead as if he were serving the living. He thought of them dead as if he did not wish to live (any longer himself)². On the recurrence of their death-day, he was sad; in calling his father by the name elsewhere forbidden, he looked as if he saw him. So sincere was he in sacrificing that he looked as if he saw the things which his father loved, and the

¹ According to rule, and in fact, only the sovereign sacrifices to God. He may be 'a sage,' but more frequently is not. But the ritual of China should impress on him, as on no other person, the truth in the words 'noblesse oblige.'

² K'ăn Hào says here:—'As if he wished to die himself and follow them.'

pleased expression of his face :—such was king Wăn!
The lines of the ode (II, v, ode 2),

‘When early dawn unseals my eyes,
Before my mind my parents rise,’

might be applied to king Wăn. On the day after the sacrifice, when the day broke, he did not sleep, but hastened to repeat it; and after it was finished, he still thought of his parents. On the day of sacrifice his joy and sorrow were blended together. He could not but rejoice in the opportunity of offering the sacrifice; and when it was over, he could not but be sad.

8. At the autumnal sacrifice, when *Kung-ni* advanced, bearing the offerings, his general appearance was indicative of simple sincerity, but his steps were short and oft repeated. When the sacrifice was over, *Ze-kung* questioned him, saying, ‘Your account of sacrificing was that it should be marked by the dignity and intense absorption of all engaged in it; and now how is it that in your sacrificing there has been no such dignity and absorption?’

The Master said, ‘That dignity of demeanour should belong to those who are only distantly connected (with him who is sacrificed to), and that absorbed demeanour to one whose thoughts are turned in on himself (lest he should make any mistake). But how should such demeanour consist with communion with the spirits (sacrificed to)? How should such dignity and absorption be seen in my sacrifice? (At the sacrifices of the king and rulers) there is the return of the personator to his apartment, and the offering of food to him there; there are the performances of the music, and the setting forth of the stands with the victims on them; there

are the ordering of the various ceremonies and the music ; and there is the complete array of the officers for all the services. When they are engaged in the maintenance of that dignity and absorption in their duties, how can they be lost in their abandonment to intercourse with the spiritual presences? Should words be understood only in one way? Each saying has its own appropriate application.'

9. When a filial son is about to sacrifice, he is anxious that all preparations should be made beforehand ; and when the time arrives, that everything necessary should be found complete ; and then, with a mind free from all pre-occupation, he should address himself to the performance of his sacrifice.

The temple and its apartments having been repaired, the walls and roofs having been put in order, and all the assisting officers having been provided, husband and wife, after vigil and footing, bathe their heads and persons, and array themselves in full dress. In coming in with the things which they carry, how grave and still are they ! how absorbed in what they do ! as if they were not able to sustain their weight, as if they would let them fall :— Is not theirs the highest filial reverence? He sets forth the stands with the victims on them ; arranges all the ceremonies and music ; provides the officers for the various ministries. These aid in sustaining and bringing in the things, and thus he declares his mind and wish, and in his lost abstraction of mind seeks to have communion with the dead in their spiritual state, if peradventure they will enjoy his offerings, if peradventure they will do so. Such is the aim of the filial son (in his sacrifices) !

10. The filial son, in sacrificing, seems never able

to exhaust his earnest purpose, his sincerity, and reverence. He observes every rule, without transgression or short-coming. His reverence appears in his movements of advancing and retiring, as if he were hearing the orders (of his parents), or as if they were perhaps directing him.

11. What the sacrifice of a filial son should be can be known. While he is standing (waiting for the service to commence), he should be reverent, with his body somewhat bent; while he is engaged in carrying forward the service, he should be reverent, with an expression of pleasure; when he is presenting the offerings, he should be reverent, with an expression of desire. He should then retire and stand, as if he were about to receive orders; when he has removed the offerings and (finally) retires, the expression of reverent gravity should continue to be worn on his face. Such is the sacrifice of a filial son.

To stand without any inclination of the body would show insensibility; to carry the service forward without an expression of pleasure would show indifference; to present the offerings without an expression of desire (that they may be enjoyed) would show a want of love; to retire and stand without seeming to expect to receive orders would show pride; to retire and stand, after the removal of the offerings, without an expression of reverent gravity would show a forgetfulness of the parent to whom he owes his being. A sacrifice so conducted would be wanting in its proper characteristics.

12. A filial son, cherishing a deep love (for his parents), is sure to have a bland air; having a bland air, he will have a look of pleasure; having a look

of pleasure, his demeanour will be mild and compliant. A filial son will move as if he were carrying a jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel. Still and grave, absorbed in what he is doing, he will seem as if he were unable to sustain the burden, and in danger of letting it fall. A severe gravity and austere manner are not proper to the service of parents;—such is the manner of a full-grown man.

13. There were five things by means of which the ancient kings secured the good government of the whole kingdom:—the honour which they paid to the virtuous; to the noble; and to the old; the reverence which they showed to the aged; and their kindness to the young. It was by these five things that they maintained the stability of the kingdom.

Why did they give honour to the virtuous? Because of their approximation to the course of duty¹. They did so to the noble because of their approximation to the position of the ruler; and to the old because of their approximation to that of parents. They showed reverence to the aged, because of their approximation to the position of elder brothers; and kindness to the young, because of their approximation to the position of sons.

¹ P. Callery translates this by—'Parce qu'ils sont proche de la vérité,' saying in a note:—'According to the Chinese philosophers, they understand by *teh* (德) that which man has obtained by his own efforts or the virtue he has acquired, and by *tão* (道) that which all men should be striving to reach, what is suitable, what is in order, or virtue in the abstract. Now, as I think, there is nothing but truth which satisfies these conditions, for, according to the Christian philosophy, God Himself is the truth,' &c. Zottoli's translation is, 'Quia hi appropinquant ad perfectionem.'

14. Therefore he who is perfectly filial approximates to be king, and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain. He who is perfectly filial approximates to being king, for even the son of Heaven had the father (whom he must revere); and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain, for even a feudal lord had his elder brothers (or cousins), (whom he must obey). The observance of the lessons of the ancient kings, without admitting any change in them, was the way by which they united and kept together the kingdom with its states and families¹.

15. The Master said, 'The laying the foundation of (all) love in the love of parents teaches people concord. The laying the foundation of (all) reverence in the reverence of elders teaches the people obedience. When taught loving harmony, the people set the (proper) value on their parents; when taught to reverence their superiors, the people set the (proper) value in obeying the orders given to them. Filial piety in the service of parents, and obedience in the discharge of orders can be displayed throughout the kingdom, and they will everywhere take effect.

16. At (the time of) the border sacrifice (to Heaven), those who are engaged in funeral rites do not dare to wail, and those who are wearing mourning do not dare to enter the gate of the capital;—this is the highest expression of reverence.

17. On the day of sacrifice, the ruler led the victim forward, along with and assisted by his son on

¹ The sequence in the writer's mind in this paragraph almost eludes my discovery; it does so still more in the translation of it by Callery and Zottoli.

the opposite side; while the Great officers followed in order. When they had entered the gate of the temple, they fastened the victim to the stone pillar. The ministers and Great officers then bared their arms, and proceeded to inspect the hair, paying particular attention to that of the ears. They then with the knife with the bells attached to it, cut it open, took out the fat about the inwards, and withdrew (for a time¹). Afterwards they offered some of the flesh boiled, and some raw, then (finally) withdrawing. There was the highest reverence about everything.

18. The sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated². The sovereigns of Hsiâ presented it in the dark. Under the Yin dynasty they did so

¹ They withdrew for a time, 'to offer the hair and blood.'

² This sentence is translated by Zottoli:—'*Coeli sacrificio summe rependitur coelum sed potissimum intenditur sol, consociatus cum luna.*' Callery says:—'*Le sacrifice qu'on offre dans la campagne est un acte de grande reconnaissance envers le ciel, et principalement envers le soleil, auquel on associe la lune.*'

Here, again, nature-worship seems to crop up. *Khân Hào* says on the passage:—'Heaven is the great source of *táo* (the course of nature and duty), and of all the visible bodies which it hangs out, there are none greater than the sun and moon. Therefore, while the object of the suburban sacrifice was a grateful acknowledgment of Heaven, the sun was chosen as the resting-place for its spirit (or spirits). The idea in the institution of the rite was deep and far-reaching.' It must be borne in mind that the rites described in the text are those of former dynasties, especially of that of *Kâu*. I cannot bring to mind any passages in which there is mention made of any sacrifice to the sun or sun-spirit in connexion with the great sacrifice to Heaven, or *Shang Tî*, at the service on the day of the winter solstice in the southern suburb.

at noon. Under the *K'au* they sacrificed all the day, especially at daybreak, and towards evening.

19. They sacrificed to the sun on the altar, and to the moon in the hollow;—to mark the distinction between (the) gloom (of the one) and (the) brightness (of the other), and to show the difference between the high and the low. They sacrificed to the sun in the east, and to the moon in the west;—to mark the distinction between (the) forthcoming (of the former) and (the) withdrawing (of the latter), and to show the correctness of their (relative) position. The sun comes forth from the east, and the moon appears in the west; the darkness and the light are now long, now short; when the one ends, the other begins, in regular succession;—thus producing the harmony of all under the sky¹.

20. The rites to be observed by all under heaven were intended to promote the return (of the mind) to the beginning (= Creator of all); to promote (the honouring of) spiritual Beings; to promote the harmonious use (of all resources and appliances) of government; to promote righteousness; and to promote humility. They promote the return to the beginning, securing the due consideration of their originator. They promote (the honouring) of spiritual Beings, securing the giving honour to superiors. They promote the (proper) use of all resources, thereby establishing the regulations (for the well-being of) the people. They promote

¹ The sacrifices in this paragraph are those at the equinoxes; that to the sun at the vernal in the eastern suburb, and that to the moon at the autumnal in the western suburb. They are still maintained. See the ritual of the present dynasty (大清通禮), Book VIII, where the former is called 朝日, and the latter 夕月.

righteousness, and thus there are no oppositions and conflictings between high and low. They promote humility, in order to prevent occasions of strife. Let these five things be united through the rites for the regulation of all under heaven, and though there may be some extravagant and perverse who are not kept in order, they will be few.

SECTION II.

1. 3âi Wo said, 'I have heard the names Kwei and Shăn, but I do not know what they mean¹.' The Master said, 'The (intelligent) spirit² is of the shăn nature, and shows that in fullest measure; the animal soul is of the kwei nature, and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of kwei and shăn that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine.

'All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called kwei. The bones and flesh moulder below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness, (and arise from the decay of their substance), are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the shăn nature.

¹ I am unable to give a translation of the characters kwei (鬼) and shăn, so as to make the meaning readily intelligible to the English reader. Callery gives for them 'L'âme et l'esprit,' Zottoli, 'Manes Spiritusque.' Evidently the question is about the application of them to the dead and gone, and the component elements of the human constitution.

² The character in the text here is kî (氣), 'the breath.' Zottoli translates it by 'rationalis vis,' and Callery by 'la respiration de l'homme.'

'On the ground of these subtle essences of things, with an extreme decision and inventiveness, (the sages) framed distinctly (the names of) kwei and shān, to constitute a pattern for the black-haired race¹; and all the multitudes were filled with awe, and the myriads of the people constrained to submission.'

2. 'The sages did not consider these (names) to be sufficient, and therefore they built temples with their (different) apartments, and framed their rules for ancestors who were always to be honoured, and those whose tablets should be removed;—thus making a distinction for nearer and more distant kinship, and for ancestors the remote and the recent, and teaching the people to go back to their oldest fathers, and re-trace their beginnings, not forgetting those to whom they owed their being. In consequence of this the multitude submitted to their lessons, and listened to them with a quicker readiness.

3. 'These two elements (of the human constitution) having been established (with the two names), two ceremonies were framed in accordance with them. They appointed the service of the morning, when the fat of the inwards was burned so as to bring out its fragrance, and this was mixed with the blaze of dried southern-wood. This served as a tribute to the (intelligent) spirit, and taught all to go back to their originating ancestors. They (also) presented millet and rice, and offered the delicacies of the liver, lungs, head, and heart, along with two bowls (of

¹ It is observed by many of the commentators that the characters here employed for 'black-haired race' were unused in the time of Confucius, and became current under the K'ín dynasty.

liquor) and odoriferous spirits. This served as a tribute to the animal soul, and taught the people to love one another, and high and low to cultivate good feeling between them;—such was the effect of those ceremonies.

4. 'The superior man, going back to his ancient fathers, and returning to the authors of his being, does not forget those to whom he owes his life, and therefore he calls forth all his reverence, gives free vent to his feelings, and exhausts his strength in discharging the above service;—as a tribute of gratitude to his parents he dares not but do his utmost¹.'

5. Thus it was that anciently the son of Heaven had his field of a thousand acres, in which he himself held the plough, wearing the square-topped cap with red ties. The feudal princes also had their field of a hundred acres, in which they did the same, wearing the same cap with green ties. They did this in the service of Heaven, Earth, the Spirits of the land and grain, and their ancient fathers, to supply the new wine, cream, and vessels of grain. In this way did they procure these things;—it was a great expression of their reverence.

6. Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their officers who attended to their animals; and at the proper seasons, after vigil and fasting, they washed their heads, bathed, and visited them in person², taking from them for victims those which

¹ The above conversation with 3ái Wo is found in the 'Narratives of the School,' Article 17, headed 'Duke Âi's Questions about Government;' and the reply of Confucius ends here. I hesitate, therefore, to continue the points of quotation in what follows.

² The first day, probably, of the last month of spring. If it were not bright, perhaps another was chosen.

were spotless and perfect;—it was a great expression of their reverence.

The ruler ordered the oxen to be brought before him, and inspected them; he chose them by their hair, divined whether it would be fortunate to use them, and if the response were favourable, he had them cared for. In his skin cap, and the white skirt gathered up at the waist, on the first day and at the middle of the month, he inspected them. Thus did he do his utmost;—it was the height of filial piety.

7. Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their own mulberry trees and silkworms' house; the latter built near a river, ten cubits in height, the surrounding walls being topped with thorns, and the gates closed on the outside. In the early morning of a very bright day, the ruler, in his skin cap and the white skirt, divined for the most auspicious of the honourable ladies in the three palaces of his wife¹, who were then employed to take the silkworms into the house. They washed the seeds in the stream, gathered the leaves from the mulberry trees, and dried them in the wind to feed the worms.

When the (silkworm) year was ended, the honourable ladies had finished their work with the insects, and carried the cocoons to show them to the ruler. They then presented them to his wife, who said, 'Will not these supply the materials for the ruler's robes?' She forthwith received them, wearing her head-dress and the robe with pheasants on it, and afterwards caused a sheep and a pig to be killed and

¹ The queen had six palaces; the wife of a prince, three. The writer confines his account here to the latter.

cooked to treat (the ladies). This probably was the ancient custom at the presentation of the cocoons.

Afterwards, on a good day, the wife rinsed some of them thrice in a vessel, beginning to unwind them, and then distributed them to the auspicious and honourable ladies of her three palaces to (complete) the unwinding. They then dyed the thread red and green, azure and yellow, to make the variously-coloured figures on robes. When the robes were finished, the ruler wore them in sacrificing to the former kings and dukes ;—all displayed the greatest reverence.

8. The superior man says, 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) heaven. Heaven-like, his action is spirit-like. Heaven-like, he is believed, though he do not speak. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, though he display no rage. So it is when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart.

'When one has mastered' (the principle of) ceremonies, and regulates his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he is regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and reverentialness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

‘Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies is a perfect observance (of propriety). When one’s inner man is thus harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and moves within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule) and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are all sure to accept (his rule) and obey him. Therefore it is said, ‘Let ceremonies and music have their course till all under heaven is filled with them; then give them their manifestation and application, and nothing difficult to manage will appear.’

Music affects the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This leads to the forward exhibition of ceremonies, and therein their beauty resides; and to the introspective consideration of music, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies, demanding this condensation, did not receive this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with the introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is this introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises

pleasure, and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises repose. The response of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.

9. ǺǺng-Ǻze said, 'There are three degrees of filial piety. The highest is the honouring of our parents; the second is the not disgracing them; and the lowest is the being able to support them.'

10. (His disciple), Kung-ming Í, said, 'Can you, master, be considered (an example of a) filial son?' ǺǺng-Ǻze replied, 'What words are these? What words are these? What the superior man calls filial piety requires the anticipation of our parents' wishes, the carrying out of their aims and their instruction in the path (of duty). I am simply one who supports his parents;—how can I be considered filial?'

11. ǺǺng-Ǻze said, 'The body is that which has been transmitted to us by our parents; dare any one allow himself to be irreverent in the employment of their legacy? If a man in his own house and privacy be not grave, he is not filial; if in serving his ruler, he be not loyal, he is not filial; if in discharging the duties of office, he be not reverent, he is not filial; if with friends he be not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he be not brave, he is not filial. If he fail in these five things, the evil (of the disgrace) will reach his parents;—dare he but reverently attend to them?'

To prepare the fragrant flesh and grain which he has cooked, tasting and then presenting them before his parents, is not filial piety; it is only nourishing them. He whom the superior man pronounces filial is he whom (all) the people of (his) state praise,

saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!'—that indeed is what can be called being filial. The fundamental lesson for all is filial piety. The practice of it is seen in the support (of parents). One may be able to support them; the difficulty is in doing so with the proper reverence. One may attain to that reverence;—the difficulty is to do so without self-constraint. That freedom from constraint may be realised;—the difficulty is to maintain it to the end. When his parents are dead, and the son carefully watches over his actions, so that a bad name, (involving) his parents, shall not be handed down, he may be said to be able to maintain his piety to the end. True love is the love of this; true propriety is the doing of this; true righteousness is the rightness of this; true sincerity is being sincere in this; true strength is being strong in this. Joy springs from conformity to this; punishments spring from the violation of this.

12. 3ǎng-ze said, 'Set up filial piety, and it will fill the space from earth to heaven; spread it out, and it will extend over all the ground to the four seas; hand it down to future ages, and from morning to evening it will be observed; push it on to the eastern sea, the western sea, the southern sea, and the northern sea, and it will be (everywhere) the law for men, and their obedience to it will be uniform. There will be a fulfilment of the words of the ode (III, i, ode 10, 6),

"From west to east, from south to north,
There was no unsubmissive thought."

13. 3ǎng-ze said, 'Trees are felled and animals killed, (only) at the proper seasons. The Master said¹,

¹ The master here is Confucius. The record of his saying is found only here.

“ To fell a single tree, or kill a single animal, not at the proper season, is contrary to filial piety.” ’

There are three degrees of filial piety :—the least, seen in the employment of one’s strength (in the service of parents); the second, seen in the endurance of toil (for them); and the greatest, seen in its never failing. Thinking of the gentleness and love (of parents) and forgetting our toils (for them) may be called the employment of strength. Honouring benevolences and resting with the feeling of repose in righteousness may be called the endurance of toil; the wide dispensation of benefits and the providing of all things (necessary for the people) may be called the piety that does not fail.

When his parents love him, to rejoice, and not allow himself to forget them; when they hate him, to fear and yet feel no resentment; when they have faults, to remonstrate with them, and yet not withstand them; when they are dead, to ask (the help only of) the good to obtain the grain with which to sacrifice to them :—this is what is called the completion (by a son) of his proper services.

14. The disciple Yo-kǎng *Khun*¹ injured his foot in descending from his hall, and for some months was not able to go out. Even after this he still wore a look of sorrow, and (one of the) disciples of the school said to him, ‘Your foot, master, is better; and though for some months you could not go out, why should you still wear a look of sorrow?’ Yo-kǎng *Khun* replied, ‘It is a good question which

¹ Yo-kǎng *Khun* evidently was a disciple of Ǵǎng-ǵze. Mencius had a disciple of the same surname, Yo-kǎng Kho (I, ii, 16). Another is mentioned by him (V, ii, 3). Lieh-ǵze mentions a fourth. The Yo-kǎngs are said to have sprung from the ducal stock of Sung.

you ask! It is a good question which you ask! I heard from Jǎng-ze what he had heard the Master say, that of all that Heaven produces and Earth nourishes, there is none so great as man. His parents give birth to his person all complete, and to return it to them all complete may be called filial duty. When no member has been mutilated and no disgrace done to any part of the person, it may be called complete; and hence a superior man does not dare to take the slightest step in forgetfulness of his filial duty. But now I forgot the way of that, and therefore I wear the look of sorrow. (A son) should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, nor in the utterance of a single word. He should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, and therefore he will walk in the highway and not take a by-path, he will use a boat and not attempt to wade through a stream;—not daring, with the body left him by his parents, to go in the way of peril. He should not forget his parents in the utterance of a single word, and therefore an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an angry word will not come back to his person. Not to disgrace his person and not to cause shame to his parents may be called filial duty.'

15. Anciently, the sovereigns of the line of Yü honoured virtue, and highly esteemed age; the sovereigns of Hsiâ honoured rank, and highly esteemed age; under Yin they honoured riches, and highly esteemed age; under K'áu, they honoured kinship, and highly esteemed age. Yü, Hsiâ, Yin, and K'áu produced the greatest kings that have appeared under Heaven, and there was not one of them who neglected age. For long has honour been paid

to years under the sky; to pay it is next to the service of parents.

16. Therefore, at court among parties of the same rank, the highest place was given to the oldest. Men of seventy years carried their staffs at the court. When the ruler questioned one of them, he made him sit on a mat. One of eighty years did not wait out the audience, and when the ruler would question him he went to his house. Thus the submission of a younger brother (and juniors generally) was recognised at the court.

17. A junior walking with one older (than himself), if they were walking shoulder to shoulder, yet it was not on the same line. If he did not keep transversely (a little behind), he followed the other¹. When they saw an old man, people in carriages or walking got out of his way. Men, where the white were mingling with their black hairs, did not carry burdens on the roads. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised on the public ways.

Residents in the country took their places according to their age, and the old and poor were not neglected, nor did the strong come into collision with the weak, or members of a numerous clan do violence to those of a smaller. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the country districts and hamlets².

18. According to the ancient rule, men of fifty years were not required to serve in hunting expeditions³; and in the distribution of the game, a larger

¹ If the elder were a brother or cousin, the junior kept a little behind, and apart. If he were an uncle, the other followed in a line.

² Five *Kâu*, translated 'districts,' made a 'hsiang,' here translated 'the country districts.'

³ Literally, 'men of the tien' (甸). The tien was a tract of

share was given to the more aged. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the arrangements for the hunts. In the tens and fives of the army and its detachments, where the rank was the same, places were given according to age. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the army.

19. The display of filial and fraternal duty in the court; the practice of them on the road; their reaching to the districts and hamlets; their extension to the huntings; and the cultivation of them in the army, (have thus been described). All would have died for them under the constraint of righteousness, and not dared to violate them.

20. The sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction served to inculcate filial duty on the feudal lords; the feasting of the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced in the Great college served to inculcate brotherly submission on those princes; the sacrifices to the worthies of former times in the western school served to inculcate virtue on them; the (king's) ploughing in the field set apart for him, served to teach them the duty of nourishing (the people); their appearances at court in spring and autumn served to inculcate on them their duty as subjects or ministers. Those five institutions were the great lessons for the kingdom.

21. When feasting the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced, the son of Heaven bared his arm, cut up the bodies of the victims, and handed round the condiments; he also presented

considerable size; contributing to the army a chariot, three mailed men, and seventy-two foot-men. There was a levy on it also of men to serve in the hunting expeditions.

the cup with which they rinsed their mouths, wearing the square-topped cap, and carrying a shield. It was thus he inculcated brotherly submission on the princes. It was thus that in the country and villages regard was paid to age, that the old and poor were not neglected, and that the members of a numerous clan did not oppress those of a smaller;—these things came from the Great college.

The son of Heaven appointed the four schools; and when his eldest son entered one of them, he took his place according to his age.

22. When the son of Heaven was on a tour of inspection, the princes (of each quarter) met him on their borders. The son of Heaven first visited those who were a hundred years old. If there were those of eighty or ninety, on the way to the east, he, though going to the west, did not dare to pass by (without seeing them); and so, if their route was to the west, and his to the west. If he wished to speak of matters of government, he, though ruler, might go to them.

23. Those who had received the first degree of office took places according to age (at meetings) in the country and villages; those who had received the second, took places in the same way (at meetings) of all the members of their relatives. Those who had received the third degree did not pay the same regard to age. But at meetings of all the members of a clan no one dared to take precedence of one who was seventy years old.

Those who were seventy, did not go to court unless for some great cause. When they did so for such a cause, the ruler would bow and give place to them, afterwards going on to the parties possessed of rank.

24. Whatever good was possessed by the son of Heaven, he humbly ascribed the merit of it to Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a feudal lord, he ascribed it to the son of Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a minister or Great officer, he attributed it to the prince of his state; whatever good was possessed by an officer or a common man, he assigned the ground of it to his parents, and the preservation of it to his elders. Emolument, rank, felicitations, and rewards were (all) transacted in the ancestral temple; and it was thus that they showed (the spirit of) submissive deference.

25. Anciently, the sages, having determined the phenomena of heaven and earth in their states of rest and activity, made them the basis of the Yĭ (and divining by it). The diviner held the tortoise-shell in his arms, with his face towards the south, while the son of Heaven, in his dragon-robe and square-topped cap, stood with his face to the north. The latter, however intelligent might be his mind, felt it necessary to set forth and obtain a decision on what his object was;—showing that he did not dare to take his own way, and giving honour to Heaven (as the supreme Decider)¹. What was good in him (or in his views) he ascribed to others; what was wrong, to himself; thus teaching not to boast, and giving honour to men of talents and virtue.

26. When a filial son was about to sacrifice, the

¹ Who does not see that, from the writer's point of view, divination was originally had recourse to in the search for an 'infallible' director in matters to be done? The Decider was held to be 'Heaven;' the error was in thinking that the will of Heaven could be known through any manipulation of the tortoise-shell, or the stalks.

rule was that he should have his mind well adjusted and grave, to fit him for giving to all matters their full consideration, for providing the robes and other things, for repairing the temple and its fanes, and for regulating everything. When the day of sacrifice arrived, the rule was that his countenance should be mild, and his movements show an anxious dread, as if he feared his love were not sufficient. When he put down his offerings, it was required that his demeanour should be mild, and his body bent, as if (his parents) would speak (to him) and had not yet done so; when the officers assisting had all gone out¹, he stood lowly and still, though correct and straight, as if he were about to lose the sight (of his parents).

After the sacrifice, he looked pleased and expectant, as if they would again enter².

In this way his ingenuousness and goodness were never absent from his person; his ears and eyes were never withdrawn from what was in his heart; the exercises of his thoughts never left his parents. What was bound up in his heart was manifested in his countenance; and he was continually examining himself;—such was the mind of the filial son.

¹ The text here is difficult. I have followed K'ang, as has Zottoli;—the interpretation of 宿者 as 'assisting officers,' can otherwise be defended. Callery gives for the clause:—'Toutes les pensées étrangères (au sacrifice) il les chasse au dehors,' which it would be difficult to justify.

² Here again translation is difficult. Zottoli gives:—'Cumque sacrificium transiverit, intendet animo, prosequetur ore, quasi mox iterum ingressuri essent.' Callery:—'Après le sacrifice il s'en va lentement, comme (s'il suivait quelqu'un pas à pas, et avait envie) de rentrer (avec lui dans le temple).'

27. The sites for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain were on the right; that for the ancestral temple on the left¹.

¹ That is, with reference to the palace. As you looked out from it to the south, the altars were on the right hand and the temple on the left.



BOOK XXII. K'Ī THUNG

OR

A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF SACRIFICES¹.

1. Of all the methods for the good ordering of men, there is none more urgent than the use of ceremonies. Ceremonies are of five kinds², and there is none of them more important than sacrifices.

Sacrifice is not a thing coming to a man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by ceremonies; and hence, only men of ability and virtue can give complete exhibition to the idea of sacrifice.

2. The sacrifices of such men have their own blessing;—not indeed what the world calls blessing³. Blessing here means perfection;—it is the name given to the complete and natural discharge of all duties. When nothing is left incomplete or improperly discharged;—this is what we call perfection, implying the doing everything that should be done in one's internal self, and externally the performance of everything according to the proper method. There is a fundamental agreement between a loyal subject in his service of his ruler and a filial son in

¹ See the introduction, vol. xxvii, pp. 37, 38.

² The five kinds of ceremonies are the Auspicious (吉 including all acts of religious worship); the Mourning (凶); those of Hospitality (賓); the Military (軍); and the Festive (嘉).

³ Success, longevity, the protection of spiritual Beings.

his service of his parents. In the supernal sphere there is a compliance with (what is due to) the repose and expansion of the energies of nature¹; in the external sphere, a compliance with (what is due) to rulers and elders; in the internal sphere, the filial service of parents;—all this constitutes what is called perfection.

It is only the able and virtuous man who can attain to this perfection; and can sacrifice when he has attained to it. Hence in the sacrifices of such a man he brings into exercise all sincerity and good faith, with all right-heartedness and reverence; he offers the (proper) things; accompanies them with the (proper) rites; employs the soothing of music; does everything suitably to the season. Thus intelligently does he offer his sacrifices, without seeking for anything to be gained by them:—such is the heart and mind of a filial son.

3. It is by sacrifice that the nourishment of parents is followed up and filial duty to them perpetuated. The filial heart is a storehouse (of all filial duties). Compliance with everything that can mark his course, and be no violation of the relation (between parent and child):—the keeping of this is why we call it a storehouse. Therefore in three ways is a filial son's service of his parents shown:—while they are alive, by nourishing them; when they are dead, by

¹ Callery gives for these:—'Conformité avec les Esprits et les Dieux.' Zottoli:—'Ordo erga Genios Spiritusque.' Medhurst:—'Being obedient to the Kwei Shins.' If they had observed the 'three spheres' of the writer, I think they would have translated differently. I believe the idea is—'Compliance with the will of Heaven or God, as seen in the course of Nature and Providence.'

all the rites of mourning ; and when the mourning is over by sacrificing to them. In his nourishing them we see his natural obedience ; in his funeral rites we see his sorrow ; in his sacrifices we see his reverence and observance of the (proper) seasons. In these three ways we see the practice of a filial son.

4. When a son had done everything (for his sacrifices) that he could do himself, he proceeded to seek assistance from abroad ; and this came through the rites of marriage. Hence the language of a ruler, when about to marry a wife, was :—‘ I beg you, O ruler, to give me your elegant daughter, to share this small state with my poor self, to do service in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain.’ This underlay his seeking for that assistance (from abroad).

In sacrificing, husband and wife had their several duties which they personally attended to ; and on this account there was the array of officials belonging to the exterior and interior departments (of the palace). When these officers were complete, all things necessary (for the service) were made ready :—small things, such as the sourcroust of water plants and pickles from the produce of dry grounds ; and fine things, such as the stands for the bodies of the three victims, and the supplies for the eight dishes. Strange insects and the fruits of plants and trees, produced under the best influences of light and shade, were all made ready. Whatever heaven produces, whatever earth develops in its growth ;—all were then exhibited in the greatest abundance. Everything was there from without, and internally there was the utmost effort of the will :—such was the spirit in sacrificing.

5. For this reason, also, the son of Heaven himself guided the plough in the southern suburb, to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels; and the queen looked after her silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. The princes of the states guided the plough in their eastern suburb, also to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels, and their wives looked after their silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. This was not because the son of Heaven and the princes had not men to plough for them, or because the queen and the princes' wives had not women to tend the silkworms for them; it was to give the exhibition of their personal sincerity. Such sincerity was what is called doing their utmost; and such doing of their utmost was what is called reverence. When they had reverently done their utmost, they could serve the spiritual Intelligences—such was the way of sacrificing.

6. When the time came for offering a sacrifice, the man wisely gave himself to the work of purification. That purification meant the production of uniformity (in all the thoughts);—it was the giving uniformity to all that was not uniform, till a uniform direction of the thoughts was realised. Hence a superior man, unless for a great occasion, and unless he were animated by a great reverence, did not attempt this purification. While it was not attained, he did not take precautions against the influence of (outward) things, nor did he cease from all (internal) desires. But when he was about to attempt it, he guarded against all things of an evil nature, and suppressed all his desires. His ears did not listen to music;—as it is said in the Record, 'People occupied with purification

have no music,' meaning that they did not venture to allow its dissipation of their minds. He allowed no vain thoughts in his heart, but kept them in a strict adherence to what was right. He allowed no reckless movement of his hands or feet, but kept them firmly in the way of propriety. Thus the superior man, in his purification, devotes himself to carrying to its utmost extent his refined and intelligent virtue.

Therefore there was the looser ordering of the mind for seven days, to bring it to a state of fixed determination; and the complete ordering of it for three days, to effect the uniformity of all the thoughts. That determination is what is called purification; the final attainment is when the highest degree of refined intelligence is reached. After this it was possible to enter into communion with the spiritual Intelligences.

7. Moreover, on the eleventh day, before that appointed for the sacrifice, the governor of the palace gave warning notice to the wife of the ruler, and she also conducted that looser ordering of her thoughts for seven days, and that more complete ordering of them for three. The ruler accomplished his purification in the outer apartment, and the wife her purification in the inner. After this they met in the grand temple.

The ruler, in the dark-coloured square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east; his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe stood in the eastern chamber. The ruler from his mace-handled libation-cup poured out the fragrant spirit before the personator of the dead; and the great minister in charge of the temple with his halfmace-

handled cup poured the second libation (for the wife). When the victim was introduced, the ruler held it by the rope; the ministers and Great officers followed; other officers carried the dried grass (to lay on the ground when it should be killed); the wives of the ruler's surname followed the wife with the basins; she presented the purified liquid; the ruler held in his hand the knife with bells; he prepared the lungs (to be offered to the personator); and his wife put them on the dishes and presented them. All this shows what is meant in saying that husband and wife had their parts which they personally performed.

8. When they went in for the dance, the ruler, holding his shield and axe, went to the place for the performance. He took his station at the head of those on the east, and in his square-topped cap, carrying his shield, he led on all his officers, to give pleasure to the august personator of the dead. Hence the son of Heaven in his sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all in the kingdom. (In the same way) the feudal princes at their sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all within their territories. In their square-topped caps, and carrying their shields, they led on all their officers, to give joy to the august personators:—with the idea of showing the joy of all within their territories.

9. At a sacrifice there were three things specially important. Of the offerings there was none more important than the libation; of the music there was none more important than the singing in the hall above; of the pantomimic evolutions there was none more important than that representing (king) Wû's (army) on the night (before his battle). Such was

the practice of the *K'áu* dynasty. All the three things were designed to increase the aim of the superior man by the use of these external representations. Hence their movements in advancing and retreating were regulated by (the degree of) that aim. If it were less intense, they were lighter; if it were more intense, they were more vehement. If the aim were less intense, and they sought to make the outward representation more vehement, even a sage could not have accomplished this.

Therefore the superior man, in sacrificing, exerted himself to the utmost in order to give clear expression to these more important things. He conducted everything according to the rules of ceremony, thereby giving prominent exhibition to them, and displaying them to the august personator:—such was the method of the sages.

10. At sacrifices there are the provisions that are left. The dealing with these is the least important thing in sacrifices, but it is necessary to take knowledge of it. Hence there is the saying of antiquity, 'The end must be attended to even as the beginning:—there is an illustration of it in these leavings. Hence it was the remark of a superior man of antiquity, that 'The personator also eats what the spirits have left;—it is a device of kindness, in which may be seen (the method of) government.'

Hence, when the personator rose, the ruler and his three ministers partook of what he had left. When the ruler had risen, the six Great officers partook;—the officers partook of what the ruler had left. When the Great officers rose, the eight officers partook:—the lower in rank ate what the higher had

left. When these officers rose, each one took what was before him and went out, and placed it (in the court) below the hall, when all the inferior attendants entered and removed it:—the inferior class ate what the superior had left.

11. Every change in the disposal of these relics was marked by an increase in the number (of those who partook of them); and thus there was marked the distinction between the degrees of the noble and the mean, and a representation given of the dispensation of benefits (by the sovereign). Hence by means of the four vessels of millet there is shown the cultivation of this in the ancestral temple, which becomes thereby a representation of all comprised within the confines (of the state).

What is done at sacrifices afforded the greatest example of the dispensation of favours¹. Hence when the superior possessed the greatest blessing, acts of favour were sure to descend from him to those below him, the only difference being that he enjoyed the blessing first, and those below him afterwards;—there was no such thing as the superior's accumulating a great amount for himself, while the people below him might be suffering from cold and want. Therefore when the superior enjoyed his great blessing, even private individuals waited till the stream should flow down, knowing that his favours would surely come to them. This was shown by what was done with the relics at sacrifices, and hence came the saying that 'By the dealing with these was seen (the method of) government.'

¹ It is difficult to detect the mind of the writer here, and make out the train of his reasoning. Zottoli:—'Sacrificium, beneficiorum maximum est.' Callery:—'Dans les sacrifices, les bien-

12. Sacrifice is the greatest of all things. Its apparatus of things employed in it is complete, but that completeness springs from all being in accordance with the requirements (of nature and reason):— is it not this which enables us to find in it the basis of all the lessons of the sages? Therefore (those lessons, in the external sphere, inculcated the honouring of the ruler and of elders, and, in the internal sphere, filial piety towards parents.) Hence, when there was an intelligent ruler above, all his ministers submitted to and followed him. When he reverently sacrificed in his ancestral temple, and at the altars to the (spirits of the) land and grain, his sons and grandsons were filially obedient. He did all his duty in his own walk, and was correct in his righteousness; and thence grew up the lessons (of all duty.)

Therefore a superior man, in the service of his ruler, should find (guidance for) all his personal conduct. What does not satisfy him in (the behaviour of) his superiors, he will not show in his employment of those below himself; and what he dislikes in the behaviour of those below him, he will not show in the service of his superiors. To disapprove of anything in another, and do the same himself, is contrary to the rule of instruction. Therefore the superior in the inculcation of his lessons, ought to proceed from the foundation (of all duty). This will show him pursuing the greatest method of what is natural and right in the highest degree; and is not this what is seen in sacrifice? Hence we have the saying that

faits sont la plus grande chose.' Wylie :—' Sacrifice is the greatest of the virtuous influences.' But is not the writer simply referring to what he has said about the admission of all classes to participate in the relics of a sacrifice?

'The first and greatest teaching is to be found in sacrifice.'

13. In sacrifice there is a recognition of what belongs to ten relationships¹. There are seen in it the method of serving spiritual Beings; the righteousness between ruler and subject; the relation between father and son; the degrees of the noble and mean; the distance gradually increasing between relatives; the bestowment of rank and reward; the separate duties of husband and wife; impartiality in government affairs; the order to be observed between old and young; and the boundaries of high and low. These are what are called the (different duties in the) ten relationships.

14. The spreading of the mat and placing on it a stool to serve for two, was intended as a resting-place for the united spirits (of husband and wife)². The instruction to the blesser in the apartment and the going out to the inside of the gate³, was the method pursued in (seeking) communion with the spirits.

15. The ruler went to meet the victim, but not to meet the representative of the dead;—to avoid misconstruction⁴. While the representative was outside

¹ Zottoli :—'Sacrificium habet decem sensus.' Callery :—'Les sacrifices renferment dix ordres d'idées.'

² The reason given for this practice is peculiar. 'While alive,' says K'han Hào, 'every individual has his or her own body, and hence in the relation of husband and wife, there are the separate duties to be discharged by each; but when they are dead, there is no difference or separation between their spiritual essences (精氣無間), and one common stool for support is put down for them both.' Is there any truth that these Chinese speculators are groping after?

³ See vol. xxvii, page 444, paragraph 18.

⁴ It was not for the ruler to go to meet one who was still a

the gate of the temple, he was to be regarded only as a subject; inside the temple, he had the full character of a ruler. While the ruler was outside the gate of the temple, he was there the ruler; when he entered that gate (on the occasion of the sacrifice), he had the full character of a subject, or a son. Hence his not going forth (to meet the representative) made clear the right distinction between the ruler and subject.

16. According to the rule in sacrifices, a grandson acted as the representative of his grandfather. Though employed to act the part of representative, yet he was only the son of the sacrificer. When his father, with his face to the north, served him, he made clear how it is the way of a son to serve his father. Thus (sacrifice) illustrated the relation of father and son.

17. When the representative had drunk the fifth cup, the ruler washed the cup of jade, and presented it to the ministers. When he had drunk the seventh cup, that of green jasper was presented to the Great officers. When he had drunk the ninth cup, the plain one varnished was presented to the ordinary officers, and all who were taking part in the service. In all the classes the cup passed from one to another, according to age; and thus were shown the degrees of rank as more honourable and lower.

18. At the sacrifice the parties taking part in it were arranged on the left and right, according to their order of descent from the common ancestor, and thus the distinction was maintained between the order of fathers and sons, the near and the

subject, and had not yet entered on the function, which placed him in a position of superiority for the time and occasion.

distant, the older and the younger, the more nearly related and the more distantly, and there was no confusion. Therefore at the services in the grand ancestral temple, all in the two lines of descent were present, and no one failed to receive his proper place in their common relationship. This was what was called (showing) the distance gradually increasing between relatives.

19. Anciently the intelligent rulers conferred rank on the virtuous, and emoluments on the meritorious; and the rule was that this should take place in the Grand temple, to show that they did not dare to do it on their own private motion. Therefore, on the day of sacrifice, after the first presenting (of the cup to the representative), the ruler descended and stood on the south of the steps on the east, with his face to the south, while those who were to receive their appointments stood facing the north. The recorder was on the right of the ruler, holding the tablets on which the appointments were written. He read these, and (each man) bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the writing, returned (home), and presented it in his (own) ancestral temple :—such was the way in which rank and reward were given.

20. The ruler, in the dragon robe and square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east, while his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe, stood in the chamber on the east. When the wife presented and put down the dishes on stands, she held them by the foot; (the officer) who held the vessels with new wine, presented them to her, holding them by the bottom; when the representative of the dead was handing the cup to the wife, he held it by the handle, and she gave it to him by

the foot; when husband and wife were giving and receiving, the one did not touch the place where the other had held the article; in passing the pledge cup, they changed the cups:—so was the distinction to be maintained between husband and wife shown.

21. In all arrangements with the stands, the chief attention was given to the bones. Some bones were considered nobler, and some meaner. Under the Yin they preferred the thigh bone; and under the K'âu, the shoulder bone. Generally, the bones in front were thought nobler than those behind. The stands served to illustrate the rule in sacrifices of showing favours. Hence the nobler guests received the nobler bones, and the lower, the less noble; the nobler did not receive very much, and the lower were not left without any:—impartiality was thus shown. With impartiality of favours, government proceeded freely; with the free proceeding of government, undertakings were accomplished; with the accomplishment of undertakings, merit was established. It is necessary that the way in which merit is established should be known. The stands served to show the rule for the impartial bestowment of favours. So did the skilful administrators of government proceed, and hence it is said that (sacrifices showed the principle of) impartiality in the business of government.

22. Whenever they came to the (general) circulation of the cup, those whose place was on the left stood in one row, and also those whose place was on the right. The members of each row had places according to their age; and in the same way were arranged all the assistants at the service. This was what was called (exhibiting) the order of the old and young.

23. At sacrifices there were portions given to the skimmers, cooks, assistants, feather-wavers, and door-keepers,—showing how favours should descend to the lowest. Only a virtuous ruler, however, could do this; having intelligence sufficient to perceive (the wisdom of) it, and benevolence equal to the bestowment of it. Apportioning means bestowing; they were able to bestow what was left on those below them.

Skimmers were the meanest of those who looked after the buff-coats; cooks' assistants, the meanest of those who looked after the flesh; feather-wavers, the meanest of those who had to do with the music; door-keepers, those who looked after the doors; for anciently they did not employ men who had suffered dismemberment to keep the doors. These four classes of keepers were the meanest of the servants; and the representative of the dead was the most honoured of all. When the most honoured, at the close of the sacrifice, did not forget those who were the most mean, but took what was left and bestowed it on them, (it may be seen how) with an intelligent ruler above, there would not be any of the people within his territory who suffered from cold and want. This is what was meant by saying that sacrifices show the relation between high and low.

24. For the sacrifices (in the ancestral temple) there were the four seasons. That in spring was called *yo*¹; that in summer, *tí*; that in autumn, *khang*; and that in winter, *khang*. The *yo* and *tí* expressed the idea in the bright and expanding (course of nature); the *khang* and *khang*, that in

¹ Meaning, it is said, 'meagre;' the things offered being few in the spring season; but such explanations are far-fetched.

the sombre and contracting (course). The *tí* showed the former in its fullest development, and the *khang* showed the latter in the same. Hence it is said, 'There is nothing more important than the *tí* and *khang*.' Anciently, at the *tí* sacrifice, they conferred rank, and bestowed robes;—acting according to the idea in the bright and expanding (course); and at the *khang* they gave out fields and homesteads, and issued the rules of autumn-work;—acting according to the idea in the sombre and contracting (course). Hence it is said in the Record, 'On the day of the *khang* sacrifice they gave forth (the stores of) the ruler's house;' showing how rewards (were then given). When the plants were cut down, the punishment of branding might be inflicted. Before the rules of autumn-work were issued, the people did not dare to cut down the grass.

25. Hence it is said that 'the ideas in the *tí* and *khang* are great, and lie at the foundation of the government of a state; and should by all means be known.' It is for the ruler to know clearly those ideas, and for the minister to be able to execute (what they require). The ruler who does not know the ideas is not complete, and the minister who cannot carry them into execution is not complete.

Now the idea serves to direct and help the aim, and leads to the manifestation of all virtue. Hence he whose virtue is the completest, has the largest aims; and he whose aims are the largest, has the clearest idea. He whose idea is the clearest, will be most reverent in his sacrifices. When the sacrifices (of a state) are reverent, none of the sons and grandsons within its borders will dare to be irreverent. Then the superior man, when he has a sacrifice, will

feel it necessary to preside at it in person. If there be a (sufficient) reason for it, he may commit the performance of it to another. But when committing the performance to another, the ruler will not fail (to think) of its meaning, because he understands the ideas in it. He whose virtue is slight, has but a small aim. He who is in doubts as to the idea in it, and will yet seek to be reverent in his sacrifice, will find it impossible to be so ; and how can he, who sacrifices without reverence, be the parent of his people ?

26. The tripods (at the sacrifices) had inscriptions on them. The maker of an inscription named himself, and took occasion to praise and set forth the excellent qualities of his ancestors, and clearly exhibit them to future generations. Those ancestors must have had good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription is to make mention of the good qualities and not of the bad :—such is the heart of a filial descendant ; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain to it.

The inscriber discourses about and panegyrises the virtues and goodness of his ancestors, their merits and zeal, their services and toils, the congratulations and rewards (given to them), their fame recognised by all under heaven ; and in the discussion of these things on his spiritual vessels, he makes himself famous ; and thus he sacrifices to his ancestors. In the celebration of his ancestors he exalts his filial piety. That he himself appears after them is natural. And in the clear showing (of all this) to future generations, he is giving instruction.

27. By the one panegyric of an inscription benefit accrues to the ancestors, to their descendant and to

others after them. Hence when a superior man looks at an inscription, while he admires those whom it praises, he also admires him who made it. That maker had intelligence to see (the excellences of his ancestors), virtue to associate himself with them, and wisdom to take advantage (of his position);—he may be pronounced a man of ability and virtue. Such worth without boasting may be pronounced courteous respect.

28. Thus the inscription on the tripod of Khung Khwei of Wei was:—‘In the sixth month, on the day ting-hâi, the duke went to the Grand Temple, and said, “My young uncle, your ancestor *Kwang Shû* assisted duke *Khăng*, who ordered him to follow him in his difficulties on the south of the Han, and afterwards to come to him in his palace (of imprisonment) in the honoured capital of *Kâu*; and all these hurried journeyings he endured without wearying of them. From him came the helper of duke Hsien, who charged your (later) ancestor *Khăng Shuh* to continue the service of his ancestor. Your deceased father *Wăn Shû* cherished and stimulated in himself the old desires and aims, roused and led on the admirable officers, and showed his own great personal interest in the state of Wei. His labours for our ducal house never wearied early or late, so that the people all testified how good he was.” The duke further said, “My young uncle, I give you (this tripod with) its inscription. Carry on and out the services of your father.” Khwei bowed with his head to the ground, and said, “In response to the distinction (you have conferred upon me) I will take your great and important charge, and I will put it on the vases and tripods of my winter sacrifice.”’ Such

was the inscription on the tripod of Khung Khwei of Wei¹.

In this way the superior men of antiquity panegyrised the excellent qualities of their ancestors, and clearly exhibited them to future generations, thereby having the opportunity to introduce their own personality and magnify their states. If descendants who maintain their ancestral temples and the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, praised their ancestors for good qualities which they did not possess, that was falsehood; if they did not take knowledge of the good qualities which they did possess, that showed their want of intelligence; if they knew them and did not transmit them (by their inscriptions), that showed a want of virtue:—these are three things of which a superior man should have been ashamed.

29. Anciently, Tan, duke of Kâu, did most meritorious service for the kingdom. After his death the kings K'hăng and Khang, bearing in mind all his admirable work, and wishing to honour Lû, granted to its lords the right of offering the greatest sacrifices;—those in the borders of their capital to Heaven and Earth, in the wider sphere of sacrifice; and the great summer and autumnal sacrifices in the ancestral temple of the state. At those great summer and autumnal sacrifices, on the hall above, they sang the K'hing Miào, and in the courtyard below it they danced the Hsiang to the flute; they

¹ In the year that Confucius died, B.C. 479, this Khung Khwei was obliged to flee from Wei to Sung. The duke K'ăng, who is mentioned in connexion with his ancestor known as Kwang Shô, was marquis of Wei from B.C. 635 to 600. Duke Hsien ruled from B.C. 577 to 559.

carried red shields and axes adorned with jade in performing the Tâ Wû dance ; and this was the music employed by the son of Heaven. (Those kings) in acknowledgment of the great merit of the duke of Kâu, allowed (the use of those sacrifices and this music) to the (marquis of) Lû. His descendants have continued it, and down to the present day it is not abolished, thereby showing clearly the virtue of the lords of Kâu and magnifying their state¹.

¹ This distinction, said to have been thus conferred on the princes of Lû, is contrary to the views of the ablest commentators on the subject.

BOOK XXIII. KING KIEH

OR

THE DIFFERENT TEACHING OF THE DIFFERENT KINGS¹.

1. Confucius said, 'When you enter any state you can know what subjects (its people) have been taught. If they show themselves men who are (mild and gentle, sincere and good, they have been taught from the Book of Poetry. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, they have been taught from the Book of History. If they be large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, they have been taught from the Book of Music. If they be pure and still, refined and subtile, they have been taught from the Yí. If they be courteous and modest, grave and respectful, they have been taught from the Book of Rites and Ceremonies. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, they have been taught from the *Khün K'hiû*.

'Hence the failing that may arise in connexion with the study of the Poems is a stupid simplicity; that in connexion with the History is duplicity; that in connexion with Music is extravagance; that in connexion with the Yí is the violation (of reason)¹; that in connexion with the practice of Rites and Ceremonies is fussiness; and that in connexion with the *Khün K'hiû* is insubordination².

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, p. 38.

² Callery translates the character in the text by 'l'hérésie.' I have met with 'robbery' for it.

4 2. 'If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, and yet free from that simple stupidity, their comprehension of the Book of Poetry is deep. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, and yet are free from duplicity, their understanding of the Book of History is deep. If they are large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, and yet have no tendency to extravagance, their knowledge of Music is deep.) If they are pure and still, refined and subtle, and yet do not violate (reason), they have made great attainments in the Yi. (If they are courteous and modest, grave and reverent, and yet not fussy, their acquaintance with the Book of Rites and Ceremonies is deep. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, and yet have no disposition to be insubordinate, their knowledge of the *Khun Khiû* is deep.)'

3. The son of Heaven forms a ternion with heaven and earth. Hence, in power of his goodness he is their correlate, and his benefits extend at once to all things¹. His brilliancy is equal to that of the sun and moon, and enlightens all within the four seas, not excepting anything, however minute and small. In the audiences at his court everything is done according to the orderly procedure of benevolence, wisdom, propriety, and righteousness. At his entertainments he listens to the singing of the Odes of the Kingdom and the Odes of the Temple and Altar. When he walks, there are the notes from his girdle pendant. When he rides in his chariot, there are the harmonious sounds of the bells attached to

¹ Compare vol. xxvii, pp. 377, 378.

his horses. When he is in private at ease, there is the observance of the rules of propriety. When he advances or retires, he does so according to rule and measure. All the officers fulfil their duties rightly, and all affairs are carried on with order. It is as described in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, 3),

‘That virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment;
He has nothing wrong in his deportment,
And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the state.’

4. When (a ruler) issues his notices and gives forth his orders, and the people are pleased, we have what may be called the condition of harmony. When superiors and inferiors love one another, we have the condition of benevolence. When the people get what they desire without seeking for it, we have the condition of confidence. When all things in the operations of heaven and earth that might be injurious are taken out of the way, we have the condition of rightness. Rightness and confidence, harmony and benevolence are the instruments of the presiding chieftain and the king. If any one wishes to govern the people, and does not employ these instruments, he will not be successful.

5. In the right government of a state, the Rules of Propriety serve the same purpose as the steel-yard in determining what is light and what is heavy; or as the carpenter's line in determining what is crooked and what is straight; or as the circle and square in determining what is square and what is round. Hence, if the weights of the steel-yard be true, there can be no imposition in the matter of weight; if the line be truly applied, there can be no

imposition in the evenness of a surface ; if the square and compass be truly employed, there can be no imposition in the shape of a figure. When a superior man (conducts the government of his state) with a discriminating attention to these rules, he cannot be imposed on by traitors and impostors.

6. Hence he who has an exalted idea of the rules, and guides his conduct by them, is called by us a mannerly gentleman, and he who has no such exalted idea and does not guide his conduct by the rules, is called by us one of the unmannerly people. These rules (set forth) the way of reverence and courtesy ; and therefore when the services in the ancestral temple are performed according to them, there is reverence ; when they are observed in the court, the noble and the mean have their proper positions ; when the family is regulated by them, there is affection between father and son, and harmony among brothers ; and when they are honoured in the country districts and villages, there is the proper order between old and young. There is the verification of what was said by Confucius, 'For giving security to superiors and good government of the people, there is nothing more excellent than the Rules of Propriety¹.'

7. The ceremonies at the court audiences of the different seasons were intended to illustrate the righteous relations between ruler and subject ; those of friendly messages and inquiries, to secure mutual honour and respect between the feudal princes ; those of mourning and sacrifice, to illustrate the kindly feelings of ministers and sons ; those of social

¹ See vol. iii, page 482 (*The Hsião King*).

meetings in the country districts, to show the order that should prevail between young and old ; and those of marriage, to exhibit the separation that should be maintained between males and females. Those ceremonies prevent the rise of disorder and confusion, and are like the embankments which prevent the overflow of water. He who thinks the old embankments useless and destroys them is sure to suffer from the desolation caused by overflowing water ; and he who should consider the old rules of propriety useless and abolish them would be sure to suffer from the calamities of disorder.

8. Thus if the ceremonies of marriage were discontinued, the path of husband and wife would be embittered, and there would be many offences of licentiousness and depravity. If the drinking ceremonies at country feasts were discontinued, the order between old and young would be neglected, and quarrelsome litigations would be numerous. If the ceremonies of mourning and sacrifice were discontinued, the kindly feeling of officers and sons would become small ; there would be numerous cases in which there was a revolt from the observances due to the dead, and an oblivion of (those due) to the living. If the ceremonies of friendly messages and court attendances were discontinued, the positions of ruler and subject would fall into disuse, the conduct of the feudal princes would be evil, and the ruin wrought by rebellion, encroachment, and oppression would ensue.

9. Therefore the instructive and transforming power of ceremonies is subtle ; they stop depravity before it has taken form, causing men daily to move towards what is good, and keep themselves farther

apart from guilt, without being themselves conscious of it. It was on this account that the ancient kings set so high a value upon them. This sentiment is found in the words of the Yî, 'The superior man is careful at the commencement; a mistake, then, of a hair's breadth, will lead to an error of a thousand li¹.'

¹ But these words, common enough in later Chinese writings, are not found in the Yî King. Khung Ying-tâ says they are from the 'Great Appendix.' It is more likely that he was in error, than that they existed there in his time.

BOOK XXIV. ÂI KUNG WÂN

OR

QUESTIONS OF DUKE ÂI¹.

1. Duke Âi² asked Confucius, saying, 'What do you say about the great rites? How is it that superior men, in speaking about them, ascribe so much honour to them?' Confucius said, 'I, *Khiû*, am a small man, and unequal to a knowledge of the rites.' 'By no means,' said the ruler. 'Tell me what you think, my Master.' Then Confucius replied, 'According to what I have heard, of all things by which the people live the rites are the greatest. Without them they would have no means of regulating the services paid to the spirits of heaven and earth; without them they would have no means of distinguishing the positions proper to father and son, to high and low, to old and young; without them they would have no means of maintaining the separate character of the intimate relations between male and female, father and son, elder brother and younger, and conducting the intercourse between the contracting families in a marriage, and the frequency or infrequency (of the reciprocities between friends). These

¹ See the introduction, vol. xxvii, pp. 39, 40.

² Âi ('The Courteous, Benevolent, and Short-lived') was the posthumous title of the marquis Jiang (蔣) of Lû (B.C. 494-468), in whose sixteenth year Confucius died. He seems to have often consulted the sage on important questions, but was too weak to follow his counsels.

are the grounds on which superior men have honoured and revered (the rites) as they did.

2. 'Thereafter, (having this view of the rites), they taught them to the people, on the ground of their ability (to practise them), not disregarding their general principles or the limitations (that circumstances impose in particular cases).

3. 'When their object had been accomplished (so far), they proceeded to give rules for the engraving (of the ceremonial vessels), and the embroidering in various colours (of the robes), in order to secure the transmission (of the rites).

4. 'Having obtained the concurrence (of the people in these things), they proceeded to tell them the different periods of mourning; to provide the full amount of tripods and stands; to lay down the (offerings of) pork and dried meats; to maintain in good order their ancestral temples; and then at the different seasons of the year reverently to present their sacrifices; and to arrange thereat, in order, the different branches and members of their kindred. Meanwhile (they themselves) were content to live economically, to have nothing fine about their dress; to have their houses low and poor; to eschew much carving about their carriages; to use their vessels without carving or graving; and to have the plainest diet, in order to share all their advantages in common with the people. In this manner did the superior men of antiquity practise the rites.'

5. The duke said, 'How is it that the superior men of the present day do not practise them (in this way)?' Confucius said, 'The superior men of the present day are never satisfied in their fondness for wealth, and never wearied in the extravagance of

their conduct. They are wild, idle, arrogant, and insolent. They determinedly exhaust the (resources of the) people, put themselves in opposition to the multitude, and seek to overthrow those who are pursuing the right way. They seek to get whatever they desire, without reference to right or reason. The former using of the people was according to the ancient rules; the using of them now-a-days is according to later rules. The superior men of the present day do not practise the rites (as they ought to be practised).'

6. Confucius was sitting beside duke Âi, when the latter said, 'I venture to ask, according to the nature of men, which is the greatest thing (to be attended to in dealing with them).'

Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and replied, 'That your lordship should put this question is a good thing for the people. How should your servant dare but express his opinion on it?' Accordingly he proceeded, and said, 'According to the nature of men, government is the greatest thing for them.'

7. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by the practice of government.' Confucius replied, 'Government is rectification. When the ruler is correct himself, all the people will follow his government. What the ruler does is what the people follow. How should they follow what he does not do?'

8. The duke said, 'I venture to ask how this practice of government is to be effected?' Confucius replied, 'Husband and wife have their separate functions; between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be a strict adherence to their several parts. If

these three relations be correctly discharged, all other things will follow.'

9. The duke said, 'Although I cannot, in my unworthiness, count myself as having attained, I should like to hear how these three things which you have mentioned can be rightly secured. May I hear it from you?' Confucius replied, 'With the ancients in their practice of government the love of men was the great point; in their regulation of this love of men, the rules of ceremony was the great point; in their regulation of those rules, reverence was the great point. For of the extreme manifestation of reverence we find the greatest illustration in the great (rite of) marriage. Yes, in the great (rite of) marriage there is the extreme manifestation of respect; and when one took place, the bridegroom in his square-topped cap went in person to meet the bride;—thus showing his affection for her. It was his doing this himself that was the demonstration of his affection. Thus it is that the superior man commences with respect as the basis of love. To neglect respect is to leave affection unprovided for. Without loving there can be no (real) union; and without respect the love will not be correct. Yes, love and respect lie at the foundation of government.'

10. The duke said, 'I wish that I could say I agree with you, but for the bridegroom in his square-topped cap to go in person to meet the bride,—is it not making too much (of the ceremony)?' Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and said, '(Such a marriage) is the union of (the representatives of) two different surnames in friendship and love, in order to continue the posterity of the

former sages¹, and to furnish those who shall preside at the sacrifices to heaven and earth, at those in the ancestral temple, and at those at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain;—how can your lordship say that the ceremony is made too great?’

11. The duke said, ‘I am stupid. But if I were not stupid, how should I have heard what you have just said? I wish to question you, but cannot find the proper words (to do so); I beg you to go on a little further.’ Confucius said, ‘If there were not the united action of heaven and earth, the world of things would not grow. By means of the grand rite of marriage, the generations of men are continued through myriads of ages. How can your lordship say that the ceremony in question is too great?’ He immediately added, ‘In their own peculiar sphere, (this marriage) serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, and is sufficient to supply the correlates to the spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth; in the (wider) sphere abroad, it serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the court², and is sufficient to establish the respect of those below him to him who is

¹ *K'ang* takes this in the singular, ‘the former sage,’ meaning the duke of *K'au*, so that Confucius should say that the ceremony in question was a continuation of that instituted by the duke of *K'au*. I cannot construe or interpret the text so.

² The text here seems to be corrupt. Translating it as it stands—**治直言之禮**—we should have to say, ‘the regulation of straightforward speech.’ *K'ăn Hào* says that he does not understand the **直言**, and mentions the conjecture of ‘some one’ that they should be **朝廷**. I have followed this conjecture, which also is followed in Callery’s expurgated edition.

above them all. If there be ground for shame on account of (a deficiency of) resources, this is sufficient to stimulate and secure them ; if there be ground for shame on account of the condition of the states, this is sufficient to revive and renew them. Ceremonies are the first thing to be attended to in the practice of government. Yes, (this) ceremony (of marriage) lies at the foundation of government !'

12. Confucius continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three dynasties, it was required of a man to show respect to his wife and son. When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents ;—could any husband dare not to show her respect ? And the son was the descendant of those parents ;—could any father dare not to show him respect ? The superior man's respect is universal. Wherein it appears the greatest is in his respect for himself. He is in his person a branch from his parents ;—can any son but have this self-respect ? If he is not able to respect his own person, he is wounding his parents. If he wound his parents, he is wounding his own root ; and when the root is wounded, the branches will follow it in its dying. These three things are an image of what is true with the whole people (in the body politic). One's own person reaches to the persons of others ; one's own son to the sons of others ; one's own wife to the wives of others. If a ruler do these things, the spirit of his conduct will reach to all under the sky. If the course of the great king be thus, all the states and families will be docilely obedient.'

13. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "respecting one's self."' Confucius replied,

'When a man who is over others¹ transgresses in his words, the people will fashion their speech accordingly; when he transgresses in his actions, the people will make him their model. If in his words he do not go beyond what should be said, nor in his actions what should be a model, then the people, without being commanded, will reverence and honour him. When this obtains, he can be said to have respected his person. Having succeeded in respecting his person, he will (at the same time) be able to do all that can be done for his parents.'

14. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by doing all that can be done for one's parents?' Confucius replied, '*Kün-ze* is the completest name for a man; when the people apply the name to him, they say (in effect) that he is the son of a *kün-ze*; and thus he makes his parents (? father) to be a *kün-ze*. This is what I intend by saying that he does all that can be done for his parents².'

Confucius forthwith added, 'In the practice of

¹ The phrase in the text for 'a man who is high in rank' is *Kün-ze* (君子, *Keun-ze*, in Southern mandarin, and as it is transliterated by Morrison and our older scholars), meaning 'ruler's son,' 'a princely man,' 'a superior man,' 'a wise man,' 'a sage.' In all these ways it has been translated by Chinese scholars, and I have heard it proposed to render it by 'a gentleman.' Here all the commentators say it is to be understood of a man of rank and position (君子以位言), which is a not unfrequent application of it.

² What I translate by 'doing all that can be done for his parents' is in the text 'completing his parents.' Callery renders it:—'Assurant (un nom honorable) à ses père et mère.' Wylie:—'Completing his duty to his parents.' It certainly is not easy to catch the mind of Confucius here and in the context.

government in antiquity, the love of men was the great point. If (a ruler) be not able to love men he cannot possess¹ his own person; unable to possess his own person, he cannot enjoy in quiet his land; unable to enjoy in quiet his land, he cannot rejoice in Heaven; unable to rejoice in Heaven, he cannot do all that can be done for his person.'

15. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "doing all that could be done for one's person."' Confucius replied, 'It is keeping from all transgression of what is due ^{to his being or orig. nature} in all the sphere beyond one's self².'

16. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what it is that the superior man values in the way of Heaven.' Confucius replied, 'He values its unceasingness. There is, for instance, the succession and sequence of the sun and moon from the east and west:—that is the way of Heaven. There is the long continuance of its progress without interruption:—that is the way of Heaven. There is its making (all) things complete without doing anything:—that is the way of Heaven. There is their brilliancy when they have been completed:—that is the way of Heaven.'

17. The duke said, 'I am very stupid, unintelligent also, and occupied with many things; do you, Sir, help me that I may keep this lesson in my mind.'

18. Confucius looked grave, moved a little from his mat, and replied, 'A man of all-comprehensive

¹ K'ang says that 'to possess' is equivalent to 'to preserve' (有猶保也), adding 'men will injure him.' So all the other commentators.

² Callery gives for this:—'Ce n'est autre chose que de se maintenir dans le devoir.' Wylie:—'It is not to transgress the natural order of things.' The reply of Confucius appears more fully in the 'Narratives of the School.'

virtue¹ does not transgress what is due from him in all the sphere beyond himself, and it is the same with a filial son. Therefore a son of all-comprehensive virtue serves his parents as he serves Heaven, and serves Heaven as he serves his parents. Hence a filial son does all that can be done for his person².

19. The duke said, 'I have heard your (excellent) words;—how is it that I shall hereafter not be able to keep from the guilt (of transgressing)?' Confucius answered, 'That your lordship gives expression to such words is a happiness to me.'

¹ 'A man of all-comprehensive virtue' is in the text simply 'the benevolent man (仁人).' But that name must be to be taken in the sense of Mencius, who says that 'Benevolence is man (仁也者人也)' (vii, 11, 16); as Julien translates it, 'Humanitas homo est.' There 仁, 'benevolence,' is a name denoting the complex of human virtues, with the implication that it is itself man's distinguishing characteristic. So 'humanity' may be used in English to denote 'the peculiar nature of man as distinguished from other beings.'

² Callery has a note on this paragraph:—'Ces axiômes de Confucius ne sont pas d'une grande clarté; on y entrevoit, cependant, que le philosophe veut établir l'identité entre le devoir chez l'homme et la vérité éternelle, ou la vertu dans le sens abstrait.' But perhaps the sayings of the Master seem to be wanting in 'clearness' because it is difficult to catch his mind and spirit in them. Nor do I think that the latter part of what the French sinologue says is abundantly clear or appropriate. I have often said that Confucius and his school try to make a religion out of filial virtue. That appears here with a qualification; for the text makes out 'the service of Heaven,' which would be religion, to be identical with the full discharge of all filial duty, equivalent, in the Chinese system, to all morality.

BOOK XXV. KUNG-NÎ YEN KÜ

OR

KUNG-NÎ AT HOME AT EASE¹.

1. *Kung-nî* 'being at home at ease¹,' with *Ûze-kang*, *Ûze-kung*, and *Yen Yü* by him, their conversation went on from general matters to the subject of ceremonies.

2. The Master said, 'Sit down², you three, and I will discourse to you about ceremonies, so that you may rightly employ them everywhere and in all circumstances.'

3. *Ûze-kung* crossed over (*Ûze-kang's*) mat³, and replied, 'Allow me to ask what you mean.' The Master said, 'Respect shown without observing the rules of propriety is called vulgarity; courtesy without observing those rules is called forwardness; and boldness without observing them is called violence.' The Master added, 'Forwardness takes away from gentleness and benevolence.'

4. The Master said, 'Sze, you err by excess, and Shang by defect.' *Ûze-khân* might be regarded as a

¹ See the introductory notice of this Book, vol. xxvii, page 40. The *Yen* (燕) in *Yen Kü* is said by *Käng* to denote that the party had been to court, and was now at his ease in his own residence.

² The three disciples must have risen from their mats on the introduction of a new topic, according to vol. xxvii, page 76, paragraph 21.

³ Substantially a violation of vol. xxvii, page 71, paragraph 26.

mother of the people. He could feed them, but he could not teach them¹.

5. 3ze-kung (again) crossed the mat, and replied, 'Allow me to ask by what means it is possible to secure this due mean.' The Master said, 'By means of the ceremonial rules; by the rules. Yes, it is those rules which define and determine the due mean.'

6. 3ze-kung having retired, Yen Yû advanced, and said, 'May I be allowed to ask whether the rules of ceremony do not serve to control what is bad, and to complete what is good?' The Master said, 'They do.' 'Very well, and how do they do it?' The Master said, 'The idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is that they should give expression to the loving feeling towards the spirits; the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services in the ancestral temple give expression to the loving feeling towards all in the circle of the kindred; the ceremony of putting down food (by the deceased) serves to express the loving feeling towards those who are dead and for whom they are mourning; the ceremonies of the archery fêtes and the drinking at them express the loving feeling towards all in the district and neighbourhood; the ceremonies of festal entertainments express the loving feeling towards visitors and guests.'

¹ The *Khien-lung* editors say that in this paragraph, the part from '3ze-khân' has been introduced by an error in manipulating the tablets. It is found, and more fully, also in the *Narratives of the School*, article 41 (正論解). The previous sentence of it also appears to me to be out of place. Why should Confucius address himself to Sze?—that was not the name of 3ze-kung. What is said to him is found in the *Analects*, VI, 15, and also more fully.

7. The Master said, 'An intelligent understanding of the idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and of the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services, would make the government of a state as easy as to point to one's palm. Therefore let the ceremonial rules be observed:—in the ordinary life at home, and there will be the (right) distinction between young and old ; inside the door of the female apartments, and there will be harmony among the three branches of kin ; at court, and there will be the right ordering of office and rank ; in the different hunting expeditions, and skill in war will be acquired ; in the army and its battalions, and military operations will be successful.

'In this way, houses and their apartments will be made of the proper dimensions ; measures and tripods will have their proper figure ; food will have the flavour proper to its season ; music will be according to the rules for it ; carriages will have their proper form ; spirits will receive their proper offerings ; the different periods of mourning will have their proper expression of sorrow ; discussions will be conducted by those who from their position should take part in them ; officers will have their proper business and functions ; the business of government will be properly distributed and applied. (The duty) laid on (each) person being discharged in the matter before him (according to these rules), all his movements, and every movement will be what they ought to be.'

8. The Master said, 'What is (the object of) the ceremonial rules ? It is just the ordering of affairs. The wise man who has affairs to attend to must have the right method of ordering them. (He who

should attempt) to regulate a state without those rules would be like a blind man with no one to lead him;—groping about, how could he find his way? Or he would be like one searching all night in a dark room without a light;—how could he see anything?

‘If one have not the ceremonial rules, he would not (know how to) dispose of his hands and feet, or how to apply his ears and eyes; and his advancing and retiring, his bowings and giving place would be without any definite rules. Hence, when the rules are thus neglected:—in the ordinary life at home, then the right distinction between old and young will be lost; in the female apartments, then the harmony among the three branches of kin will be lost; in the court, then the order of office and rank will be lost; in the different hunting expeditions, then the prescribed methods of military tactics will be lost; in the army and its battalions, then the arrangements that secure success in war will be lost. (Also), houses and apartments will want their proper dimensions; measures and tripods will want their proper figure; food will want its seasonal flavour; music will want its proper parts; Spirits will want their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will want their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will not be conducted by the proper men for them; officers will not have their proper business; the affairs of government will fail to be properly distributed and applied; and (in the duties) laid on (each) person to be discharged in the matters before him, all his movements, every movement, will fail to be what they ought to be. In this condition of things it will be impossible to put one’s self at the

head of the multitudes, and secure harmony among them.'

9. The Master said, 'Listen attentively, you three, while I discourse to you about the ceremonial rules. There are still nine things (to be described), and four of them belong to the Grand festive entertainments. When you know these, though your lot may lie among the channeled fields, if you carry them into practice, you will become wise as sages.

'When one ruler is visiting another, they bow to each other, each courteously declining to take the precedence, and then enter the gate. As soon as they have done so, the instruments of music, suspended from their frames, strike up. They then bow and give place to each other again, and ascend to the hall; and when they have gone up, the music stops. In the court below, the dances Hsiang and Wû are performed to the music of the flute, and that of Hsiâ proceeds in due order with (the brandishing of feathers and) fifes. (After this), the stands with their offerings are set out, the various ceremonies and musical performances go on in regular order, and the array of officers provided discharge their functions. In this way the superior man perceives the loving regard (which directs the entertainment). They move forward in perfect circles; they return and form again the squares. The bells of the equipages are tuned to the *Khâi-khî*; when the guest goes out they sing the Yung; when the things are being taken away, they sing the *Khăn-yü*; and thus the superior man (sees that) there is not a single thing for which there is not its proper ceremonial usage. The striking up of the instruments of metal, when they enter the gate, serves to

indicate their good feeling; the singing of the *K'ing Miáo*, when they have gone up to the hall, shows the virtue (they should cultivate); the performance of the *Hsiang* to the flute in the court below, reminds them of the events (of history). Thus the superior men of antiquity did not need to set forth their views to one another in words; it was enough for them to show them in their music and ceremonies.'

10. The Master said, 'Ceremonial usages are (the prescriptions of) reason; music is the definite limitation (of harmony). The superior man makes no movement without (a ground of) reason, and does nothing without its definite limitation. He who is not versed in the odes will err in his employment of the usages, and he who is not versed in music will be but an indifferent employer of them. He whose virtue is slender will vainly perform the usages.'

11. The Master said, 'The determinate measures are according to the rules; and the embellishments of them are also so; but the carrying them into practice depends on the men.'

12. *3ze-kung* crossed over the mat and replied, 'Allow me to ask whether even *Khwei* was ignorant (of the ceremonial usages)¹?'

13. The Master said, 'Was he not one of the ancients? Yes, he was one of them. To be versed in the ceremonial usages, and not versed in music, we call being poorly furnished. To be versed in the usages and not versed in music, we call being one-sided. Now *Khwei* was noted for his acquaintance with music, and not for his acquaintance with cere-

¹ *Khwei* was Shun's Director of Music. See the *Shû*, II, i, 24.

monies, and therefore his name has been transmitted with that account of him (which your question implies). But he was one of the men of antiquity.'

14. 3ze-kang asked about government. The Master said, 'Sze, did I not instruct you on that subject before? The superior man who is well acquainted with ceremonial usages and music has only to take and apply them (in order to practise government).'

15. 3ze-kang again put the question, and the Master said, 'Sze, do you think that the stools and mats must be set forth, the hall ascended and descended, the cups filled and offered, the pledge-cup presented and returned, before we can speak of ceremonial usages? Do you think that there must be the movements of the performers in taking up their positions, the brandishing of the plumes and fifes, the sounding of the bells and drums before we can speak of music? To speak and to carry into execution what you have spoken is ceremony; to act and to give and receive pleasure from what you do is music. The ruler who vigorously pursues these two things may well stand with his face to the south, for thus will great peace and order be secured all under heaven; the feudal lords will come to his court; all things will obtain their proper development and character; and no single officer will dare to shrink from the discharge of his functions. Where such ceremony prevails, all government is well ordered; where it is neglected, all falls into disorder and confusion. A house made by a good (though unassisted) eye will yet have the corner of honour, and the steps on the east for the host to ascend by; every mat have its upper and lower end; every chariot have

its right side and left; walkers follow one another, and those who stand observe a certain order:—such were the right rules of antiquity. If an apartment were made without the corner of honour and the steps on the east, there would be confusion in the hall and apartment. If mats had not their upper and lower ends, there would be confusion among the occupants of them; if carriages were made without their left side and right, there would be confusion in their seats; if people did not follow one another in walking, there would be confusion on the roads; if people observed no order in standing, there would be disorder in the places they occupy. Anciently the sage T's and intelligent kings and the feudal lords, in making a distinction between noble and mean, old and young, remote and near, male and female, outside and inside, did not presume to allow any to transgress the regular rule they had to observe, but all proceeded in the path which has been indicated.'

16. When the three disciples had heard these words from the Master, they saw clearly as if a film had been removed from their eyes.

BOOK XXVI. KHUNG-3ZE HSIEN KÜ

OR

CONFUCIUS AT HOME AT LEISURE¹.

1. Confucius being at home at leisure, with 3ze-hsiâ by his side, the latter said, 'With reference to the lines in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 8, 1),

"The happy and courteous sovereign

Is the father and mother of the people;"

I beg to ask what the sovereign must be, who can be called "the parent of the people." Confucius said, 'Ah! the parent of the people! He must have penetrated to the fundamental principles of ceremonies and music, till he has reached the five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence, and be able to exhibit these all under heaven; and when evil is impending in any part of the kingdom, he must have a foreknowledge of it:—such an one is he whom we denominate 'the parent of the people.'

2. 3ze-hsiâ said, 'I have thus heard (your explanation) of the name "parent of the people;" allow me to ask what "the five extreme points" (that you mention) mean.' Confucius said, 'The furthest aim of the mind has also its furthest expression in the Book of Poetry. The furthest expression of the Book of Poetry has also its furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages. The furthest embodiment

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 41.

in the ceremonial usages has also its furthest indication in music. The furthest indication of music has also its furthest indication in the voice of sorrow. Sorrow and joy produce, each the other; and thus it is that when we look with the directest vision of the eyes at (these extreme points) we cannot see them, and when we have bent our ears with the utmost tension we cannot hear them. The mind and spirit must embrace all within heaven and earth:—these are what we denominate “the five extreme points.”

3. 3ze-hsiâ said, ‘I have heard your explanation of “the five extreme points;” allow me to ask what “the three points that have no positive existence” mean.’ Confucius said, ‘The music that has no sound; ceremonial usages that have no embodiment; the mourning that has no garb:—these are what we denominate “the three points that have no positive existence.” 3ze-hsiâ said, ‘I have heard what you have said on those three negations; allow me to ask in which of the odes we find the nearest expression of them.’ Confucius said, ‘There is that (IV, ii, ode 1, 6),

“Night and day he enlarged its foundations by
his deep and silent virtue:”—

there is music without sound. And that (I, iii, ode 1, 3),

“My deportment has been dignified and good,

Without anything wrong that can be pointed out:”—

there is the ceremony that has no embodiment. And that (I, iii, ode 10, 4),

“When among any of the people there was a death,

I crawled on my knees to help them:”—

there is the mourning that has no garb.’

4. 3ze-hsiâ said, 'Your words are great, admirable, and complete. Do they exhaust all that can be said on the subject? Is there nothing more?' Confucius said, 'How should it be so? When a superior man practises these things, there still arise five other points.'

5. 3ze-hsiâ said, 'How is that?' Confucius said, 'When there is that music without sound, there is no movement of the spirit or will in opposition to it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is calm and gentle. When there is that mourning without garb, there is an inward reciprocity, and great pitifulness.

'When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are mastered. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is marked by courtesy. When there is that mourning without garb, it reaches to all in all quarters.

'When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are followed. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, high and low are harmonious and united. When there is that mourning without garb, it goes on to nourish all regions.

'When there is that music without sound, it is daily heard in all the four quarters of the kingdom. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, there is a daily progress and a monthly advance. When there is that mourning without garb, the virtue (of him who shows it) becomes pure and very bright.

'When there is that music without sound, all spirits and wills are roused by it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, its influence extends to all within the four seas. When there is

that mourning without garb, it extends to future generations.'

6. 3ze-hsiâ said, '(It is said that) the virtue of the kings (who founded the) three dynasties was equal to that of heaven and earth; allow me to ask of what nature that virtue was which could be said to put its possessors on an equality with heaven and earth.' Confucius said, 'They reverently displayed the Three Impartialities, while they comforted all beneath the sky under the toils which they imposed.' 3ze-hsiâ said, 'Allow me to ask what you call the "Three Impartialities."' Confucius said, 'Heaven overspreads all without partiality; Earth sustains and contains all without partiality; the Sun and Moon shine on all without partiality. Reverently displaying these three characteristics and thereby comforting all under heaven under the toils which they imposed, is what is called "the Three Impartialities." It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, ode 4, 3),

"God in His favour Thang's House would not leave,
And then Thang rose that favour to receive.

Thang's birth was not from Hsieh too far removed,

His sagely reverence daily greater proved;

For long to Heaven his brilliant influence rose,

And while his acts the fear of God disclose,

God Thang as model fit for the nine regions chose."—

such was the virtue of Thang.

7. 'To Heaven belong the four seasons, spring, autumn, winter, summer, with wind, rain, hoar-frost, and dew;—(in the action) of all and each of these there is a lesson.

‘Earth contains the mysterious energy (of nature). That mysterious energy (produces) the wind and thunder-clap. By the wind and thunder-clap the (seeds of) forms are carried abroad, and the various things show the appearance of life :—in all and each of these things there is a lesson.

8. ‘When the personal character is pure and bright, the spirit and mind are like those of a spiritual being. When what such an one desires is about to come, there are sure to be premonitions of it in advance, (as when) Heaven sends down the seasonable rains, and the hills produce the clouds. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 5, 1),

“How grand and high, with hugest bulk, arise
Those southern hills whose summits touch the
skies!

Down from them came a Spirit to the earth,
And to the sires of Fû and Shăn gave birth.
In those two states our Kâu a bulwark has,
O’er which the southern foemen dare not pass,
And all its states they screen, and through them
spread

Lessons of virtue, by themselves displayed :”—
such was the virtue of (kings) Wăn and Wû.

9. ‘As to the kings (who founded) the three dynasties, it was necessary that they should be preceded by the fame of their forefathers. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 8, 6),

“Very intelligent were the sons of Heaven,
Their good fame was without end :”—

such was the virtue of (the founders) of the three dynasties.

‘ (And again),

“ He displayed his civil virtues,

And they permeated all parts of the kingdom:”—
such was the virtue of king Thái.’

10. 3ze-hsiâ rose up with a sudden joy, and, standing with his back to the wall, said, ‘ Your disciple dares not but receive (your instructions) with reverence.’

BOOK XXVII. FANG K'Ī

OR

RECORD OF THE DYKES¹.

1. According to what the Masters said, the ways laid down by the superior men may be compared to dykes, the object of which is to conserve that in which the people may be deficient; and though they may be on a great scale, the people will yet pass over them. Therefore the superior men framed rules of ceremony for the conservation of virtue; punishments to serve as a barrier against licentiousness; and declared the allotments (of Heaven), as a barrier against evil desires².

2. The Master said, 'The small man, when poor, feels the pinch of his straitened circumstances; and when rich, is liable to become proud. Under the pinch of that poverty he may proceed to steal; and when proud, he may proceed to deeds of disorder. The rules of propriety recognise these feelings of men, and lay down definite regulations for them, to serve as dykes for the people. Hence the sages dealt with riches and honours, so that riches should

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 41, 42.

² Any reader acquainted with Chinese will see that the character fang (坊) is used substantively and meaning 'a dyke,' and as a verb, 'to serve as a dyke.' But a dyke has two uses:—to conserve what is inside it, preventing its flowing away; and to ward off what is without, barring its entrance and encroachment. So the character is here used in both ways. The *K'ien-lung* editors insist on this twofold application of it, tersely and convincingly.

not have power to make men proud; that poverty should not induce that feeling of being pinched; and that men in positions of honour should not be intractable to those above them. In this way the causes of disorder would more and more disappear.'

3. The Master said, 'Under heaven the cases are few in which the poor yet find enjoyment¹, the rich yet love the rules of propriety, and a family that is numerous (and strong) yet remains quiet and at peace. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 3, 11),

"The people desire disorder,
And find enjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways."

Hence it was made the rule that no state should have more than 1000 chariots, no chief city's wall more than 100 embrasures, no family, however rich, more than 100 chariots. These regulations were intended for the protection of the people, and yet some of the lords of states rebelled against them.'

4. The Master said, 'It is by the rules of ceremony that what is doubtful is displayed, and what is minute is distinguished, that they may serve as dykes for the people. Thus it is that there are the grades of the noble and the mean, the distinctions of dress, the different places at court; and so the people (are taught to) give place to one another.'

5. The Master said, 'There are not two suns in the sky, nor two kings in a territory, nor two masters in a family, nor two superiors of equal honour; and the people are shown how the distinction between ruler and subject should be maintained.

¹ Literally, 'the poor are fond of (enjoyment);' but the 'fond of' is acknowledged to be an addition to the text.

The *Khün Khiû* does not mention the funeral rites for the kings of *Khiû* and *Yüeh*. According to the rules, the ruler of a state is not spoken of as "Heaven's," and a Great officer is not spoken of as "a ruler;"—lest the people should be led astray. It is said in the ode,

"Look at (that bird) which in the night calls out for the morning¹."

Even this is still occasion for being dissatisfied with it.'

6. The Master said, 'A ruler does not ride in the same carriage with those of the same surname with himself; and when riding with those of a different surname, he wears a different dress;—to show the people that they should avoid what may give rise to suspicion. This was intended to guard the people (from incurring suspicion), and yet they found that there were those of the same surname who murdered their ruler².'

7. The Master said, 'The superior man will decline a position of high honour, but not one that is mean; and riches, but not poverty. In this way confusion and disorder will more and more disappear. Hence the superior man, rather than have his emoluments superior to his worth, will have his worth superior to his emoluments.'

8. The Master said, 'In the matter of a cup of liquor and a dish of meat, one may forego his claim and receive that which is less than his due;

¹ This is from one of the old pieces, which have been forgotten and lost. Is the bird alluded to the cock? and where is the point of the reference?

² The *Khien-lung* editors labour in vain to make this paragraph clear, and say that it is 'an error of errors' to ascribe it to Confucius.

and yet the people will try to obtain more than is due to their years. When one's mat has been spread for him in a high place, he may move and take his seat on a lower; and yet the people will try to occupy the place due to rank. From the high place due to him at court one may in his humility move to a meaner place; and yet the people shall be intrusive even in the presence of the ruler. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 4),

“When men in disputations fine
To hear their consciences refuse,
Then 'gainst each other they repine,
And each maintains his special views.
If one a place of rank obtain,
And scorn humility to show,
The others view him with disdain,
And, wrangling, all to ruin go.”

9. The Master said, ‘The superior man exalts others and abases himself; he gives the first place to others and takes the last himself;—and thus the people are taught to be humble and yielding. Thus when he is speaking of the ruler of another state, he calls him “The Ruler;” but when mentioning his own ruler, he calls him “Our ruler of little virtue.”’

10. The Master said, ‘When advantages and rewards are given to the dead first¹, and to the living afterwards, the people will not act contrarily to the (character of) the dead. When (the ruler) places those who are exiles (from and for their state) first, and those who remain in it last, the people may be

¹ The memory of the dead would be honoured, and titles given to them, while those they left behind would be supported.

trusted with (the most arduous duties). It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iii, ode 3, 4),

“In thinking of our deceased lord,
She stimulated worthless me.”

When this dyke is set up for the people, will they still act contrarily to the dead and have to bewail their lot, with none to whom to appeal?’

11. The Master said, ‘When the ruler of a state, with its clans, thinks much of the men and little of the emoluments (which he bestows on them), the people give place readily (to those men). When he thinks much of their ability, and little of the chariots (with which he rewards them), the people address themselves to elegant arts. Hence a superior man keeps his speech under control, while the small man is forward to speak.’

12. The Master said, ‘If superiors consider and are guided by the words of the people, the people receive their gifts or commands as if they were from Heaven. If superiors pay no regard to the words of the people, the people put themselves in opposition to them. When inferiors do not receive the gifts of their superiors as if they were from Heaven, there ensues violent disorder. Hence, when the superior exhibits his confidence and courtesy in the government of the people, then the usages of the people in response to him are very great. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 3),

“Remember what in days of old they spake,
With grass and fuel-gatherers counsel take.”

13. The Master said, ‘If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, the

people will not contend (among themselves). If he ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, dissatisfactions will more and more disappear. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 4, 2),

“You had consulted the tortoise-shell; you had consulted the stalks;

In their responses there was nothing unfavourable.”

14. The Master said, ‘If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others and what is wrong to himself, the people will yield to others (the credit of) what is good in them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 7),

“He examined and divined, did the king,

About settling in the capital of Hào.

The tortoise-shell decided the site,

And king Wû completed the city.”

15. The Master said, ‘If (ministers) ascribe what is good to their ruler and what is wrong to themselves, the people will become loyal. It is said in the Book of History (V, xxi, 6),

“When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your ruler in the court; and thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, ‘This plan, or this view, is all due to the virtue of our ruler!’ Oh! in this way how good and distinguished will you be!”

16. The Master said, ‘If (a ruler, being a son,) ascribe what is good to his father, and what is wrong to himself, the people will become filial. It is said in “The Great Declaration,” “If I subdue K’âu, it will not be my prowess, but the faultless virtue of

my deceased father Wăn. If Kâu subdues me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wăn, but because I, who am as a little child, am not good" (Shû, V, i, sect. 3, 6).

17. The Master said, 'A superior man will forget and not make much of the errors of his father, and will show his reverence for his excellence. It is said in the Lun Yü (I, xi), "He who for three years does not change from the way of his father, may be pronounced filial;" and in the Káo Jung (Shû, III, viii, 1) it is said, "For three years he kept without speaking; when he did speak, they were delighted."'

18. The Master said, 'To obey (his parents') commands without angry (complaint); to remonstrate with them gently without being weary; and not to murmur against them, though they punish him, may be pronounced filial piety. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 5),

"Your filial son was unceasing in his service."

19. The Master said, 'To cultivate harmony with all the kindred of parents may be pronounced filial! It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 3),

"Brethren whose virtue stands the test,
By bad example still unchanged,
Their generous feelings manifest,
Nor grow among themselves estranged.
But if their virtue weakly fails
The evil influence to withstand,
Then selfishness o'er love prevails,
And troubles rise on every hand."

20. The Master said, '(A son) may ride in the chariot of an intimate friend of his father, but he

should not wear his robes. By this (rule) the superior man widens (the sphere of) his filial duty.'

21. The Master said, 'Small men are all able to support their parents. If the superior man do not also reverence them, how is his supporting to be distinguished (from theirs)?'

22. The Master said, 'Father and son should not be in the same (official) position;—to magnify the reverence (due to the father). It is said in the Book of History (Shû, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "If the sovereign do not show himself the sovereign, he disgraces his ancestors."'

23. The Master said, 'Before his parents (a son) should not speak of himself as old; he may speak of the duty due to parents, but not of the gentle kindness due from them; inside the female apartments he may sport, but should not sigh. By these (rules) the superior man would protect the people (from evil), and still they are found slight in their acknowledgment of filial duty, and prompt in their appreciation of gentle kindness.'

24. The Master said, 'When they who are over the people show at their courts their respect for the old, the people become filial.'

25. The Master said, 'The (use of) the representatives of the deceased at sacrifices, and of one who presides (at the services) in the ancestral temple, was intended to show the people that they had still those whom they should serve. The repairing of the ancestral temple and the reverential performance of the sacrifices were intended to teach the people to follow their dead with their filial duty. These things should guard the people (from evil), and still they are prone to forget their parents.'

26. The Master said, 'When (it is wished to) show respect (to guests), the vessels of sacrifice are used¹. Thus it is that the superior man will not in the poverty of his viands neglect the rules of ceremony, nor in their abundance and excellence make those rules disappear. Hence, according to the rules of feasting, when the host gives in person anything to a guest, the guest offers a portion in sacrifice, but he does not do so with what the host does not himself give him. Therefore, when there is no ceremony in the gift, however admirable it may be, the superior man does not partake of it.] It is said in the Yî, "The ox slain in sacrifice by the neighbour on the east is not equal to the spare spring sacrifice of the neighbour on the west, (whose sincerity) receives the blessing²." It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 1),

"You have made us drink to the full of your spirits,

You have satiated us with your virtue."

But though in this way the people are admonished, they will still keep striving after profit, and forget righteousness.'

27. The Master said, 'There are the seven days of fasting, and the three days of vigil and adjustment of the thoughts; there is the appointment of the one man to act as the personator of the dead, in passing whom it is required to adopt a hurried pace:—all to teach reverence (for the departed).'

¹ This would be in the entertainment, at the close of the sacrifices, given to the relatives and others who had taken part in them.

² This is the symbolism of the fifth line of the 63rd Hexagram (K'î 3î). See vol. xvi, pp. 206-208.

The sweet liquor is in the apartment (where the personator is); the reddish in the hall; and the clear in the court below :—all to teach the people not to go to excess in being greedy¹.

The personator drinks three cups, and all the guests drink one :—teaching the people that there must be the distinction of high and low.

The ruler takes the opportunity of the spirits and flesh of his sacrifice to assemble all the members of his kindred :—teaching the people to cultivate harmony.

Thus it is that on the hall above they look at what is done in the apartment, and in the court below at what is done by those in the hall (for their pattern) ; as it is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 5, 3),

‘ Every form is according to rule ;

Every smile and word is as it should be.’

28. The Master said, ‘The giving place to a visitor at every stage of his advancing (from the entrance gate), according to the rules for visitors ; and the repetition of the ceremonies, according to the mourning rites, in an ever-increasing distance from the apartment of the corpse ; the washing of the corpse over the pit in the centre of the open court ; the putting the rice into the mouth under the window ; the slighter dressing of the corpse inside the door of the apartment ; the greater dressing at the top of the steps on the east ; the coffining in the place for guests ; the sacrifice on taking the road (with the coffin) in the courtyard ; and the interment in the grave :—these were intended to teach the people how the element of distance enters into the

¹ The best liquor was in the lowest place.

usages. Under the Yin dynasty they consoled with the mourners at the grave ; they do so under *K'âu* in the house :—showing the people that they should not neglect the custom.'

The Master said, '(These services in connexion with) death are the last duties which the people have to pay (to their departed). I follow *K'âu* in them. They were intended to serve as guards to the people (to keep them from error). Among the princes, however, there still were those who did not attend the burials of other princes, and take part in them¹.'

29. The Master said, 'The going up to the hall by the steps for the guests, and receiving the condolences sent to him in the guests' place, are designed to teach the filial to continue their filial duty even to the dead.

'Until the mourning rites are finished, a son is not styled "Ruler:"—showing the people that there ought to be no contention (between father and son). Hence in the *K'hun K'hiû* of Lû, recording deaths in 3in, it is said, "(Lî Kho) killed Hsî-k'hi, the son of his ruler, and his ruler *K'ho*²:"—a barrier was thus raised to prevent the people (from doing such deeds). And yet there were sons who still murdered their fathers.'

30. The Master said, 'Filial duty may be transferred to the service of the ruler, and brotherly sub-

¹ It is not easy to determine the meaning of the text in this sentence. Chinese writers differ about it among themselves. The whole paragraph, indeed, is confused ; and the second 'The Master said' should probably form a paragraph by itself.

² This forms two entries in the *K'hun K'hiû*, under the ninth and tenth years of duke Hsî. The first notice is according to the rule about a son of a feudal prince being still only called 'Son' till the mourning for his father was completed, and the second is contrary to it. The concluding remark is also away from the point.

mission to the service of elders :—showing the people that they ought not to be double-minded. Hence a superior man, while his ruler is alive, should not take counsel about taking office (in another state). It is only on the day of his consulting the tortoise-shell (about such a thing) that he will mention two rulers¹.

‘The mourning for a father lasts for three years, and that for a ruler the same time :—showing the people that they must not doubt (about the duty which they owe to their ruler).

‘While his parents are alive, a son should not dare to consider his wealth as his own, nor to hold any of it as for his own private use :—showing the people how they should look on the relation between high and low. Hence the son of Heaven cannot be received with the ceremonies of a guest anywhere within the four seas, and no one can presume to be his host. Hence, also, when a ruler goes to a minister’s (mansion) he goes up to the hall by the (host’s) steps on the east and proceeds to the place (of honour) in the hall : showing the people that they should not dare to consider their houses their own.

‘While his parents are alive, the gifts presented to a son should not extend to a carriage and its team :—showing the people that they should not dare to monopolise (any honours).

‘All these usages were intended to keep the people from transgressing their proper bounds ; and yet there are those who forget their parents, and are double-minded to their ruler.’

31. The Master said, ‘The ceremony takes place before the silks (offered in connexion with it) are

¹ The translation here is according to a view appended by the *Khien-lung* editors to the usual notes on the sentence.

presented :—this is intended to teach the people to make the doing of their duties the first thing, and their salaries an after consideration. If money be sought first and the usages of propriety last, then the people will be set on gain : if the mere feeling be acted on, without any expressions (of courtesy and deference), there will be contentions among the people. Hence the superior man, when presents are brought to him, if he cannot see him who offers them, does not look at the presents. It is said in the Yí, “ He reaps without having ploughed that he may reap ; he gathers the produce of the third year’s field without having cultivated them the first year ;—there will be evil¹. ” In this way it is sought to guard the people, and yet there are of them who value their emoluments and set little store by their practice.’

32. The Master said, ‘The superior man does not take all the profit that he might do, but leaves some for the people. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 8, 3),

“ There shall be handfuls left on the ground,
And ears here and there left untouched ;—
For the benefit of the widow.”

‘Hence, when a superior man is in office (and enjoys its emoluments), he does not go in for farming ; if he hunts, he does not (also) fish ; he eats the (fruits of the) season, and is not eager for delicacies ; if a Great officer, he does not sit on sheepskins ; if a lower officer, he does not sit on dogskins. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iii, ode 10, 1),

¹ See the symbolism of line 2, of the 25th Hexagram, vol. xvi, pp. 110, 111. The last character here is not in the Yí, and a different moral seems to be drawn from the whole.

"When we gather the mustard-plant and earth-melons,
We do not reject them because of their roots.
While I do nothing contrary to my good name,
I should live with you till our death."

In this way it was intended to guard the people against loving wrong; and still some forget righteousness and struggle for gain, even to their own ruin.'

33. The Master said, 'The ceremonial usages serve as dykes to the people against bad excesses (to which they are prone). They display the separation which should be maintained (between the sexes), that there may be no occasion for suspicion, and the relations of the people be well defined. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, viii, ode vi, 3, 4),

"How do we proceed in hewing an axe-handle?
Without another axe it cannot be done.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Without a go-between it cannot be done.
How do we proceed in planting hemp?
The acres must be dressed length-wise and cross-wise.

How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Announcement must first be made to our parents."

In this way it was intended to guard the people (against doing wrong), and still there are some (women) among them, who offer themselves (to the male).'

34. The Master said, 'A man in taking a wife does not take one of the same surname with himself:—to show broadly the distinction (to be maintained between man and wife). Hence, when a man is buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname,

he consults the tortoise-shell about it. In this way it was intended to preserve the people (from going wrong in the matter); and yet the *Khun Khiu* of Lû still suppresses the surname of duke *Kào*'s wife, simply saying "Wû," and the record of her death is "Măng (the elder) 3ze died¹."

35. The Master said, 'According to the rules, male and female do not give the cup to one another, excepting at sacrifice. This was intended to guard the people against (undue freedom of intercourse); and yet the marquis of Yang killed the marquis of Mû, and stole away his wife². Therefore the presence of the wife at the grand entertainments was disallowed.'

36. The Master said, 'With the son of a widow one does not have interviews :—this would seem to be an obstacle to friendship, but a superior man will keep apart from intercourse in such a case, in order to avoid (suspicion). Hence, in the intercourse of friends, if the master of the house be not in, a visitor, unless there is some great cause, does not enter the door. This was intended to preserve the people (from all appearance of evil); and yet there are of them who pay more regard to beauty than to virtue.'

37. The Master said, 'The love of virtue should be like the love of beauty (from an inward constraint). Princes of states should not be like fishers for beauty

¹ The latter entry is found in the *Khun Khiu*, under the twelfth year of duke *Âi*. The lady's surname is not found in that *King* at all; and Confucius himself probably suppressed it. Compare what is said in the *Analects*, VII, 30, where the sage, on the same subject, does not appear to more advantage than he does here.

² Who these princes were, or what were the circumstances of the case, is not known.

(in the families) below them. Hence the superior man keeps aloof from beauty, in order to constitute a rule for the people. Thus male and female, in giving and receiving, do not allow their hands to touch; in driving his wife in a carriage, a husband advances his left hand; when a young aunt, a sister, or a daughter has been married, and returns (to her father's house), no male can sit on the same mat with her; a widow should not wail at night; when a wife is ill, in asking for her, the nature of her illness should not be mentioned:—in this way it was sought to keep the people (from irregular connexions); and yet there are those who become licentious, and introduce disorder and confusion among their kindred.'

38. The Master said, 'According to the rules of marriage, the son-in-law should go in person to meet the bride. When he is introduced to her father and mother, they bring her forward, and give her to him¹:—being afraid things should go contrary to what is right. In this way a dyke is raised in the interest of the people; and yet there are cases in which the wife will not go (to her husband's)².'

¹ 'Warning her, at the same time, to see that she revered her husband.'

² We should rather say here—'in which the bride will not go to the bridegroom's.' The commentators do not give instances in point from the records of Chinese history. Perhaps the Master merely meant to say that there were cases in which the bride did not go to her new home in the spirit of reverence and obedience enjoined upon her.

BOOK XXVIII. KUNG YUNG

OR

THE STATE OF EQUILIBRIUM AND HARMONY¹.

SECTION I.

1. What Heaven has conferred is called the Nature. An accordance with this nature is called the Path of Duty; the regulation of this path is called the System of Instruction.

2. The path should not be left for an instant; if it could be left, it would not be the path.

3. On this account the superior man does not wait till he sees things to be cautious, nor till he hears things to be apprehensive.

4. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone.

5. When there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, we call it the State of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and all in their due measure and degree, we call it the State of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root (from which grow all the human actings) in the world; and this Harmony is the universal path (in which they should all proceed).

6. Let the State of Equilibrium and Harmony exist in perfection, and heaven and earth

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 42, 43.

would have their (right) places, (and do their proper work), and all things would be nourished (and flourish)¹.

7. *Kung-nt*² said, 'The superior man (exhibits) the state of equilibrium and harmony³; the small

¹ These six short paragraphs may be considered a summary of the Confucian doctrine, and a sort of text to the sermon which follows in the rest of the Treatise;—the first chapter of it. The commencing term, Heaven, gives us, vaguely, the idea of a supreme, righteous, and benevolent Power; while 'heaven and earth,' in paragraph 6, bring before us the material heaven and earth with inherent powers and capabilities, by the interaction of which all the phenomena of production, growth, and decay are produced. Midway between these is Man; and nothing is wanting to make a perfectly happy world but his moral perfection, evidenced by his perfect conformity to the right path, the path of duty. 'The superior man,' in paragraph 3, has evidently the moral signification of the name in its highest degree. He is the man 'who embodies the path (體道之人).' The description of him in paragraph 4, that 'he is watchful over himself when alone,' is, literally, that 'he is watchful over his solitariness,—his aloneness,' that 'solitariness' being, I conceive, the ideal of his own nature to which every man in his best and highest moments is capable of attaining.

² See the introductory notice of Book XXV.

³ Formerly I translated this by 'The superior man (embodies) the course of the mean.' Zottoli gives for it, 'Sapiens vir tenet medium;' Rémusat, 'Le sage tient invariablement le milieu,' and 'Sapiens medio constat.' The two characters *Kung yung* (中庸), however, are evidently brought on from the preceding chapter, *yung* (庸) being used instead of the *ho* (和) in paragraphs 5 and 6. In the *Khang-hsi* dictionary, we find that *yung* is defined by *ho*, among other terms, with a reference to a remark of *K'ang Hsi*ün, preserved by *Lü Teh-ming*, that 'the Book is named the *Kung Yung*, because it records the practice of the *Kung Ho*.' *K'ang* was obliged to express himself so, having defined the *yung* of the title by another *yung* (用), meaning 'use' or 'practice.' But both *kung* and *yung* are adjectival terms used substantively.

man presents the opposite of those states. The superior man exhibits them, because he is the superior man, and maintains himself in them; the small man presents the opposite of them, because he is the small man, and exercises no apprehensive caution.'

8. The Master said, 'Perfect is the state of equilibrium and harmony! Rare have they long been among the people who could attain to it!'

9. The Master said, 'I know how it is that the Path is not walked in. The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. The worthy go beyond it, and the unworthy do not come up to it. There is nobody but eats and drinks; but they are few who can distinguish the flavours (of what they eat and drink)¹.'

10. The Master said, 'Ah! how is the path untrodden!'

11. The Master said, 'Was not Shun grandly wise? Shun loved to question others, and to study their words though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad (in them), and displayed what was good. He laid hold of their two extremes, determined the mean² between them, and used it in (his government of) the people. It was this that made him Shun!'

12. The Master said, 'Men all say, "We are wise;" but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, not one of them knows how to escape. Men all say, "We are wise;" but when they have chosen the state of equilibrium and harmony, they are not able to keep in it for a round month.'

¹ Men eat and drink without knowing why or what.

² Here *Kung* has the signification of 'the mean,' the just medium between two extremes.

13. The Master said, 'This was the character of Hui :—Having chosen the state of equilibrium and harmony, when he found any one thing that was good, he grasped it firmly, wore it on his breast, and did not let it go¹.'

14. The Master said, 'The kingdom, its states, and clans may be perfectly ruled ; dignities and emoluments may be declined ; but the state of equilibrium and harmony cannot be attained to.'

15. 3ze-lû² asked about fortitude. 16. The Master said, 'Do you mean the fortitude of the South, the fortitude of the North, or your fortitude ?' 17. To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others ; and not to return conduct towards one's self which is contrary to the right path :—this is the fortitude of the South, and the good man makes it his study. 18. To lie under arms, and to die without regret :—this is the bravery of the North, and the bold make it their study. 19. Therefore, the superior man cultivates a (friendly) harmony, and is not weak ;—how firm is he in his fortitude ! He stands erect in the middle, and does not incline to either side ;—how firm is he in his fortitude ! If right ways prevail in (the government of his state), he does not change from what he was in retirement ;—how firm is he in his fortitude ! If bad ways prevail, he will die sooner than change ;—how firm is he in his fortitude !'

20. The Master said, 'To search for what is

¹ 3ze-hui was Yen Yüan, Confucius' favourite disciple.

² 3ze-lû was K'ung Yü, another celebrated disciple, famous for his bravery. 'Your fortitude,' in paragraph 16, is probably the fortitude which you ought to cultivate, that described in paragraph 19.

mysterious¹, and practise marvellous (arts), in order to be mentioned with honour in future ages :—this is what I do not do. 21. The good man tries to proceed according to the (right) path, but when he has gone half-way, he abandons it ;—I am not able (so) to stop. 22. The superior man, acting in accordance with the state of equilibrium and harmony, may be all unknown and unregarded by the world, but he feels no regret :—it is only the sage who is able for this².

23. ‘The way of the superior man reaches far and wide, and yet is secret. 24. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it ; but in its utmost reaches there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice ; but in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage cannot attain to. 25. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find things in their action with which to be dissatisfied³.

26. ‘Therefore, if the superior man were to speak (of this way) in its greatness, nothing in the world would be able to contain it ; and if he were to speak of it in its smallness, nothing in the world would be

¹ This is translated from a reading of the text, as old as the second Han dynasty.

² With this ends the second chapter of the Treatise, in which the words of Confucius are so often quoted ; specially it would appear, to illustrate what is meant by ‘the state of equilibrium and harmony.’ Yet there is a great want of definiteness and practical guidance about the utterances.

³ Who does not grumble occasionally at the weather, and disturbances apparently of regular order in the seasons ?

found able to divide it. 27. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 5),

“Up to heaven flies the hawk;
Fishes spring in the deep,”

telling how (the way) is seen above and below.

28. The way of the superior man may be found in its simple elements among common men and women, but in its utmost reaches it is displayed in (the operations of) heaven and earth¹.

29. The Master said, ‘The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a path which is far from what their nature suggests, it should not be considered the Path. 30. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xv, ode 5),

“In hewing an axe-shaft, in hewing an axe-shaft,
The pattern is not far off.”

We grasp one axe-handle to hew the other; but if we look askance at it, we still consider it far off.

31. Therefore the superior man governs men according to their humanity; and when they change (what is wrong), he stops. 32. Fidelity to one’s self and the corresponding reciprocity are not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others. 33. In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I, *K’hiu*², as yet attained.—To

¹ With this chapter commences, it is commonly and correctly held, the third part of the Treatise, intended to illustrate what is said in the second paragraph of it, that ‘the path cannot be left for an instant.’ The author proceeds to quote sayings of Confucius to make his meaning clear, but he does so ‘in a miscellaneous way,’ and so as to embrace some of the widest and most difficult exercises of Chinese thought.

² The name first given to Confucius by his parents.

serve my father as I would require my son to serve me, I am not yet able ; to serve my ruler as I would require my minister to serve me, I am not yet able ; to serve my elder brother as I would require a younger brother to serve me, I am not yet able ; to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me, I am not yet able. 34. In the practice of the ordinary virtues, and attention to his ordinary words, if (the practice) be in anything defective, (the superior man) dares not but exert himself ; if (his words) be in any way excessive, he dares not allow himself in such license. His words have respect to his practice, and his practice has respect to his words. 35. Is not the superior man characterised by a perfect sincerity ?

36. ' The superior man does what is proper to the position in which he is ; he does not wish to go beyond it. In a position of wealth and honour, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honour. In a position of poverty and meanness, he does what is proper to a position of poverty and meanness. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper in such a situation. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper in such a position. The superior man can find himself in no position in which he is not himself. 37. In a high situation, he does not insult or oppress those who are below him ; in a low situation, he does not cling to or depend on those who are above him.

38. ' He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others ; and thus none feel dissatisfied with him. Above, he does not murmur against Heaven ; below, he does not find fault with men. 39. Therefore the superior man lives quietly and calmly, waiting for the

appointments (of Heaven); while the mean man does what is full of risk, looking out for the turns of luck.' 40. The Master said, 'In archery we have something like (the way of) the superior man. When the archer misses the centre of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself.

41. 'The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in travelling, when to go far we must traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height we must begin from the lower ground. 42. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, i, ode 4, 7, 8),

"Children and wife we love;
Union with them is sweet,
As lute's soft strain, that soothes our pain.
How joyous do we meet!
But brothers more than they
Can satisfy the heart.
'Tis their accord does peace afford,
And lasting joy impart.
For ordering of your homes,
For joy with child and wife,
Consider well the truth I tell;—
This is the charm of life!"

43. The Master said, 'How complacent are parents (in such a state of things)!'

44. The Master said, 'How abundant and rich are the powers possessed and exercised by Spiritual Beings! We look for them, but do not see them; we listen for, but do not hear them; they enter into all things, and nothing is without them¹. 45. They

¹ We hardly see the relevancy of pars. 44-47 as illustrating the

cause all under Heaven to fast and purify themselves, and to array themselves in their richest dresses in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the left and right (of their worshippers). 46. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 7),

“The Spirits come, but when and where,
No one beforehand can declare.
The more should we not Spirits slight,
But ever feel as in their sight.”

47. ‘Such is the manifestness of what is minute. Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!’

48. The Master said, ‘How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was that of the son of Heaven; his riches were all within the four seas; his ancestral temple enjoyed his offerings; his descendants preserved (those to) himself. 49. Thus it was that with his great virtue he could not but obtain his position, his riches, his fame, and his long life. 50. Therefore Heaven, in

statement that ‘the path cannot be left.’ They bear rather on the next statement of the first chapter, the manifestness of that which is most minute, and serve to introduce the subject of ‘sincerity,’ which is dwelt upon so much in the last part of the Treatise. But what are the Spirits or Spiritual Beings that are spoken of? In paragraphs 45, 46, they are evidently the spirits sacrificed to in the ancestral temple and spirits generally, according to our meaning of the term. The difficulty is with the name in paragraph 44, the Kwei Shān there. Rémusat renders the phrase simply by ‘les esprits,’ and in his Latin version by ‘spiritus genii que,’ as also does Zottoli. Wylie gives for it ‘the Spiritual Powers.’ Of course K’au Hsi and all the Sung scholars take it, according to their philosophy, as meaning the phenomena of expansion and contraction, the displays of the Power or Powers, working under Heaven, in nature.

producing things, is sure to be bountiful to them according to their qualities. 51. Thus it nourishes the tree that stands flourishing, and that which is ready to fall it overthrows. 52. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 5, 1),

“What brilliant virtue does our king,
Whom all admire and love, display!
People and officers all sing
The praise of his impartial sway.
Heaven to his sires the kingdom gave,
And him with equal favour views,
Heaven's strength and aid will ever save
The throne whose grant it oft renews.”

Hence (we may say that) he who is greatly virtuous is sure to receive the appointment (of Heaven).’

53. The Master said, ‘It is only king Wăn of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was king Kî, and his son was king Wû. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it. 54. King Wû continued the line and enterprise of kings Thái, Kî, and Wăn. Once for all he buckled on his armour, and got possession of all under heaven; and all his life he did not lose the illustrious name of being that possessor. His dignity was that of the son of Heaven; his riches were all within the four seas; his ancestral temple enjoyed his offerings; and his descendants preserved those to himself. 55. It was in his old age that king Wû received the appointment (to the throne), and the duke of Kâu completed the virtuous achievements of Wăn and Wû. He carried back the title of king to Thái and Kî, sacrificing also to all the dukes before them with the ceremonies of the son

of Heaven. And the practice was extended as a rule to all the feudal princes, the Great officers, all other officers, and the common people. If the father were a Great officer, and the son an inferior officer, the former was buried with the ceremonies due to a Great officer, and sacrificed to with those due by an inferior officer. If the father were an ordinary officer, and the son a Great officer, the burial was that of an ordinary officer, and the sacrifices those of a Great officer. The one year's mourning extended up to Great officers; the three years' mourning extended to the son of Heaven (himself). In the mourning for a father or mother no difference was made between the noble and the mean;—it was one and the same for all.'

56. The Master said, 'How far-extending was the filial piety of king Wû and the duke of Kâu! Now filial piety is the skilful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skilful carrying on of their undertakings. In spring and autumn¹ they repaired and beautified the temple-halls of their ancestors, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their dresses, and presented the offerings of the several seasons. 57. By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they maintained the order of their ancestors sacrificed to, here on the left, there on the right, according as they were father or son; by arranging the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished between the more noble and the less; by the arrangement of the various services, they made a distinction of the talents and virtue of

¹ Two seasons, instead of the four, as in the title of the *K'zun K'hiu*.

those discharging them ; in the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to the superiors, and thus something was given to the lowest to do ; at the (concluding) feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years. 58. They occupied the places (of their forefathers) ; practised their ceremonies ; performed their music ; showed their respect for those whom they honoured ; and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they served them when alive, and served the departed as they would have served them if they had been continued among them :—all this was the perfection of filial duty.

59. 'By the ceremonies of the border sacrifices (to Heaven and Earth) they served God, and by those of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their forefathers¹. 60. If one understood the ceremonies of the border sacrifices and the meaning of the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, it would be as easy for him to rule a state as to look into his palm².'

¹ The phraseology of this paragraph and the next is to be taken in accordance with the usage of terms in the chapters on Sacrifices.

² With this ends, according to the old division of the Treatise, followed by the *Khien-lung* editors, the first section of it ; and with it, we may say, ends also the special quotation by the author of the words of Confucius to illustrate what is said in the first chapter about the path being never to be left. The relevancy of much of what we read from paragraph 24 downwards to the purpose which it is said to serve, it is not easy for us to appreciate. All that the Master says from paragraph 48 seems rather to belong to a Treatise on Filial Piety than to one on the States of Equilibrium and Harmony.

SECTION II.

1. Duke Āi asked about government¹. The Master said, 'The government of Wăn and Wû is exhibited in (the Records),—the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men, and their government would (again) flourish; but without the men, their government must cease. 2. With the (right) men the growth of government is rapid, (just as) in the earth the growth of vegetation is rapid. 3. Government is (like) an easily-growing rush². 4. Therefore the exercise of government depends on (getting) the proper men. 5. (Such) men are to be got by (the ruler's) own character. That character is to be cultivated by his pursuing the right course. That course is to be cultivated by benevolence. 6. Benevolence is (the chief element in) humanity³, and the greatest exercise of it is in the love of relatives. Righteousness is (the accordance of actions with) what is right, and the greatest exercise of it is in the honour paid to the worthy. The decreasing

¹ A considerable portion of this chapter, with variations and additions, is found in the Narratives of the School, forming the 17th article of that compilation. It may very well stand by itself; but the author of the *Kung Yung* adopted it, and made it fit into his own way of thinking.

² Literally, 'a typha or a phragmites.' Such is *Kû Hsi*'s view of the text. The old commentators took a different view, which appears to me, and would appear to my readers, very absurd.

³ Literally, 'Benevolence is Man (仁者人也);' a remarkable saying, found elsewhere in the *LĪ KĪ*, and also in Mencius. The value of it is somewhat marred by what follows about 'righteousness' and 'propriety.'

measures in the love of relatives, and the steps in the honour paid to the worthy, are produced by (the principle of) propriety. 7. When those in inferior situations do not obtain (the confidence of) their superiors, the people cannot be governed successfully¹. 8. Therefore the wise ruler should not neglect the cultivation of his character. Desiring to cultivate his character, he should not neglect to serve his parents. Desiring to serve his parents, he should not neglect to know men. Desiring to know men, he should not neglect to know Heaven. 9. The universal path for all under heaven is five-fold, and the (virtues) by means of which it is trodden are three. There are ruler and minister; father and son; husband and wife; elder brother and younger; and the intercourse of friend and friend:—(the duties belonging to) these five (relationships) constitute the universal path for all. Wisdom, benevolence, and fortitude:—these three are the universal virtues of all. That whereby these are carried into exercise is one thing². 10. Some are born with the knowledge of these (duties); some know them by study; and some know them as the result of painful experience. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to one and the same thing. 11. Some practise them with the ease of nature; some for the sake of their advantage; and some by

¹ This short sentence is evidently out of place. It is found again farther on in its proper place. It has slipped in here by mistake. There is a consent of opinion, ancient and modern, on this point.

² 'One thing;' literally 'one,' which might be translated 'singleness,' meaning, probably, the 'solitariness' of chapter i, or the 'sincerity' of which we read so often in the sequel.

dint of strong effort. But when the work of them is done, it comes to one and the same thing¹.

12. The Master said, 'To be fond of learning is near to wisdom; to practise with vigour is near to benevolence; to know to be ashamed is near to fortitude. He who knows these three things, knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with its states and families.

13. 'All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow:—the cultivation of themselves; the honouring of the worthy; affection towards their relatives; respect towards their great ministers; kind and sympathetic treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as their children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the states.

14. 'By (the ruler's) cultivation of himself there is set up (the example of) the course (which all should pursue); by his honouring of the worthy, he will be preserved from errors of judgment; by his showing affection towards his relatives, there will be no dissatisfaction among his uncles and brethren; by respecting the great ministers he will be kept from mistakes; by kindly treatment of the whole body of officers, they will be led to make the most

¹ After this, it follows in the 'Narratives:—The duke said, 'Your words are admirable, are perfect; but I am really stupid and unable to fulfil them.'

grateful return for his courtesies; by dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they will be drawn to exhort one another (to what is good); by encouraging the resort of artisans, his wealth for expenditure will be rendered sufficient; by indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they will come to him from all quarters; by his kindly cherishing of the princes of the states, all under heaven will revere him.

15. 'The adjustment of all his thoughts, purification, arraying himself in his richest dresses, and the avoiding of every movement contrary to the rules of propriety;—this is the way in which (the ruler) must cultivate his own character. Discarding slanderers, keeping himself from (the seductions of) beauty, making light of riches and honouring virtue:—this is the way by which he will encourage the worthy. Giving his relatives places of honour, and large emolument, and entering into sympathy with them in their likes and dislikes:—this is the way by which he can stimulate affection towards relatives. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their functions and execute their orders:—this is the way by which he will stimulate his Great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:—this is the way by which he will stimulate (the body of) his officers. Employing them (only) at the regular times and making the imposts light:—this is the way by which he will stimulate the people. Daily examinations and monthly trials, and rations and allowances in proportion to the work done:—this is the way in which he will stimulate the artisans. Escorting them on their departure, and meeting them on their coming, commending the good among them and showing pity to the incom-

petent:—this is the way in which he will manifest his indulgent treatment of men from a distance. Continuing families whose line of succession has been broken, reviving states that have ceased to exist, reducing confusion to order, supporting where there is peril; having fixed times for receiving the princes themselves and their envoys; sending them away after liberal treatment and with liberal gifts, and requiring from them small offerings on their coming:—this is the way in which he will cherish with kindness the princes of the states.

16. 'All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have these nine standard rules to attend to. That whereby they are carried into exercise is one thing. In all things success depends on previous preparation; without such preparation there is failure. If what is to be spoken be determined beforehand, there will be no stumbling in the utterance. If the things to be done be determined beforehand, there will be no difficulty with them. If actions to be performed be determined beforehand, there will be no difficulty with them. If actions to be performed be determined beforehand, there will be no sorrow or distress in connexion with them. If the courses to be pursued be determined beforehand, the pursuit of them will be inexhaustible¹.

17. 'When those in inferior situations do not

¹ The 'one thing' in this paragraph carries us back to the same phrase in paragraph 9. If we confine our attention to this paragraph alone, we shall say, with K'ang and Ying-tâ, 'the one thing' is the 'preparation beforehand,' of which it goes on to speak; and it seems to be better not to grope here for a more mysterious meaning.

obtain (the confidence of) their superiors, the people cannot be governed successfully.

18. 'There is a way to obtain (the confidence of) the superior;—if one is not believed in by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his superior. There is a way to secure being believed in by his friends;—if he be not in submissive accord with his parents, he will not be believed in by his friends. There is a way to secure submissive accord with parents;—if one, on turning his thoughts in on himself, finds that he has not attained to the perfection of his nature¹, he will not be in submissive accord with his parents. There is a way to secure the perfection of the nature;—if a man have not a clear understanding of what is good, he will not attain to that perfection.

19. 'Perfection of nature is characteristic of Heaven. To attain to that perfection belongs to man. He who possesses that perfection hits what is right without any effort, and apprehends without any exercise of thought;—he is the sage² who

¹ Literally, 'that he is not sincere,' which is Mr. Wylie's rendering; or, as I rendered it in 1861, 'finds a want of sincerity.' But in the frequent occurrence of 誠 in the 'Sequel of the Treatise,' 'sincerity' is felt to be an inadequate rendering of it. Zottoli renders the clause by 'Si careat veritate, integritate,' and says in a note, '誠 est naturalis entis perfectio, quae rei convenit juxta genuinum Creatoris protypon, quaeque a creatore infunditur; proindeque est rei veritas, seu rei juxta veritatem perfectio.' It seems to me that this ideal perfection, as belonging to all things, which God made 'good,' is expressed by 善 in the last clause; and that the realisation of that perfection by man, as belonging to his own nature, is the work of 誠, and may be spoken of as actually and fully accomplished, or in the process of being accomplished. It is difficult with our antecedent knowledge and opinions to place ourselves exactly in the author's point of view.

² 聖人, — Rémusat, Zottoli, and many give for this name

naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to perfection is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast.

20. 'He extensively studies what is good ; inquires accurately about it ; thinks carefully over it ; clearly discriminates it ; and vigorously practises it. While there is anything he has not studied, or in what he has studied there is anything he cannot (understand), he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything he has not asked about, or anything in what he has asked about that he does not know, he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything he has not thought over, or anything in what he has thought about that he does not know, he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything which he has not tried to discriminate, or anything in his discrimination that is not clear, he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything which he has not practised, or any want of vigour so far as he has practised, he will not intermit his labour.

'If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts ; if another succeed by ten, he will use a thousand. Let a man proceed in this way, and though stupid, he is sure to become intelligent ; though weak, he is sure to become strong.'

21. The understanding (of what is good), springing from moral perfection, is to be ascribed to the nature ; moral perfection springing from the under-

'sanctus vir,' 'un saint,' 'the holy man.' I prefer, after all, to adhere to the rendering, 'le sage,' 'the sage.' The sage is the ideal man ; the saint is the man sanctified by the Spirit of God. Humanity predominates in the former concept ; Divinity in the latter. The ideas of morality and goodness belong to both names. See Mencius, VII, ix, 25, for his graduation of the appellations of good men.

standing (of what is good) is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the perfection, and there shall be the understanding; given the understanding, and there shall be the perfection¹.

22. It is only he of all under heaven who is entirely perfect that can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can also give the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can also give the same to the natures of animals and things². Able to give their full development to these, he can assist the transforming and nourishing operations of heaven and earth. Capable of assisting those transforming and nourishing operations, he can form a ternion with heaven and earth.

23. Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots (of goodness in his nature)³, till he becomes morally perfect. This perfection will then obtain embodiment; embodied, it will be manifested; manifested, it will become brilliant; brilliant,

¹ With this paragraph there commences the last chapter of the Treatise. 3ze-sze, it is said, takes up in it the commencing utterances in paragraph 19, and variously illustrates and prosecutes them. From the words 'nature and instruction' it is evident how he had the commencing chapter of the Treatise in his mind.

² The text is simply 'the nature of things;' but the word 'things' (物) comprehends all beings besides man. Zottoli's '*rerum natura*' seems quite inadequate. Rémusat's Latin version is the same; his French is '*la nature des choses*.' Wylie says, 'the nature of other objects.' This chapter has profoundly affected all subsequent philosophical speculation in China. The ternion of 'Heaven, Earth, and Man' is commonly called San 3hâi (三才), 'the Three Powers.'

³ The character in the text here is a difficult one :—*k'k'û* (曲),

it will go forth in action ; going forth in action, it will produce changes ; producing changes, it will effect transformations. It is only he of all under heaven who is entirely perfect that can transform.

24. It is characteristic of him who is entirely perfect that he can foreknow. When a state or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be lucky omens, and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. They will be seen in the tortoise-shell and stalks¹ ; they will affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good is sure to be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Hence, he who is entirely perfect is like a Spirit².

meaning 'crooked,' often used as the antithesis of 'straight ;' but the title of the first Book in this collection shows that it need not be used only of what is bad. In that case, the phrase 致曲 would mean—'carries to the utmost what is bad.' Zottoli's rendering of it by 'promovere declinatam naturam' is inadmissible. Nor can we accept Rémusat's 'diriger efforts vers une seule vertu,' which Wylie follows, merely substituting 'object' for 'vertu.' See the introduction on the title of the first Book. Very much to the point is an illustration by the scholar Pâi Lū :—'Put on stone on a bamboo shoot, or where it would show itself, and it will travel round the stone and come out crookedly at its side.' So it is with the good nature, whose free and full development is repressed.

¹ These were the two principal methods of divination practised from very ancient times. The stalks were those of the *Parmica Sibirica* ; of which I possess a bundle brought from the tomb of Confucius in 1873. It is difficult to say anything about 'the four limbs,' which were to Kǎng 'the four feet of the tortoise.'

² 'The Spirit-man' is, according to Mencius' graduation, an advance on the Sage or Holy man, one whose action is mysterious and invisible, like the power of Heaven and Earth working in nature. Chinese predicates about him could not go farther.

25. Perfection is seen in (its possessor's) self-completion; and the path (which is its embodiment), in its self-direction.

26. Perfection is (seen in) the beginning and end of (all) creatures and things. Without this perfection there would be no creature or thing.

27. Therefore the superior man considers perfection as the noblest of all attainments.

28. He who is perfect does not only complete himself; his perfection enables him to complete all other beings also. The completion of himself shows the complete virtue of his nature; the completion of other beings shows his wisdom. (The two) show his nature in good operation, and the way in which the union of the external and internal is effected.

29. Hence, whenever he exercises it, (the operation) is right.

30. Thus it is that entire perfection is unresting; unresting, it continues long; continuing long, it evidences itself; evidencing itself, it reaches far; reaching far, it becomes large and substantial; large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.

31. By being large and substantial it contains (all) things. By being high and brilliant, it over-spreads (all) things. By reaching far and continuing long, it completes (all) things. By its being so large and substantial, it makes (its possessor) the co-equal of earth; by its height and brilliancy, it makes him the co-equal of heaven; by its reaching far and continuing long, it makes him infinite.

32. Such being his characteristics, without any manifestation he becomes displayed; without any movement he effects changes; without any exertion

he completes. The way of heaven and earth may be completely described in one sentence :—

33. They are without any second thought, and so their production of things is inexhaustible.

34. The characteristics of heaven and earth are to be large ; to be substantial ; to be high ; to be brilliant ; to be far-reaching ; to be long-continuing.

35. There now is this heaven ; it is only this bright shining spot, but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. There is this earth ; it is only a handful of soil, but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwá and the Yo, without feeling the weight, and contains the rivers and seas without their leaking away. There is this mountain ; it looks only the size of a stone, but when contemplated in all its altitude the grass and trees are produced on it, birds and beasts dwell on it, and the precious things which men treasure up are found in it. There is this water ; it appears only a ladleful, but, when we think of its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanadons, dragons, fishes, and turtles are produced in them, and articles of value and sources of wealth abound in them.

36. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, sect. 1, ode 2),

‘ The ordinances of Heaven,

How profound are they and unceasing !’

intimating that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven.
(And again) :—

‘ Oh ! how illustrious

Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wán !’

intimating that it was thus that king Wăn was the accomplished (king), by his singleness unceasing.

37. How great is the course of the sage ! Like an overflowing flood it sends forth and nourishes all things ! It rises up to the height of heaven.

38. How complete is its greatness ! It embraces the three hundred usages of ceremony, and the three thousand modes of demeanour. It waits for the right man, and then it is trodden. Hence it is said, 'If there be not perfect virtue, the perfect path cannot be exemplified.'

39. Therefore the superior man honours the virtuous nature, and pursues the path of inquiry and study (regarding it); seeking to carry it out in its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the exquisite and minute points (which it embraces); raising it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to be found in the way of equilibrium and harmony. He cherishes his old knowledge so as (continually) to be acquiring new, and thus manifests an honest, generous, earnestness in the esteem and practice of all propriety

40. Therefore, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. If the state is well-governed, his words are able to promote its prosperity ; and if it be ill-governed, his silence is sufficient to secure forbearance (for himself).

41. Is not this what is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 6, 4),

'Intelligent is he and wise,
Protecting his own person?'

42. The Master said, 'Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment ; let one who is

in a low situation be fond of arrogating a directing power; let one who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity;—on all who act thus calamity is sure to come.'

43. To no one but the son of Heaven does it belong to discuss the subject of ceremonial usages; to fix the measures; and to determine (the names of) the written characters.

44. Now, throughout the whole kingdom, carriages have all wheels of the same breadth of rim; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.

45. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he should not presume to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he have not the throne, he in the same way should not presume to make ceremonies or music.

46. The Master said, 'I might speak of the ceremonies of Hsiâ, but *K'hi* could not sufficiently attest (my words). I have learned the ceremonies of Yin, and they are preserved in Sung. I have learned the ceremonies of *K'âu*, and they are now used. I follow *K'âu*.'

47. If he who attains to the sovereignty of all the kingdom attach the due importance to (those) three points¹, there are likely to be few errors (among the people).

48. However excellent may have been (the regulations of) those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence. Not commanding credence, the people

¹ What are those three points? The old interpretations said,—'The ceremonies of the three kings;' *K'û Hsî* thought they were the three things in paragraph 43;—which is more likely.

would not follow them. However excellent might be those of one in an inferior station, they would not be honoured. Not honoured, they would not command credence. Not commanding credence, the people would not follow them.

49. Therefore the course of the superior man is rooted in his own character and conduct, and attested by the multitudes of the people. He examines (his institutions) by comparison with those of the founders of the three dynasties, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before heaven and earth, and there is nothing in them contrary to (their mode of operation). He presents himself with them before Spiritual Beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages hence, and has no misgivings. That he can present himself with them before Spiritual Beings, without any doubts about them arising, shows that he knows Heaven; that he is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages hence, without any misgivings, shows that he knows men.

50. Therefore the movements of the superior man mark out for ages the path for all under heaven; his actions are the law for ages for all under heaven; and his words are for ages the pattern for all under heaven. Those who are far from him look longingly for him, and those who are near are never weary of him.

51. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, sect. 2, ode 3),

‘There in their own states are they loved,
Nor tired of are they here;
Their fame through lapse of time shall grow,
Both day and night, more clear.’

Never has a superior man obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom who did not correspond to this description.

52. *Kung-ní* handed down (the views of) *Yáo* and *Shun* as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed (the ways) of *Wăn* and *Wû*, taking them as his model. Above, he adopted as his law the seasons of heaven; and below, he conformed to the water and land.

53. He may be compared to heaven and earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another; the courses (of the seasons and of the sun and moon) proceed without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river-currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

54. It is only he possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a strong hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the mean, and correct, fitted to command respect; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.

55. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due seasons these (qualities).

56. All-embracing is he and vast, like heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like an abyss. He shows himself, and the people all revere him ; he speaks, and the people all believe him ; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. In this way his fame overspreads the Middle kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach ; wherever the strength of man penetrates ; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains ; wherever the sun and moon shine ; wherever frosts and dews fall ; all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honour and love him. Hence it is said, 'He is the equal of Heaven¹.'

57. It is only he among all under heaven who is entirely perfect that can adjust and blend together the great standard duties of all under heaven, establish the great fundamental principles of all, and know the transforming and nourishing operations of heaven and earth.

58. How shall this individual have any one beyond himself on whom he depends ? Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he ! Call him an abyss, how deep is he ! Call him Heaven, how vast is he !

59. Who can know him but he who is indeed quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of sagely wisdom, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing heavenly virtue ?

60. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 3, 1),

¹ It was the old opinion that in this part of the Treatise we have his grandson's eloquent eulogium of Confucius, and I agree with that opinion. Yet I have not ventured to translate the different parts of it in the past tense. Let it be read as the description of the ideal sage who found his realisation in the Master.

'Over her embroidered robe she wears a (plain) garment;'

expressing how the wearer disliked the display of the beauty (of the robe). Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment (of his virtue), while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the small man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin.

61. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet not to produce satiety; preferring a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognised; seeming mild and simple, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested¹. He, we may be assured, will enter (the innermost recesses of) virtue.

62. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, iv, ode 8, 11),

'Though they dive to the bottom, and lie there,
They are very clearly seen.'

Therefore the superior man internally examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and no occasion for dissatisfaction with himself.

63. That wherein the superior man cannot be equalled is simply this,—his (work) which other men do not see. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 7),

'When in your chamber, 'neath its light,
Maintain your conscience pure and bright.'

¹ That is how the ruler's character acts on the people as the wind on grass and plants.

64. Therefore the superior man, even when he is not acting, has the feeling of reverence ; and when he does not speak, he has the feeling of truthfulness. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, ode 2),

‘ These offerings we set forth without a word,
Without contention, and with one accord,
To beg the presence of the honoured lord.’

65. Therefore the superior man does not use rewards, and the people are stimulated (to virtue); he does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, sect. 1, ode 4),

‘ What is most distinguished is the being virtuous;
It will secure the imitation of all the princes.’

66. Therefore the superior man being sincerely reverential, the whole kingdom is made tranquil. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 7, 7),

‘ I am pleased with your intelligent virtue,
Not loudly proclaimed, nor pourtrayed.’

67. The Master said, ‘ Among the appliances to transform the people, sounds and appearances (may seem to) have a trivial effect. But it is said in another ode (III, iii, ode 6, 6),

“ Virtue is light as a hair.”

68. ‘ But a hair will still admit of comparison (as to its size). In what is said in another ode (III, i, ode 1, 7),

“ The doings of high Heaven
Have neither sound nor odour,”

we have the highest description (of transforming virtue).’

BOOK XXIX. PIÃO KÍ

OR

THE RECORD ON EXAMPLE¹.

1. These were the words of the Master :—‘ Let us return².’ The superior man, in obscurity, yet makes himself manifest ; without giving himself any airs, his gravity is acknowledged ; without the exercise of severity, he inspires awe ; without using words, he is believed.

2. The Master said, ‘ The superior man takes no erroneous step before men, nor errs in the expression of his countenance, nor in the language of his speech. Therefore his demeanour induces awe, his countenance induces fear, and his words produce confidence. It is said in *The Punishments of Fû* (*The Shû*, V, xxvii, 11) : “ They were all reverence and caution. They had no occasion to make choice of words in reference to their conduct.”’

3. The Master said, ‘ The dress and the one worn over it do not take the place, the one of the other, it being intimated to the people thereby that they should not trouble or interfere with one another.’

4. The Master said, ‘ When a sacrifice has come to the point of greatest reverence, it should not be immediately followed by music. When the dis-

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 44, 45.

² Compare *Analects*, V, 22. When Confucius thus spoke, he was accepting his failure in the different states, and saying in effect that his principles and example would ultimately win their way, without his being immediately successful.

cussion of affairs at court has reached its utmost nicety, it should not be immediately followed by an idle indifference.'

5. The Master said, 'The superior man is careful (in small things), and thereby escapes calamity. His generous largeness cannot be kept in obscurity. His courtesy keeps shame at a distance.'

6. The Master said, 'The superior man, by his gravity and reverence, becomes every day stronger (for good); while indifference and want of restraint lead to a daily deterioration. The superior man does not allow any irregularity in his person, even for a single day;—how should he be like (a small man) who will not end his days (in honour)?'

7. The Master said, 'Vigil and fasting are required (as a preparation) for serving the spirits (in sacrifice); the day and month in which to appear before the ruler are chosen beforehand:—these observances were appointed lest the people should look on these things without reverence.'

8. The Master said, '(The small man) is familiar and insolent. He may bring death on himself (by being so), and yet he stands in no fear¹.'

9. The Master said, 'Without the interchange of the formal messages, there can be no reception of one party by another; without the presenting of the ceremonial (gifts), there can be no interview (with a superior):—these rules were made that the people might not take troublesome liberties with one another! It is said in the Yí, "When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time,

¹ The text of this short paragraph is supposed to be defective.

that is troublesome, and I do not instruct the troublesome¹.”

10. These were the words of the Master:—
‘(Humanity, of which the characteristic is) Benevolence, is the Pattern for all under Heaven; Righteousness is the Law for all under Heaven; and the Reciprocations (of ceremony) are for the Profit of all under Heaven.’

11. The Master said, ‘When kindness is returned for kindness, the people are stimulated (to be kind). When injury is returned for injury, the people are warned (to refrain from wrong-doing). It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 26):—

“Answers to every word will leap,
Good deeds their recompense shall reap.”

‘It is said in the *Thâi Kíá* (*Shû*, IV, v, sect. 2, 2),
“Without the sovereign, the people cannot enjoy repose with one another; without the people, the sovereign would have none to rule over in the four quarters (of the kingdom).”’

12. The Master said, ‘They who return kindness for injury are such as have a regard for their own persons. They who return injury for kindness are men to be punished and put to death².’

13. The Master said, ‘Under heaven there is only a man (here and there) who loves what is proper to humanity without some personal object in the

¹ See the explanation of the 4th Hexagram, *Mãng*, vol. xvi, pp. 64, 65,—with this paragraph ends the first section of the Treatise. It seems to be extended to exhibit the necessity of reverence in the superior man, who is to be an example to others.

² Comparing this utterance with the decision of Confucius in the *Analects*, XIV, 36, *Khân Hào* thinks it doubtful that we have here the sentiment or words of the sage.

matter, or who hates what is contrary to humanity without being apprehensive (of some evil). Therefore the superior man reasons about the path to be trodden from the standpoint of himself, and lays down his laws from the (capabilities of the) people.'

14. The Master said, '(The virtues of) humanity appear in three ways. (In some cases) the work of humanity is done, but under the influence of different feelings. In these, the (true character of the) humanity cannot be known; but where there is some abnormal manifestation of it, in those the true character can be known¹. Those to whom it really belongs practise it easily and naturally; the wise practise it for the sake of the advantage which it brings; and those who fear the guilt of transgression practise it by constraint.

15. Humanity is the right hand; pursuing the right path is the left². Humanity comprehends the (whole) man; the path pursued is the exhibition of righteousness. Those whose humanity is large, while their exhibition of righteousness is slight, are loved and not honoured. Those whose righteousness is large and their humanity slight are honoured and not loved.

16. There is the perfect path, the righteous path, and the calculated path. The perfect path conducts to sovereignty; the righteous path, to chieftaincy; and the calculated path, to freedom from error and failure³.

¹ In illustration of this point there is always adduced the case of the duke of Kâu, who erred, under the influence of his brotherly love, in the promotion of his brothers that afterwards joined in rebellion.

² The right hand is used most readily and with greatest effect.

³ With this paragraph ends the second section of the Treatise. It

17. These were the words of the Master :—‘ Of humanity there are various degrees ; righteousness is now long, now short, now great, now small. Where there is a deep and compassionate sympathy in the heart, we have humanity evidenced in the love of others ; where there is the following of (old) examples, and vigorous endeavour, we have the employment of humanity for the occasion. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 6),

“ Where the Fǎng-water flows,
Is the white millet grown.
So his men Wû employed,
And his merit was shown !
To his sons he would leave
His wise plans and his throne
And our Wû was a sovereign true.”

‘ That was a humanity extending to many generations. In the Lessons from the States it is said (I, iii, ode 10, 3),

“ Person slighted, life all blighted,
What can the future prove ?”

‘ That was a humanity extending (only) to the end of the speaker’s life.’

18. The Master said, ‘ Humanity is like a heavy vessel, and like a long road. He who tries to lift the vessel cannot sustain its weight ; he who travels the road cannot accomplish all its distance. There is nothing that has so many different degrees as (the course of) humanity ; and thus he who tries to nerve himself to it finds it a difficult task. Therefore when

is occupied with the subject of humanity, or the whole nature of man, of which benevolence is the chief element and characteristic, as the most powerful form of example.

the superior man measures men with the scale of righteousness, he finds it difficult to discover the men (whom he seeks); when he looks at men and compares them with one another, he knows who among them are the more worthy.'

19. The Master said, 'It is only one man (here and there) under heaven, who with his heart of hearts naturally rests in humanity. It is said in the Tâ Yâ, or Major Odes of the Kingdom (III, iii, ode 6, 6),

"Virtue is very light,—
Light as a hair, yet few can bear
The burden of its weight.
'Tis so; but Kung Shan, as I think,
Needs not from virtue's weight to shrink
That other men defies.
Aid from my love his strength rejects.
(If the king's measures have defects,
What's needed he supplies)."

'In the Hsião Yâ, or Minor Odes of the Kingdom, it is said (II, vii, ode 4, 5),

"To the high hills I looked;
The great way I pursued."

The Master said, 'So did the poets love (the exhibition of) humanity. (They teach us how) one should pursue the path of it, not giving over in the way, forgetting his age, taking no thought that the years before him will not be sufficient (for his task), urging on his course with earnestness from day to day, and only giving up when he sinks in death.'

20. The Master said, 'Long has the attainment of a perfect humanity been difficult among men! all men err in what they love;—and hence it is easy to

apologise for the errors of those who are seeking this humanity¹.

21. The Master said, 'Courtesy is near to propriety; economy is near to humanity; good faith is near to the truth of things. When one with respect and humility practises these (virtues), though he may fall into errors, they will not be very great. Where there is courtesy, the errors are few; where there is truth, there can be good faith; where there is economy, the exercise of forbearance is easy:—will not failure be rare in the case of those who practise these things? It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 9),

"Mildness and reverence base supply

For virtue's structure, broad and high."

22. The Master said, 'Long has the attainment of perfect humanity been difficult among men; it is only the superior man who is able to reach it. Therefore the superior man does not distress men by requiring from them that which (only) he himself can do, nor put them to shame because of what they cannot do. Hence the sage, in laying down rules for conduct, does not make himself the rule, but gives them his instructions so that they shall be able to stimulate themselves to endeavour, and have the feeling of shame if they do not put them in practice. (He enjoins) the rules of ceremony to regulate the conduct; good faith to bind it on them; right demeanour to set it off; costume to distinguish it; and friendship to perfect it:—he desires in this way to produce a uniformity of the people. It is said in the Hsiào Yâ (V, ode 5, 3),

¹ This seems to be the meaning, about which there are various opinions.

“Shall they unblushing break man’s law?
Shall they not stand of Heaven in awe?”

23. ‘Therefore, when a superior man puts on the dress (of his rank), he sets it off by the demeanour of a superior man. That demeanour he sets off with the language of a superior man; and that language he makes good by the virtues of a superior man. Hence the superior man is ashamed to wear the robes, and not have the demeanour; ashamed to have the demeanour, and not the style of speech; ashamed to have the style of speech, and not the virtues; ashamed to have the virtues, and not the conduct proper to them. Thus it is that when the superior man has on his sackcloth and other mourning, his countenance wears an air of sorrow; when he wears the square-cut dress and square-topped cap, his countenance wears an air of respect; and when he wears his mail-coat and helmet, his countenance says that he is not to be meddled with. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 2, 2),

“Like pelicans, upon the dam
Which stand, and there their pouches cram,
Unwet the while their wings,
Are those who their rich dress display,
But no befitting service pay,
Intent on meanest things¹.”

¹ With this paragraph ends the 3rd section of the Book. ‘It speaks,’ say the *Khien-lung* editors, ‘of the perfect humanity, showing that to rest naturally in this is very difficult, yet it is possible by self-government to advance from the practice of it, with a view to one’s advantage, to that natural resting in it; and by means of instruction to advance from the practice of it by constraint to the doing so for its advantages.’

24. These were the words of the Master :—‘ What the superior man calls righteousness is, that noble and mean all have the services which they discharge throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven himself ploughs the ground for the rice with which to fill the vessels, and the black millet from which to distil the spirit to be mixed with fragrant herbs, for the services of God, and in the same way the feudal lords are diligent in discharging their services to the son of Heaven.’

25. The Master said, ‘ In serving (the ruler) his superior, (an officer) from his position has great opportunity to protect the people; but when he does not allow himself to have any thought of acting as the ruler of them, this shows a high degree of humanity. Therefore, the superior man is courteous and economical, seeking to exercise his benevolence, and sincere and humble in order to practise his sense of propriety. He does not himself set a high value on his services; he does not himself assert the honour due to his person. He is not ambitious of (high) position, and is very moderate in his desires. He gives place willingly to men of ability and virtue. He abases himself and gives honour to others. He is careful and in fear of doing what is not right. His desire in all this is to serve his ruler. If he succeed in doing so (and obtaining his ruler’s approbation), he feels that he has done right; if he do not so succeed, he still feels that he has done right :—prepared to accept the will of Heaven concerning himself. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 5, 6),

“ How the creepers close twine
Round the branches and stems!

Self-possession and ease

Robed our prince as with gems.

Happiness increased unsought,

Nor by crooked ways was bought."

Might not this have been said of Shun, Yü, king Wăn, or the duke of Kâu, who had the great virtues (necessary) to govern the people, and yet were (only) careful to serve their rulers? It is said again in the same Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 2, 3),

"This our king Wăn in all his way

Did watchful reverence display,

With clearest wisdom serving God,

Who, pleased to see the course he trod,

Him with great favour crowned.

His virtue no deflection knew,

But always to the right was true.

The states beheld, and all approved.

With loyal ardour stirred and moved,

Wăn as their head they owned."

26. The Master said, 'The practice of the ancient kings in conferring honorary posthumous names was to do honour to the fame (of the individuals); but they limited themselves to one excellence (in the character);—they would have been ashamed if the name had been beyond the actions (of the life). In accordance with this the superior man does not himself magnify his doings, nor himself exalt his merit, seeking to be within the truth; actions of an extraordinary character he does not aim at, but seeks to occupy himself only with what is substantial and good. He displays prominently the good qualities of others, and celebrates their merits, seeking to place himself below them in the scale of worth. There-

fore, although the superior man abases himself, yet the people respect and honour him.'

27. The Master said, 'The meritorious services of Hâu Kî were the greatest of all under Heaven; could his hands and feet be described as those of an ordinary man? But all which he desired was that his doings should be superior to his name, and therefore he said of himself that he was simply "a man useful to others¹."

28. These were the words of the Master:—
'Difficult is it to attain to what is called the perfect humanity of the superior man! It is said in the Book of Poetry²,

"The happy and courteous prince

Is the father and mother of his people."

Happy, he (yet) vigorously teaches them; courteous, he makes them pleased and restful. With all their happiness, there is no wild extravagance; with all their observance of ceremonial usages, there is the feeling of affection. Notwithstanding his awing gravity, they are restful; notwithstanding his son-like gentleness, they are respectful. Thus he causes

¹ With this ends the 4th section of the Book, 'On the service of his ruler by an inferior, showing the righteousness between them, and how that righteousness completes the humanity.'

² The ode here quoted from can hardly be any other than III, ii, 7. The first character in the former of the two lines in that ode, however, is only the phonetic part of that in the text here, and the meaning of 'force or vigour' which the writer employs seems incongruous with that belonging to it in the Shih, where it occurs several times, in combination with the character that follows it, used as a binomial adjective. I need not say more on the difficulty. The meaning of the paragraph as a whole is plain:—'The superior man,' the competent ruler, must possess, blended together, the strength of the father and the gentleness of the mother.

them to honour him as their father, and love him as their mother. There must be all this before he is the father and mother of his people. Could any one who was not possessed of perfect virtue be able to accomplish this ?

29. 'Here now is the affection of a father for his sons ;—he loves the worthy among them, and places on a lower level those who do not show ability ; but that of a mother for them is such, that while she loves the worthy, she pities those who do not show ability :—the mother deals with them on the ground of affection and not of showing them honour ; the father, on the ground of showing them honour and not of affection. (So we may say of) water and the people, that it manifests affection to them, but does not give them honour ; of fire, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection ; of the ground, that it manifests affection, but does not give honour ; of Heaven, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection ; of the nature conferred on them, that it manifests affection, but does not give them honour ; and of the manes of their departed, that they give honour, but do not manifest affection¹.'

30. 'Under the Hsiâ dynasty it was the way to give honour to the nature conferred on men ; they served the manes of the departed, and respected Spiritual Beings, keeping them at a distance, while they brought the people near, and made them loyal ; they put first the (attraction) of emolument, and last the terrors of power ; first rewards, and then punishments ; showing their affection (for the people), but

¹ The ruler-father of the previous paragraph is here contrasted with the ordinary parent ; but the second half of the text is not easily translated, and is difficult to comprehend.

not giving them honour. The bad effect on the people was, that they became stupid and ignorant, proud and clownish, and uncultivated, without any accomplishments.

‘Under the Yin dynasty, they honoured Spiritual Beings, and led the people on to serve them; they put first the service of their manes, and last the usages of ceremony; first punishments, and then rewards; giving honour (to the people), but not showing affection for them. The bad effect on the people was, that they became turbulent and were restless, striving to surpass one another without any sense of shame.

‘Under the *K'âu* dynasty, they honoured the ceremonial usages, and set a high value on bestowing (favours); they served the manes and respected Spiritual Beings, yet keeping them at a distance; they brought the people near, and made them loyal; in rewarding and punishing they used the various distinctions and arrangements of rank; showing affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effects on the people were, that they became fond of gain and crafty; were all for accomplishments, and shameless; injured one another, and had their moral sense obscured.’

31. The Master said, ‘It was the method of the Hsiâ dynasty not to trouble (the people) with many notices; it did not require everything from the people, nor (indeed) look to them for great things; and they did not weary of the affection (between them and their rulers).

‘Under the Yin dynasty, they did not trouble (the people) with ceremonies, and yet they required everything from them.

‘Under the *K'âu* dynasty, they were rigorous with

the people, and not troublesome in the services to the spirits; but they did all that could be done in the way of awards, conferring rank, punishments, and penalties.'

32. The Master said, 'Under the methods of (the dynasties of the line of) Yü¹ and Hsiâ, there were few dissatisfactions among the people. The methods of Yin and Kâu were not equal to the correction of their errors.'

33. The Master said, 'The plain and simple ways of (the dynasties of the line of) Yü and Hsiâ, and the multiplied forms of Yin and Kâu were both extreme. The forms of Yü and Hsiâ did not neutralise their simplicity, nor was there sufficient simplicity under Yin and Kâu to neutralise their forms.'

34. These were the words of the Master :—
'Although in subsequent ages there arose (distinguished sovereigns), yet none of them succeeded in equalling the Tí of (the line of) Yü. He ruled over all under heaven, but, while he lived, he had not a selfish thought, and when he died, he did not make his son great (with the inheritance). He treated the people as his sons, as if he had been their father and mother. He had a deep and compassionate sympathy for them (like their mother); he instructed them in loyalty and what was profitable (like their father). While he showed his affection for them, he also gave them honour; in his natural restfulness, he was reverent; in the terrors of his majesty, he yet was loving; with all his riches, he was yet observant

¹ 'The line of Yü' was Shun, who succeeded to Yáo. He did not found a dynasty; but he is often spoken of as if he had done so.

of the rules of propriety; and his kindness was yet (rightly) distributed. The superior men who stood in connexion with him gave honour to benevolence, and stood in awe of righteousness; were ashamed of lavish expenditure, and set little store by their accumulation of substance; loyal, but not coming into collision with their sovereign; righteous, and yet deferential to him; accomplished, and yet restful; generous, and yet discriminating. It is said in Fû on Punishments, "He sought to awe the people by his virtue, and all were filled with dread; he proceeded to enlighten them by his virtue, and all were enlightened." Who but the Tî of (the line of) Yü could have been able to do this¹? (Shû, V, xxvii, 7.)

35. These were the words of the Master:—'(A minister) in the service of his ruler will first offer his words of counsel, and (when they are accepted), he will bow and voluntarily offer his person to make good his sincerity. Hence, whatever service a ruler requires from his minister, the minister will die in support of his words. In this way the salary which he receives is not obtained on false pretences, and the

¹ With this paragraph it is understood that the 5th section of the Book ends, 'illustrating the perfect humanity of the superior man in the government of the people.' Every fresh section thus far, however, has commenced with a—'These were the words of the Master,' and in no case ended with that phraseology. Paragraph 35 rightly begins with it. It is out of place, or rather misplaced, in this; and belongs, I believe, to another place, as we shall see. We should read here, instead of it, 'The Master said.' With regard to the greater part of the section, its genuineness is liable to suspicion, and is indeed denied by the majority of commentators, including the *K'ien-lung* editors. The sentiments are more Tâoistic than Confucian. See the introductory notice of the Book.

things for which he can be blamed will be more and more few.'

36. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, when great words are spoken to (and accepted by) him, great advantages (to the state) may be expected from them; and when words of small importance are presented to him, only small advantages are to be looked for. Therefore a superior man will not for words of small importance receive great emolument, nor for words of great importance small emolument. It is said in the Yĭ, "He does not enjoy his revenues in his own family, (but at court); there will be good fortune¹."

37. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, (a minister) should not descend to subjects beneath him, nor set a high value on speeches, nor accept an introduction from improper individuals. It is said in the Hsião Yâ (II, vi, ode 3, 4),

"Your duties quietly fulfil,
And hold the upright in esteem,
With friendship fast;
So shall the Spirits hear your cry,
You virtuous make, and good supply
In measure vast."

38. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, for (a minister) whose place is remote from (the court), to remonstrate is an act of sycophancy; for one whose place is near the ruler, not to remonstrate is to hold his office idly for the sake of gain.'

39. The Master said, 'Ministers near (the ruler) should (seek to) preserve the harmony (of his

¹ See the Thwan, or first of the appendixes of the Yĭ, on Hexagram 26, vol. xvi, page 234.

virtues). The chief minister should maintain correctness in all the departments. Great ministers should be concerned about all parts (of the kingdom).'

40. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler there should be the wish to remonstrate, but no wish to set forth (his faults). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 4, 4),

"I cherish those men in my heart;—
Might not my words my love impart?
No;—if the words were once but spoken,
The charm of love might then be broken.
The men shall dwell within my heart,
Nor thence with lapse of time depart."

41. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, when it is difficult to advance and easy to retire, there is a proper order maintained in the occupancy of places (according to the character of their holders). If it were easy to advance and difficult to retire, there would be confusion. Hence a superior (visitor) advances (only) after he has been thrice bowed to, while he retires after one salutation on taking leave; and thus confusion is prevented.'

42. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, if (an officer), after thrice leaving the court (on his advice being rejected), do not cross the borders (of the state), he is remaining for the sake of the profit and emolument. Although men say that he is not trying to force (his ruler), I will not believe them.'

43. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, (an officer) should be careful at the beginning, and respectful to the end.'

44. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, one may be in a high position or a low, rich or poor, to live or to die (according to the will of the ruler),

but he should not allow himself to be led to do anything contrary to order or right.'

45. The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, if it be in the army, (an officer) should not (try to) avoid labour and danger; if it be at court, he should not refuse a mean office. To occupy a post and not perform its business is contrary to order and right. Hence, when a ruler employs him on any duty, if it suit his own mind, he thinks carefully of what it requires, and does it; if it do not suit his own mind, he thinks the more carefully of what it requires, and does it. When his work is done, he retires from office:—such is an officer who well discharges his duty. It is said in the Yt (vol. xvi, p. 96), "He does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs."'

46. The Master said, 'It is only the son of Heaven who receives his appointment from Heaven; officers receive their appointments from the ruler. Therefore if the ruler's orders be conformed (to the mind of Heaven), his orders to his ministers are also conformed to it; but if his orders be contrary (to that mind), his orders to them are also contrary to it. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iv, ode 5, 2),

"How strong the magpies, battling fierce,
Each one to keep his mate!
How bold the quails together rush,
Upon the same debate!
This woman, with no trait that's good,
Is stained by vicious crime,
Yet her I hail as marchioness;—
Alas! woe worth the time!"'

47. The Master said, 'The superior man does not consider that his words (alone) show fully what a

man is. Hence when right ways prevail in the kingdom, the branches and leaves (from the stem) of right conduct appear; but when there are not right ways in the kingdom, the branches and leaves of (mere) words appear.

‘In accordance with this, when a superior man is by the side of one occupied with the mourning rites, and cannot contribute to assist him in his expenditure, he does not ask him what it is; when he is by the side of one who is ill, and cannot supply him with food, he does not ask what he would like; when he has a visitor for whom he cannot provide a lodging, he does not ask where he is staying. Hence the intercourse of a superior man may be compared to water, and that of a small man, to sweet wine. The superior man seems insipid, but he helps to perfection; the small man seems sweet, but he leads to ruin. It is said in the Hsião Yá (II, v, ode 4, 3),

“He trusts the rogues that lie and sneak,
And make things worse;
Their duties shirked, their words so meek
Prove but a curse.”’

48. The Master said¹, ‘The superior man does not confine himself to praising men with his words; and so the people prove loyal to him. Thus, when he asks about men who are suffering from cold, he clothes them; or men who are suffering from want, he feeds them; and when he praises a man’s good qualities, he (goes on to) confer rank on him. It

¹ With this commences the 7th section of the Book, but it commences irregularly with ‘the Master said,’ instead of ‘The words of the Master were;’ see note above, on page 344.

is said in the Lessons from the States (I, xiv, ode 1, 3),

“I grieve; would they but lodge with me!”’

49. The Master said, ‘Dissatisfaction and calamity will come to him whose lip-kindness is not followed by the corresponding deeds. Therefore the superior man will rather incur the resentment arising from his refusal than the charge of promising (and then not fulfilling). It is said in the Lessons from the States (V, ode 4, 6),

“I wildly go; I’ll never know

Its smiles and chat again,

To me you clearly swore the faith,

Which now to break you’re fain.

Could I foresee so false you’d be?

And now regrets are vain.”’

50. The Master said, ‘The superior man is not affectionate to others with his countenance (merely) as if, while cold in feeling, he could assume the appearance of affection. That belongs to the small man, and stamps him as no better than the thief who makes a hole in the wall.’

51. The Master said, ‘What is required in feeling is sincerity; in words, that they be susceptible of proof¹.’

52. These were the words of the Master :—‘The ancient and intelligent kings of the three dynasties all served the Spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth, but invariably used the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. They did not presume to employ their own private judgment in the service of God.

¹ Here ends the 7th section, showing how the superior man strives to be sincere in his words and looks.

In this way they did not transgress in the matter of the day or month, for they did not act contrary to the result of the divination. The tortoise and the shell were not consulted in succession on the same point.

53. 'For the great (sacrificial) services there were (fixed) seasons and days; for the smaller services these were not fixed. They fixed them by divination (near the time). (In divining) about external affairs they used the odd days; and for internal affairs, the even. They did not go against the (intimations of the) tortoise-shell and stalks.'

54. The Master said, 'With the victims perfect, the proper ceremonies and music, and the vessels of grain, (they sacrificed); and thus no injury was received from the Spiritual Powers, and the people had no occasion for dissatisfaction.'

55. The Master said, 'The sacrifices of Hâu Kí were easily provided. His language was reverential; his desires were restricted; and the blessings received extended down to his descendants. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 1, 8),

"Hâu Kí founded the sacrifice;
No one has failed in it,
Down to the present day."

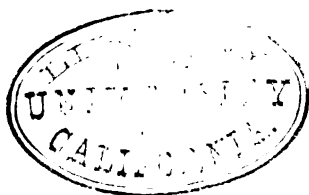
56. The Master said, 'The shell and stalks employed by the great men¹ must be held in awe and reverence. But the son of Heaven does not divine by the stalks. While the princes are keeping guard in their states, they divine by the stalks. When the son of Heaven is on the road (travelling), he (also) divines by the stalks. In any other state but their

¹ The king and feudal lords.

own they do not divine by the stalks. They consult the tortoise-shell about the chambers and apartments of the houses (where they lodge). The son of Heaven does not so consult the tortoise-shell; he stays always in the grand ancestral temples.'

57. The Master said, 'The men of rank, on occasions of special respect, use their sacrificial vessels. On this account they do not fail to observe the set seasons and days, and do not act contrary to the intimations of the shell and stalks; thus seeking to serve with reverence the ruler and their superiors. In this way superiors are not troublesome to the people, and the people do not take liberties with their superiors¹.'

¹ Paragraphs 52 to 57 from the last section of the Book. They are not so interesting as the previous sections, nor do they hang closely together. 'The section,' say the *Khien-lung* editors, 'treats of the two methods of divination, and also of reverence. Reverence is the subject of the first section, and here again it occurs in the end of the Treatise. Reverence is the beginning and end of the learning of the superior man.'



BOOK XXX. 3ZE 1

OR

THE BLACK ROBES¹.

1. These were the words of the Master²:—
'When the superior is easily served, his inferiors are easily known³, and in this case punishments are not numerous (in the state).'

2. The Master said, 'When (the superior) loves the worthy as (the people of old loved him of) the black robes (Shih, I, vii, ode 1), and hates the bad as Hsiang-po (hated them;—II, v, ode 6), then without the frequent conferring of rank the people are stimulated to be good, and without the use of punishments they are all obedient to his orders. It is said in the Tâ Yâ (III, i, ode 1, 7),

"From Wăn your pattern you must draw,
And all the states will own your law."

3. The Master said, 'If the people be taught by lessons of virtue, and uniformity sought to be given to them by the rules of ceremony, their minds will go on to be good. If they be taught by the laws, and uniformity be sought to be given to them by punishments, their minds will be thinking of how

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 45, 46.

² Thus the Book begins as if it were another section of the preceding Treatise.

³ They are 'easily known,' there being nothing in the ruler's method to make them deceitful.

they can escape (the punishment ;—Analects, II, iii). Hence, when the ruler of the people loves them as his sons, they feel to him as a parent; when he binds them to himself by his good faith, they do not turn away from him; when he presides over them with courtesy, their hearts are docile to him. It is said in the Punishments of Fû (Shû, V, xxvii, 3), "Among the people of Miào they did not use orders simply, but the restraints of punishment. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws." In this way their people became bad, and (their rulers) were cut off for ever (from the land).'

4. The Master said, 'Inferiors, in serving their superiors, do not follow what they command, but what they do. When a ruler loves anything, those below him are sure to do so much more. Therefore the superior should by all means be careful in what he likes and dislikes. This will make him an example to the people¹.'

5. The Master said, 'When Yü had been on the throne three years, the humanity of the common people was in accordance with his ;—was it necessary that all (at court) should be perfectly virtuous? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 7, 1),

"Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master Yin,
And the people all look up to you."

It is said in the Punishments of Fû (V, xxvii, 13), "I, the One man, will have felicity, and the millions of the people will look to you as their sure dependence." It is said in the Tâ Yâ (III, i, ode 9, 3),

¹ This again looks very much as if this Treatise were a continuation of the last.

“King Wû secured the people's faith,
And gave to all the law.”’

6. The Master said, ‘When superiors are fond of showing their humanity, inferiors strive to outstrip one another in their practice of it. Therefore those who preside over the people should cherish the clearest aims and give the most correct lessons, honouring the requirement of their humanity by loving the people as their sons; then the people will use their utmost efforts with themselves to please their superiors. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 2),

“Where from true virtue actions spring,
All their obedient homage bring.”’

7. The Master said, ‘The king's words are (at first) as threads of silk; but when given forth, they become as cords. Or they are (at first) as cords; but when given forth, they become as ropes. Therefore the great man does not take the lead in idle speaking. The superior does not speak words which may be spoken indeed but should not be embodied in deeds; nor does he do actions which may be done in deed but should not be expressed in words. When this is the case, the words of the people can be carried into action without risk, and their actions can be spoken of without risk. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 8),

“Keep on your acts a watchful eye,
That you may scrutiny defy.”’

8. The Master said, ‘The superior man leads men on (to good) by his words, and keeps them (from evil) by (the example of) his conduct. Hence, in speaking, he must reflect on what may be the end of his words, and examine whether there may not be

some error in his conduct; and then the people will be attentive to their words, and circumspect in their conduct. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5),

“Be circumspect in all you say,
And reverent bearing still display.”

It is said in the Tâ Yâ (III, i, ode 1, 4),

“Deep were Wăn’s thoughts, unstained his ways;
His reverence lit its trembling rays.”

9. The Master said, ‘When the heads of the people use no (improper) variations in their dress, and their manners are always easy and unconstrained, and they seek thus to give uniformity to the people, the virtue of the people does become uniform. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 1, 1),

“In the old capital they stood,
With yellow fox-furs plain;
Their manners all correct and good,
Speech free from vulgar stain.
Could we go back to K’âu’s old days,
All would look up to them with praise.”

10. The Master said, ‘When (the ruler) above can be known by men looking at him, and (his ministers) below can have their doings related and remembered, then the ruler has no occasion to doubt his ministers, and the ministers are not led astray by their ruler. The Announcement of Yin says (Shû, IV, vi, 3), “There were I, Yin, and Thang; both possessed the same pure virtue.” It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, 3),

“In soul so steadfast is that princely man,
Whose course for fault or flaw we vainly scan.”

11. The Master said, ‘When the holders of states

and clans give distinction to the righteous and make it painful for the bad, thus showing the people the excellence (they should cultivate), then the feelings of the people do not swerve (to what is evil). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 3, 5),

“Your duties quietly fulfil,
And hold the upright in esteem,
With earnest love.”

12. The Master said, ‘When the highest among men has doubts and perplexities, the common people go astray. When (the ministers) below him are difficult to be understood, the toil of the ruler is prolonged. Therefore when the ruler exhibits clearly what he loves, and thus shows the people the style of manners (they should aim at), and is watchful against what he dislikes, and thereby guards the people against the excesses (of which they are in danger), then they do not go astray.

‘When the ministers are exemplary in their conduct, and do not set a value on (fine) speeches; when they do not try to lead (the ruler) to what is unattainable, and do not trouble him with what cannot be (fully) known, then he is not toiled. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 1),

“Reversed is now the providence of God;
The lower people groan beneath their load.”

It is said in the Hsiáo Yâ (II, v, ode 4, 4),

“They do not discharge their duties,
But only cause distress to the king.”

13. The Master said, ‘When (the measures of) government do not take effect, and the lessons of the ruler do not accomplish their object, (it is because) the giving of rank and emoluments is

unfit to stimulate the people to good, and (the infliction of) punishments and penalties is unfit to make them ashamed (of evil). Therefore (the ruler) above must not be careless in punishing, nor lightly confer rank. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 8), "Deal reverently and understandingly in your infliction of punishments;" and in the Punishments of Fû (Shû, V, xxvii, 12), "He spreads abroad his lessons to avert punishments."

14. The Master said, 'When the great ministers are not on terms of friendly intimacy (with the ruler), and the common people consequently are not restful, this is because the loyalty (of the ministers) and the respect (of the ruler) are not sufficient, and the riches and rank conferred (on the former) are excessive. (The consequence is, that) the great ministers do not discharge their functions of government, and the ministers closer (to the ruler) form parties against them. Therefore the great ministers should by all means be treated with respect; they are examples to the people; and ministers nearer (to the ruler) should by all means be careful;—they direct the way of the people. Let not the ruler consult with inferior officers about greater, nor with those who are from a distance about those who are near to him, nor with those who are beyond the court about those who belong to it. If he act thus, the great ministers will not be dissatisfied; the ministers closer to him will not be indignant; and those who are more remote will not be kept in obscurity. The duke of Sheh in his dying charge said, "Do not by little counsels ruin great enterprises; do not for the sake of a favourite concubine

provoke queen *Kwang*; do not for the sake of a favourite officer provoke your grave officers,—the Great officers or high ministers¹.”

15. The Master said, ‘If the great man be not in affectionate sympathy with (his officers) whom he considers worthy, but give his confidence to others whom he despises, the people in consequence will not feel attached to him, and the lessons which he gives them will be troublesome (and ineffective). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, ii, ode 8),

“As if I were hidden they sought me at first,

At court for a pattern to shine;

’Tis with hatred intense they now bend their
scowls,

And my services curtly decline.”

It is said in the *Kün-khân* (Shû, V, xxiv, 4), “While they have not seen a sage, (they are full of desire) as if they could not get a sight of him; but after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him.”

16. The Master said, ‘A small man is drowned in the water; a superior man is drowned or ruined by his mouth; the great man suffers his ruin from the people;—all suffer from what they have played and taken liberties with. Water is near to men, and yet it drowns them. Its nature makes it easy to play with, but dangerous to approach;—men are easily drowned in it. The mouth is loquacious and

¹ This is an error. The dying counsels referred to were not given by any duke of Sheh (a dependency of *K’û*), but by Wân-fû, duke of *Ûái*, to king *Mû* of *K’âu*. They are found with some slight alterations in the Apocryphal Books of *K’âu* (逸周書), Book VIII, article 1. Confucius would not have fallen into such a mistake.

troublesome ; for words once uttered there is hardly a place of repentance ;—men are easily ruined by it. The people, restricted in their humanity, have vulgar and rude minds ; they should be respected, and should not be treated with contempt ;—men are easily ruined by them. Therefore the superior man should by all means be careful in his dealings with them. It is said in the *Thái K'ia* (*Shû*, III, v, sect. 1, 5, 7), "Do not frustrate the charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the string, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go." It is said in the *Charge to Yüeh* (III, viii, sect. 2, 4), "It is the mouth which gives occasion to shame ; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward) should not be taken (lightly from) their chests ; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself." It is said in the *Thái K'ia* (*Shu*, III, v, sect. 2, 3), "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided ; but from those brought on by one's self there is no escape." It is said in the *Announcement of Yin* (*Shû*, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "I have seen it myself in *Hsiâ* with its western capital, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same."

17. The Master said, 'To the people the ruler is as their heart ; to the ruler the people are as his body. When the heart is composed, the body is at ease ; when the heart is reverent, the body is respectful ; when the heart loves anything, the body is sure to rest in it. (So), when the ruler loves anything, the people are sure to desire it. The

body is the complement of the heart, and a wound in it makes the heart also suffer. So the ruler is preserved by the people, and perishes also through the people. It is said in an ode,

“Once we had that former premier,
His words were wise and pure;
The states and clans by him were at rest,
The chief cities and towns by him were well
regulated,
All the people by him enjoyed their life.
Who (now) holds the ordering of the kingdom?
Not himself attending to the government,
The issue is toil and pain to the people¹.”

It is said in the *K'ün-yâ* (Shû, V, xxv, 5), “In the heat and rain of summer days the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it may be said of them in the great cold of winter.”

18. The Master said, ‘In the service by an inferior of his superior, if his personal character be not correct, his words will not be believed; and in this case their views will not be the same, and the conduct (of the superior) will not correspond (to the advice given to him) ².’

19. The Master said, ‘Words should be capable of proof by instances, and conduct should be conformed to rule; when the case is so, a man’s aim cannot be taken from him while he is alive, nor can his good name be taken away when he is dead. Therefore the superior man, having heard much, verifies it by

¹ This is from an ode not in the *Shih*, and only preserved, so far, here. The three concluding lines, however, are also found in the *Shih*, II, iv, ode 7, 6.

² The meaning of this latter part is matter of dispute.

inquiry, and firmly holds fast (what is proved); he remembers much, verifies it by inquiry, and makes it his own; when he knows it exactly, he carries the substance of it into practice. It is said in the *K'ün-k'ăn* (Shû, V, xxi, 5), "Going out and coming in, seek the judgment of the people about things, till you find a general agreement upon them." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, 1),

"The virtuous man, the princely one,
Is uniformly correct in his deportment."

20. The Master said, 'It is only the superior man who can love what is correct, while to the small man what is correct is as poison. Therefore the friends of the superior man have the definite aims which they pursue, and the definite courses which they hate. In consequence, those who are near at hand have no perplexities of thought about him, and those who are far off, no doubts. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 1, 1),

"For our prince a good mate."

21. The Master said, 'When a man on light grounds breaks off his friendship with the poor and mean, and only on great grounds with the rich and noble, his love of worth cannot be great, nor does his hatred of evil clearly appear. Though men may say that he is not influenced by (the love of) gain, I do not believe them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 4),

"And all the friends assisting you
Behave with reverent mien."

22. The Master said, 'The superior man will not voluntarily remain to share in private acts of kind-

ness not offered on grounds of virtue. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, i, ode 1, 1),

“They love me, and my mind will teach
How duty’s highest aim to reach.”

23. The Master said, ‘If there be a carriage (before you), you are sure (by-and-by) to see the cross-board (in front); if there be a garment, you are sure (in the same way) to see (the traces of) its being worn; if one speaks, you are sure to hear his voice; if one does anything, you are sure to see the result. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 2, 2),

“I will wear them without being weary of them.”

24. The Master said, ‘When one says anything, and immediately proceeds to act it out, his words cannot embellish it; and when one does anything, and immediately proceeds to describe it, the action cannot be embellished. Hence the superior man saying little, and acting to prove the sincerity of his words, the people cannot make the excellence of their deeds greater than it is, nor diminish the amount of their badness¹. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5),

“A flaw in mace of white jade may
By patient toil be ground away;
But for a flaw we make in speech,
What can be done? ’Tis past our reach.”

¹ The excellence and the badness would seem, in the text, to belong to the conduct of the superior man; but to predicate badness of him would be too daring. To justify the view which appears in my translation, the *Khien-lung* editors, in their expansion of the meaning, after ‘the people,’ interpolate ‘who come under the transforming influence of his example.’

It is said in the Hsião Yá (II, iii, ode 5, 8),

“Well does our lord become his place,
And high the deeds his reign have crowned.”

It is said to the Prince Shih (Shû, V, xvi, 11),
“Aforetime, when God beheld the virtue of king
Wăn in the fields of K'âu, he made the great decree
light on his person.”

25. The Master said, ‘The people of the south have a saying that “A man without constancy cannot be a diviner either with the tortoise-shell or the stalks.” This was probably a saying handed down from antiquity. If such a man cannot know the tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can he know other men¹? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 1, 3),

“Our tortoise-shells are wearied out,
And will not tell us anything about the plans.”

The Charge to Yüeh says (Shû, IV, viii, sect. 2, 5, 11),
“Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices. (If they be), how can the people set themselves to correct their ways? If this be sought merely by sacrifices, it will be disrespectful (to the spirits). When affairs come to be troublesome, there ensues disorder; when the spirits are served so, difficulties ensue².”

‘It is said in the Yü, “When one does not conti-

¹ I cannot make anything but this of this sentence, though Khung Ying-tâ takes it differently. The whole paragraph is evidently very corrupt, and even the K'ien-lung editors have put forth all their strength upon it in vain.

² We have here a quotation from the Shû, IV, viii, sect. 2; but it is very different from the textus receptus. All the commentators and critics are at fault upon it; see vol. iii, pp. 115, 116.

nuously maintain his virtue, some will impute it to him as a disgrace¹;—(in the position indicated in the Hexagram.) When one does maintain his virtue continuously (in the other position indicated), this will be fortunate in a wife, but in a husband evil.”

¹ See the symbolism of the 3rd and 5th lines of the Hăng or 32nd Hexagram, vol. xvi, pp. 125-128.

BOOK XXXI. PĀN SANG

OR

RULES ON HURRYING TO MOURNING RITES¹.

1. According to the rules for hurrying to attend the mourning rites, when one first heard that the mourning rites for a relative were going on, he wailed as he answered the messenger², and gave full vent to his sorrow. Having asked all the particulars, he wailed again, with a similar burst of grief, and immediately arranged to go (to the place). He went 100 li a day, not travelling in the night.

2. Only when the rites were those for a father or a mother did he travel while he could yet see the stars, and rested when he (again) saw them³. If it was impossible for him to go (at once)⁴, he assumed the mourning dress, and then went (as soon as he could). When he had passed through the state (where he was), and reached its frontier, he stopped and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. He avoided wailing in the market-place and when near the court. He looked towards the frontier of his own state when he wailed.

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 46, 47.

² The mourner is absent from his state, and a messenger has been sent to tell him of the death. The relative, it is argued, may have been any one within the 'five degrees' of consanguinity.

³ That is, from peep of dawn till the stars came out again after sunset.

⁴ Being restrained by the duties of the commission, with which he was charged by the ruler.

3. When he came to the house, he entered the gate at the left side of it, (passed through the court), and ascended to the hall by the steps on the west. He knelt on the east of the coffin, with his face to the west, and wailed, giving full vent to his grief. He (then) tied up his hair in a knot, bared his arms, and went down from the hall, proceeding to his place on the east, where he wailed towards the west. Having completed the leaping, he covered his arms and put on his sash of sackcloth in the corridor on the east; and after tucking up the ends of his sash, he returned to his place. He bowed to the visitors, leaping with them, and escorted them (to the gate), returning (afterwards) to his place. When other visitors arrived, he bowed to them, leaped with them, and escorted them;—all in the same way.

4. (After this), all the principal mourners¹, with their cousins, went out at the gate, stopping there while they wailed. The gate was then closed, and the director told them to go to the mourning shed².

5. At the next wailing, the day after, they tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing next day, they again tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. On these three days, the finishing the mourning dress, bowing to and escorting the visitors, took place as in the first case.

6. If he who has hurried to be present at the

¹ This seems to mean 'all the sons of the departed.' Of course there was really but one 'chief or host-man,' as in par. 6.

² This takes us by surprise. Did all go to the shed? Were there many sheds?

rites were not the presiding mourner on the occasion¹, then that presiding mourner, instead of him, bowed to the visitors and escorted them.

7. When one hurried to the rites, even where they were less than those for a mother or father, which required the wearing of sackcloth, with even edge or frayed, he entered the gate at the left side of it, and stood in the middle of the court-yard with his face to the north, wailing and giving full vent to his sorrow. He put on the cincture for the head and the sackcloth girdle in the corridor on the east, and repaired to his place, where he bared his arms. Then he wailed along with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. For the wailing on the second day and the third, they wore the cincture and bared the arms. If there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them on their arrival, and escorted them.

The husbands and wives (of the family) waited for him at the wailing-places for every morning and evening, without making any change.

8. When one hurries to the mourning rites for a mother, he wails with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then ties up his hair, bares his arms, descends from the hall, and goes to his station on the east, where, with his face to the west, he wails and goes through the leaping. After that, he covers his arms and puts on the cincture and sash in the corridor on the east. He bows to the visitors, and escorts them (to the gate) in the same way as if he had hurried to the rites for his

¹ This seems to imply that, in the preceding paragraphs, he had been the principal mourner.

father. At the wailing on the day after, he does not tie up his hair.

9. When a wife¹ hurried to the mourning rites, she went up to the hall by the (side) steps on the east, and knelt on the east of the coffin with her face to the west. There she wailed, giving full vent to her grief. Having put on the lower cincture on the east², she went to the station (for wailing), and there leaped alternately with the presiding mourner.

10. When one, hurrying to the mourning rites, did not arrive while the coffin with the body was still in the house, he first went to the grave; and there kneeling with his face to the north, he wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. The principal mourners have been waiting for him (at the grave), and have taken their stations,—the men on the left of it, and the wives on the right. Having gone through the leaping, and given full expression to his sorrow, he tied up his hair, and went to the station of the principal mourners on the east. In his headband of sackcloth, and sash with the ends tucked up, he wailed and went through the leaping. He then bowed to the visitors, and returned to his station, going (again) through the leaping, after which the director announced that the business was over³.

11. He then put on the cap, and returned to the

¹ An aunt, sister, or daughter of the family, who was married, and hurried to the family home from her husband's.

² I suppose this was in the corridor on the east. The rule was for the women to dress in an apartment; but a distinction was made between those residing in the house, and those who returned to it for the occasion.

³ It is understood that this mourner was the eldest and rightful son of the deceased.

house. There he entered at the left side of the door, and, with his face to the north, wailed and gave full vent to his sorrow. He then tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going to his station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them, and escorted them. When other visitors afterwards arrived, he bowed to them, went through the leaping, and escorted them in the same way. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed there and stopped, when the directors instructed them to go to the shed. At the wailing next day, he bound up his hair and went through the leaping. At the third wailing, he did the same. On the third day he completed his mourning dress (as was required). After the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

12. Wherein the usages at the rites for a mother differed from those at the rites for a father, was that there was but one tying up of the hair. After that the cincture was worn to the end of the business. In other respects the usages were the same as at the rites for a father.

13. At the rites for other relations, after those for the mother or father, the mourner who did not arrive while the coffin was in the house, first went to the grave, and there wailed with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture and hempen sash, and went to his station on the east, where he wailed with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. After this he covered his arms; and if there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them away.

If any other visitors afterwards came, he bowed to them, as in the former case, and the director announced that the business was over.

Immediately after he put on the cap, and returned to the house. Entering at the left side of the door, he wailed with his face to the north, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going then to the station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping again. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them.

At the wailing next day, he wore the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb; and at the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

14. When one heard of the mourning rites, and it was impossible (in his circumstances) to hurry to be present at them, he wailed and gave full vent to his grief. He then asked the particulars, and (on hearing them) wailed again, and gave full vent to his grief. He then made a place (for his mourning) where he was, tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Having covered his arms, and put on the higher cincture and his sash with the ends tucked up, he went (back) to his place. After bowing to (any visitors that arrived), he returned to the place, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, he, as the presiding mourner, bowed to them, and escorted them outside the gate, returning then to his station. If any other visitors came afterwards, he bowed to them and went through the leaping, then escorting them as before.

At the wailing next day, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb, wailed, bowed to his visitors, and escorted them as before.

15. If one returned home after the mourning rites had been completed, he went to the grave, and there wailed and went through the leaping. On the east of it, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, put on the cincture for the head, bowed to the visitors, and went (again) through the leaping. Having escorted the visitors, he returned to his place, and again wailed, giving full vent to his grief. With this he put off his mourning. In the house he did not wail. The principal mourner, in his treatment of him, made no change in his dress; and though he wailed with him (at the grave), he did not leap.

16. Wherein at other observances than those for the death of a mother or father, the usages (of such a mourner) differed from the above, were in the cincture for the head and the hempen sash.

17. In all cases where one made a place for his mourning (away from home), if it were not on occasion of the death of a parent, but for some relative of the classes not so nearly related, he went to the station, and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. Having put on the cincture for the head and the girdle on the east, he came back to the station, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He then covered his arms, bowed to the visitors, went back to the station, wailed, and went through the leaping. (After this), he escorted the guests away, and came back to the station, when the director told him to go to the shed. When the fifth wailing

was ended, on the third day, the presiding mourner came forth and escorted the visitors away. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed, and stopped there. The director announced to them that the business was ended. He put on his full mourning-garb, and bowed to the visitors ¹.

18. If the home were far distant from the place which an absent mourner has selected (for his wailing), they completed all their arrangements about dress before they went to it.

19. One hurrying to mourning rites, if they were for a parent, wailed when he looked towards the district (where they had lived); if they were for a relation for whom nine months' mourning was due, he wailed when he could see the gate of his house; if for one to whom five months' mourning was due, he wailed when he got to the door; if for one to whom but three months' mourning was due, he wailed when he took his station.

✓ 20. For one of his father's relations (for whom he did not need to go into mourning) a man wailed in the ancestral temple; for one of his mother or wife's relatives, in the back chamber of the temple; for his teacher, outside the gate of the temple; for a friend, outside the door of the back-chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, having pitched a tent for the occasion. Some say the wailing for a mother's relation was in the temple.

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors think that this last sentence is an erroneous addition to the paragraph. But with other parts of it there are great difficulties, insoluble difficulties, as some of the commentators allow.

21. In all cases where a station was selected, away from the house of mourning, for paying funeral rites, no offerings were put down (for the departed).
- ✓ 22. For the son of Heaven they wailed nine days; for a feudal prince, seven; for a high minister and Great officer, five; for another officer, three.
- ✓ 23. A Great officer, in wailing for the ruler of his state, did not presume to bow to the visitors.
- ✓ 24. Ministers in other states, when they selected a station (for their wailing), did not presume to bow to the visitors.
- ✓ 25. Officers, of the same surname with a feudal prince, (but who were serving in other states), also made a place at which to wail for him (on his death).
- ✓ 26. In all cases where one made a place (at a distance) at which to wail, he bared his arms (only) once.
- ✓ 27. In condoling with (the relations of) an acquaintance (after he has been buried), one first wailed in his house, and afterwards went to the grave, in both cases accompanying the wailing with the leaping. He alternated his leaping with that of the presiding mourner, keeping his face towards the north.
28. At all mourning rites (in a household), if the father were alive, he acted as presiding mourner; if he were dead, and brothers lived together in the house, each presided at the mourning for one of his own family-circle. If two brothers were equally related to the deceased for whom rites were necessary, the eldest presided at those rites; if they were not equally related, the one most nearly so presided.

29. When one heard of the death of a brother or cousin at a distance, but the news did not arrive till the time which his own mourning for him would have taken had expired¹, he (notwithstanding) put on the mourning cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He bowed to his visitors, however, with the left hand uppermost².

30. The only case in which a place was chosen in which to wail for one for whom mourning was not worn, was the death of a sister-in-law, the wife of an elder brother. For a female member of the family who had married, and for whom therefore mourning was not worn, the hempen sash was assumed.

31. When one had hurried to the mourning rites, and a Great officer came (to condole with him), he bared his arms, and bowed to him. When he had gone through the leaping, he covered his arms. In the case of a similar visit from an ordinary officer, he covered his arms, and then bowed to him.

¹ The deceased would have been only in the degree of relationship, to which five months' mourning was assigned.

² The left hand uppermost made the bow one more appropriate to a festive occasion.

BOOK XXXII. WĀN SANG

OR

QUESTIONS ABOUT MOURNING RITES¹.

1. Immediately after his father's death, (the son ✓ put off his cap, and) kept his hair, with the pin in it, in the bag (of silk); went barefoot, with the skirt of his dress tucked up under his girdle; and wailed with his hands across his breast. In the bitterness of his grief, and the distress and pain of his thoughts, his kidneys were injured, his liver dried up, and his lungs scorched, while water or other liquid did not enter his mouth, and for three days fire was not kindled (to cook anything for him). On this account the neighbours prepared for him gruel and rice-water, which were his (only) meat and drink. The internal grief and sorrow produced a change in his outward appearance; and with the severe pain in his heart, his mouth could not relish any savoury food, nor his body find ease in anything pleasant.

2. On the third day there was the (slighter) dressing (of the corpse). While the body was on the couch it was called the corpse; when it was put into the coffin, it was called *xiū*. At the moving of the corpse, and lifting up of the coffin, (the son) wailed and leaped, times without number. Such was the bitterness of his heart, and the pain of his thoughts, so did his grief and sorrow fill his mind and

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 47, 48.

agitate his spirit, that he bared his arms and leaped, seeking by the movement of his limbs to obtain some comfort to his heart and relief to his spirit.

The women could not bare their arms, and therefore they (merely) pushed out the breast, and smote upon their hearts, moving their feet with a sliding, hopping motion, and with a constant, heavy sound, like the crumbling away of a wall. The expression of grief, sorrow, and deep-seated pain was extreme ; hence it is said, ' With beating of the breast and movement of the feet, did they sorrowfully accompany the body ; so they escorted it away, and so did they come back to meet its essential part.'

When (the mourners) went, accompanying the coffin (to the grave), they looked forward, with an expression of eagerness, as if they were following some one, and unable to get up to him. When returning to wail, they looked disconcerted, as if they were seeking some one whom they could not find. Hence, when escorting (the coffin), they appeared full of affectionate desire ; when returning, they appeared full of perplexity. They had sought the (deceased), and could not find him ; they entered the gate, and did not see him ; they went up to the hall, and still did not see him ; they entered his chamber, and still did not see him ; he was gone ; he was dead ; they should see him again nevermore. Therefore they wailed, wept, beat their breasts, and leaped, giving full vent to their sorrow, before they ceased. Their minds were disappointed, pained, fluttered, and indignant. They could do nothing more with their wills ; they could do nothing but continue sad.

3. In presenting the sacrifice (of repose) in the

ancestral temple¹, (the son) offered it (to his parent) in his disembodied state, hoping that his shade would peradventure return (and enjoy it). When he came back to the house from completing the grave, he did not venture to occupy his chamber, but dwelt in the mourning shed, lamenting that his parent was now outside. He slept on the rushes, with a clod for his pillow, lamenting that his parent was in the ground. Therefore he wailed and wept, without regard to time; he endured the toil and grief for three years. His heart of loving thoughts showed the mind of the filial son, and was the real expression of his human feelings.

4. Some one may ask, 'Why does the dressing not commence till three days after death?' and the answer is:—When his parent is dead, the filial son is sad and sorrowful, and his mind is full of trouble. He crawls about and bewails his loss, as if the dead might come back to life;—how can he hurriedly take (the corpse) and proceed to dress it? Therefore, when it is said that the dressing does not begin till after three days, the meaning is, that (the son) is waiting that time to see if (his father) will come to life. When after three days there is no such return, the father is not alive, and the heart of the filial son is still more downcast. (During this space, moreover), the means of the family can be calculated, and the clothes that are necessary can be provided and made accordingly; the relations and connexions who live at a distance can also arrive. Therefore the sages decided in the case ✓

¹ 'Not the structure so called,' says Khung Ying-tâ, 'but the apartment where the coffin had been;'—now serving for the occasion as a temple.

that three days should be allowed, and the rule was made accordingly.

5. Some one may ask, 'How is it that one with the cap on does not bare his arms, and show the naked body?' and the answer is:—The cap is the most honourable article of dress, and cannot be worn where the body is bared, and the flesh exposed. Therefore the cincture for the head is worn instead of the cap, (when the arms are bared).

6. And so, when a bald man does not wear the cincture, and a hunchback does not bare his arms, and a lame man does not leap, it is not that they do not feel sad, but they have an infirmity which prevents them from fully discharging the usages. Hence it is said that in the rites of mourning it is the sorrow that is the principal thing. When a daughter wails, weeps, and is sad, beats her breast, and wounds her heart; and when a son wails, weeps, is sad, and bows down till his forehead touches the ground, without regard to elegance of demeanour, this may be accepted as the highest expression of sorrow.

7. Some one may ask, 'What is the idea in the cincture?' and the reply is:—The cincture is what is worn while uncapped. The Rule says, 'Boys do not wear (even) the three months' mourning; it is only when the family has devolved on one that he does so.' The cincture, we may suppose, was what was worn in the three months' mourning (by a boy). If he had come to be the representative of the family, he wore the cincture, and carried the staff.

8. Some one may ask, 'What is meant by (using) the staff?' and the answer is:—The staff of bamboo

and that of elaeococcus wood have the same meaning. Hence, for a father they used the black staff of bamboo; and for a mother, the square-cut staff, an elaeococcus branch ¹.

9. Some one may say, 'What is meant by (using) the staff?' and the answer is:—When a filial son mourns for a parent, he wails and weeps without regard to the number of times; his endurances are hard for three years; his body becomes ill and his limbs emaciated; and so he uses a staff to support his infirmity.

10. Thus, while his father is alive he does not dare to use a staff, because his honoured father is still living. Walking in the hall, he does not use the staff;—refraining from doing so in the place where his honoured father is. Nor does he walk hastily in the hall,—to show that he is not hurried. Such is the mind of the filial son, the real expression of human feeling, the proper method of propriety and righteousness. It does not come down from heaven, it does not come forth from the earth; it is simply the expression of the human feelings.

¹ On Book XIII, i, 3 the *K'ien-lung* editors say, that the staff of old men was carried with the root up, and the other end down; but the opposite was the case with the mourner's staff. In breaking off a branch from the elaeococcus, the part which has been torn from the stem is cut square and smooth with a knife. The round stem of the bamboo cane is said by *K'ăn Hào* to symbolise heaven, and so is carried for a father; and the square cut end of the dryandria branch, to symbolise earth, and so is used for a mother. But this fanciful explanation seems to be contrary to what is said in the conclusion of the next paragraph.

BOOK XXXIII. FÛ WǎN

OR

SUBJECTS FOR QUESTIONING ABOUT THE MOURNING DRESS¹.

1. The Directory for Mourning says, 'There are cases in which parties wear deep mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear only light.' Such is the mourning for her husband's mother by the wife of the son of a ruler (by a concubine)².

2. 'There are cases in which parties wear light mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear deep mourning.' Such is the mourning of a husband for the father or mother of his wife³.

3. 'There are cases in which parties wear mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, wear none.' Such is the case of the wife of a ruler's

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 48.

² Such a son of a ruler could wear for his mother only the nine months' mourning, as she was but a concubine with an inferior position in the family; but his wife wore mourning for her for a whole year. She was her husband's mother, and the general rule for mourning in such a relation was observed by the wife, without regard to the deceased being only a concubine, and whether the ruler were alive or dead.

³ The wife, of course, observed the three years' mourning for her father or mother; the husband only the three months.

son with the cousins of her husband on the female side ¹.

4. 'There are cases in which parties wear no mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, do wear mourning.' Such is the case of a ruler's son with regard to the father and mother of his wife.

5. The Directory of Mourning says, 'When his mother has been divorced, the son wears mourning for the relatives of the wife whom his father has taken in his mother's place.' When his mother has died ² (without being divorced), a son wears mourning for her relatives. Wearing mourning for his own mother's relatives, he does not do so for those of the step-mother, whom his father may have taken in her place.

6. After the sacrifice at the end of the first year, during the three years' rites, and after the interment has taken place, during those of one year (occurring at the same time), the mourner puts on the old sash of *dolychos* cloth, and the headband of the one year's mourning, wearing (at the same time) the sackcloth of the mourning for nine months.

7. The same thing is done (after the interment) during the nine months' mourning.

8. No change is made (after the interment) during the five months' mourning.

¹ There is no satisfactory account of this case.

² *Khăn Hào* supposed that this mother 'dying' is the wife whom his father has taken in the place of the son's divorced mother. The *Khien-lung* editors rightly point out his error; but it shows how these notices are perplexing, not only to foreigners, but also to native scholars.

9. Where they wore the sash with the roots of hemp wrought into the cloth ¹, they changed it for the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning ².

10. After the sacrifice at the end of a year, if there occurred an occasion for using the hempen sash with the roots cut off, (the mourner) put on the proper band along with the higher cincture. When the cincture was no longer worn, he put off the band. When it was proper to use the band, the rule was to wear it; and when the occasion for it was over, it was put off ³.

11. In the mourning for five months they did not change the cap worn for the sacrifice at the end of a year. If there were occasion to wear the cincture, then they employed the band proper for the mourning of three months or five months; still keeping on the first dolychos sash. The linen of the three months' mourning did not make it necessary to change the dolychos cloth of the five months; nor the linen of the five months to change the dolychos cloth of the nine months. Where the roots were woven with the cloth, they made a change.

12. On occasion of mourning for a minor, if he were of the highest grade or the middle, they changed the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning, assuming it when they had completed the months of these intervening rites. This was done not because of the value set on the linen, but because no change was made at the conclusion of

¹ This was done in the mourning for nine months and for one year; not in that for five months and for three.

² That is, after the sacrifice at the end of the first year.

³ This is supplementary, say the *K'ien-lung* editors, to paragraph 8.

the wailing. They did not observe this rule on the death of a minor of the third or lowest grade.

13. The ruler of a state mourned for the son of Heaven for the three years. His wife observed the rule of a lady of her husband's house who had gone to her own married home in mourning for the ruler¹.

14. The heir-son of a ruler did not wear mourning for the son of Heaven².

15. A ruler acted as presiding mourner at the mourning rites for his wife, his eldest son, and that son's wife.

16. The eldest son of a Great officer, by his proper wife, wore the mourning of an ordinary officer for the ruler, and for the ruler's wife and eldest son.

17. When the mother of a ruler had not been the wife (of the former ruler)³, the body of the ministers did not wear mourning (on her death). Only the officers of the harem, the charioteer and the man-at-arms who sat on the left, followed the example of the ruler, wearing the same mourning as he did.

18. For a high minister or Great officer, (during the mourning rites for him), the ruler wore in his place the coarse glazed linen, and also when he went out (on business not connected with the rites). If it were on business connected with them, he wore also the skin-cap and the band round it. Great officers dressed in the same way for one another. At the mourning rites for their wives, they wore the same dress, when they were going to be present at

¹ That is, for a year.

² To avoid suspicion, say the commentators. I do not see it.

³ She must have been a concubine, or some inferior member of the harem. Various circumstances might have concurred to lead to her son's succession to the state.

those rites ; if they went out (on other business), they did not wear it.

19. In all cases of going to see others, the visitor (being in mourning for his parents) did not put off his headband. Even when he was going to the ruler's court, he did not put it off ; it was only at the ruler's gate that (in certain circumstances) he put off his sackcloth. The Directory of Mourning says, 'A superior man will not take away from others their mourning rites ;' and so it was deemed wrong to put off this mourning.

20. The Directory of Mourning says, 'Crimes are many, but the punishments are only five. The occasions for mourning are many, but there are only five varieties of the mourning dress. The occasions must be arranged, according as they are classed in the upper grade or in the lower.'

BOOK XXXIV. KIEN KWÂN

OR

TREATISE ON SUBSIDIARY POINTS IN MOURNING USAGES¹.

1. What is the reason that the headband worn with the frayed sackcloth, for a father, must be made of the fibres of the female plant?

Those fibres have an unpleasant appearance, and serve to show outwardly the internal distress. The appearance of (the mourners), wearing the sackcloth for a father with its jagged edges, corresponds to those fibres. That of one wearing the sackcloth for a mother with its even edges, corresponds to the fibres of the male plant. That of one wearing the mourning of nine months looks as if (the ebullitions of sorrow) had ceased. For one wearing the mourning of five months or of three, his (ordinary) appearance is suitable.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in the bodily appearance².

2. The wailing of one wearing the sackcloth for his father seems to go forth in one unbroken strain;

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 48, 49.

² The 卣 (苧) is commonly understood to be the female plant of hemp, and the 枲 (枲) the male plant; though some writers reverse the application of the names. The fibres of both are dark coloured, those of the female plant being the darker. The cloth woven of them was also of a coarser texture. All admit that the subject here is the mourning band for the head; the staffs borne in the two cases corresponded in colour to the band.

that of one wearing the sackcloth for a mother is now and then broken ; in the mourning of nine months, after the first burst there are three quavers in it, and then it seems to die away ; in the mourning of five and three months, an ordinary wailing is sufficient.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in the modulations of the voice¹.

3. When wearing the sackcloth for a father, one indicates that he hears what is said to him, but does not reply in words ; when wearing that for a mother, he replies, but does not speak of anything else. During the nine months' mourning, he may speak of other things, but not discuss them ; during that for five months or three months, he may discuss other things, but does not show pleasure in doing so.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in speech.

4. When a mourner has assumed the sackcloth for a father, for three days he abstains from food ; for a mother, for two days. When he has commenced the nine months' mourning, he abstains from three meals ; in that of five months or of three, for two. When an ordinary officer takes part in the dressing (of a friend's corpse), he abstains from one meal. Hence at the mourning rites for a father or mother, when the coffining takes place, (the children) take gruel made of a handful of rice in the morning, and the same quantity in the evening. During all the rites for a mother, they eat coarse rice and drink only water, not touching vegetables or fruits. During the nine months' mourning (the mourners) do not eat pickles or sauces ; during that of five months or three, they do not drink prepared liquor, either new or old.

¹ I have read something of the same kind as this account of the 'wailing' in descriptions of the 'keening' at an Irish wake.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in drinking and eating.

5. In the mourning rites for a parent, when the sacrifice of repose has been presented, and the wailing is at an end, (the mourners) eat coarse rice and drink water, but do not take vegetables or fruits. At the end of a year, when the smaller felicitous sacrifice has been offered, they eat vegetables and fruits. After another year, when the greater sacrifice has been offered, they take pickles and sauces. In the month after, the final mourning sacrifice is offered, after which they drink the must and spirits. When they begin to drink these, they first use the must; when they begin to eat flesh, they first take that which has been dried.

6. During the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) occupied the mourning shed, and slept on straw with a clod for his pillow, without taking off the headband or girdle. If they were for a mother (only, and the father were still alive), he occupied the unplastered chamber, (sleeping on) typha rushes with their tops cut off, but not woven together. During the mourning for nine months, there was a mat to sleep on. In that for five months or for three, it was allowed to use a bedstead.

These were the manifestations of sorrow given in the dwelling-places.

7. At the mourning rites for a parent, after the sacrifice of repose, and when the wailing was concluded, the (inclined) posts of the shed were set up on lintels, and the screen (of grass) was clipped, while typha rushes, with the tops cut off, but not woven together, (were laid down for a mat). At the end of a year, and when the smaller felicitous sacrifice had

been offered, (the son) occupied the unplastered chamber, and had a mat to sleep on. After another year, and when the greater felicitous sacrifice had been offered, he returned to his old sleeping apartment. Then, when the final mourning sacrifice was offered, he used a bedstead.

8. The mourning with jagged edges was made with 3 shǎng of hempen threads, each shǎng containing 81 threads; that with even edge, with 4, 5, or 6 shǎng; that for the nine months' mourning with 7, 8, or 9 shǎng; that for the five months, with 10, 11, or 12 shǎng; that for the three months, with 15 shǎng less the half¹. When the thread was manipulated and boiled, no such operation was performed on the woven cloth, and it was called sze (or the material for the mourning of three months).

These were the manifestations of sorrow shown in the fabrics of the different mournings.

9. The sackcloth with jagged edges (worn at first) was made with 3 shǎng, but after the sacrifice of repose when the wailing was over, this was exchanged for a different fabric made with 6 shǎng, while the material for the cap was made with 7 shǎng. The coarse sackcloth for a mother was made with 4 shǎng, exchanged for a material made with 7 shǎng, while the cap was made with one of 8 shǎng.

When the hempen dress is put away (after the burial), grass-cloth is worn, the sash of it being made of triple twist. At the end of the year, and when the first felicitous sacrifice has been offered, (the son) puts on the cap of dyed silk proper to that

¹ K'ü Hsü says, 'Inexplicable!'

sacrifice, and the red collar, still retaining the sash and headband. A son begins at the head, and a woman with the girdle, in putting off their mourning. What is the reason? Because a man considers the head the most important to him, and a woman the waist. In laying aside the mourning, they began with the most important; in changing it, with what was least.

At the end of the second year, and when the greater felicitous sacrifice had been offered, the cap and dress of plain hempen cloth was assumed. After the concluding sacrifice of mourning, in the next month, the black cap and silk of black and white were put on, and all the appendages of the girdle were assumed.

10. Why is it that in changing the mourning they (first) changed what was the lightest? During the wearing of the sackcloth with jagged edges for a father, if when, after the sacrifice of repose and the end of the wailing, there came occasion to wear the even-edged sackcloth for a mother, that, as lighter, was considered to be embraced in the other, and that which was most important was retained.

After the sacrifice at the end of the year, when there occurred occasion for the mourning rites of nine months, both the sackcloth and grass-cloth bands were worn.

During the wearing of the sackcloth for a mother, when, after the sacrifice of repose and the end of the wailing, there came occasion to wear the mourning for nine months, the sackcloth and grass-cloth bands were worn together.

The grass-cloth band with the jagged-edged sackcloth and the hempen band with the even-edged

sackcloth were of the same value. The grass-cloth with the even-edged sackcloth and the hempen band of the nine months' mourning were of the same value. The grass-cloth with the nine months' mourning and the hempen band with that of five months were of the same value. The grass-cloth with the five months' mourning and the hempen with that of three months were of the same value. So they wore them together. When they did so, that which was the lighter was changed first.

BOOK XXXV. SAN NIEN WÂN

OR

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MOURNING FOR THREE YEARS¹.

1. What purposes do the mourning rites for three years serve?

The different rules for the mourning rites were established in harmony with (men's) feelings. By means of them the differences in the social relations are set forth, and the distinctions shown of kindred as nearer or more distant, and of ranks as more noble or less. They do not admit of being diminished or added to; and are therefore called 'The unchanging rules.'

2. The greater a wound is, the longer it remains; ✓
and the more pain it gives, the more slowly is it healed. The mourning of three years, being appointed with its various forms in harmony with the feelings (produced by the occasion of it), was intended to mark the greatest degree of grief. The sackcloth with jagged edges, the dark colour of the sackcloth and the staff, the shed reared against the wall, the gruel, the sleeping on straw, and the clod of earth for a pillow:—these all were intended to set forth the extremity of the grief.

3. The mourning of the three years came really to an end with (the close of) the twenty-fifth month. The sorrow and pain were not yet ended, and the

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 49, 50.

longing loving thoughts were not yet forgotten ; but in the termination of the mourning dress in this way, was it not shown that there should be an end to the duties rendered to the dead, and that the time was come for the resumption of their duties to the living ?

4. All living creatures between heaven and earth, being endowed with blood and breath, have a certain amount of knowledge. Possessing that amount of knowledge, there is not one of them but knows to love its species. Take the larger birds and beasts :—when one of them has lost its mate, after a month or a season, it is sure to return and go about their old haunts. It turns round and round, utters its cries, now moves, now stops, and looks quite embarrassed and uncertain in its movements, before it can leave the place. Even the smaller birds, such as swallows and sparrows, chatter and cry for a little before they can leave the place. But among all creatures that have blood and breath, there is none which has intelligence equal to man ; and hence the feeling of man on the death of his kindred remains unexhausted even till death.

5. Will any one follow the example of those men who are under the influence of their depraved lusts ? In that case, when a kinsman dies in the morning, he will forget him by the evening. But if we follow the course of such men, we shall find that they are not equal to the birds and beasts. How can they live with their kindred, and not fall into all disorders ?

6. Will he rather follow the example of the superior man who attends to all the methods by which the feeling of grief is set forth ? In that case, the

twenty-five months, after which the mourning of three years comes to an end, will seem to pass as quickly as a carriage drawn by four horses is whirled past a crevice. And if we continue to indulge the feeling, it will prove to be inexhaustible.

7. Therefore the ancient kings determined the proper medium for mourning, and appointed its definite terms. As soon as it was sufficient for the elegant expression of the varied feeling, it was to be laid aside.

8. This being the case, how is it that (in certain cases the mourning lasts) only for a year? The answer is, that in the case of the nearest kindred, there is a break in it at the end of a year.

9. How is that? The answer is:—The interaction of heaven and earth has run its round; and the four seasons have gone through their changes. All things between heaven and earth begin their processes anew. The rules of mourning are intended to resemble this.

10. Then how is it that there are three years' mourning (for a parent)? The answer is:—From the wish to make it greater and more impressive, the time is doubled, and so embraces two round years.

11. What about the mourning for nine months' and the shorter periods? The answer is:—It is to prevent such mourning from reaching (the longer periods).

12. Therefore the three years should be considered as the highest expression of grief in mourning; the three months and five months, as the lowest; while the year and the nine months are between them. Heaven above gives an example; earth beneath, a law; and man between, a pattern. The

harmony and unity that should characterise men living in their kinships are hereby completely shown.

13. Thus it is that in the mourning of three years the highest forms that vary and adorn the ways of men are displayed. Yes, this is what is called the richest exhibition (of human feelings).

14. In this the hundred kings (of all the dynasties) agree, and ancient and modern customs are one and the same. But whence it came is not known.

15. Confucius said, 'A son, three years after his birth, ceases to be carried in the arms of his parents. The mourning of three years is the universal rule of all under heaven.'

BOOK XXXVI. SHĀN Ĩ

OR

THE LONG DRESS IN ONE PIECE¹.

1. Anciently the long dress had definite measurements, so as to satisfy the requirements of the compass and square, the line, the balance, and the steelyard. It was not made so short as to show any of the skin, nor so long as to touch the ground. The outside pieces of the skirt joined, and were hooked together at the side; (the width of) the seam at the waist was half that at the bottom (of the skirt).

2. The sleeve was joined to the body of the dress at the arm-pit, so as to allow the freest movement of the elbow-joint; the length of the lower part admitted of the cuffs being turned back to the elbow. The sash was put on where there were no bones, so as not to interfere with the action of the thighs below or of the ribs above.

3. In the making (of the garment) twelve strips (of the cloth) were used, to correspond to the twelve months. The sleeve was made round, as if fashioned by a disk. The opening at the neck was square, as if made by means of that instrument so named. The cord-like (seam) at the back descended to the ankles, as if it had been a straight line. The edge at the bottom was like the steelyard of a balance, made perfectly even.

4. In this way through the rounded sleeves the arms could be lifted up in walking (for the purpose of salutation) in the most elegant form. The

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, p. 50.

cord-like seam of the back and the square-shaped collar about the neck in front, served to admonish (the wearer) how his government should be correct and his righteousness on the square. It is said in the Yí, 'The movement indicated by the second line in Khwăn, divided, is "from the straight (line) to the square¹."' The even edge at the bottom, like the steelyard and balance, admonished him to keep his will at rest, and his heart even and calm.

5. These five rules being observed in the making (of the dress), the sages wore it. In its squareness and roundness they saw its warning against selfishness; in its line-like straightness they saw its admonition to be correct, and in its balance-like evenness they saw its lesson of impartiality. Therefore the ancient kings attached a high value to it; it could be worn in the discharge of both their civil and military duties; in it they could receive visitors and regulate the cohorts of their armies. It was complete, but not extravagant; it ranked in the second class of good dresses².

6. For ornament, while his parents and grandparents were alive, (a son) wore the dress with its border embroidered. If (only) his parents were alive, the ornamental border was blue. In the case of an orphan son³, the border was white. The border round the mouth of the sleeves and all the edges of the dress was an inch and a half wide.

¹ See the symbolism of the second line of the 2nd Hexagram, and especially the lesser symbolism in the 2nd Appendix, from which the quotation is made;—vol. xvi, pages 60 and 268.

² That is, next after the court and sacrificial robes.

³ K'ang says that a son whose father was dead was called 'an orphan son' up to thirty.

BOOK XXXVII. THÂU HŨ

OR

THE GAME OF PITCH-POT¹.

1. According to the rules for Pitch-pot, the host carries the arrows in both his hands put together; the superintendent of the archery carries in the same way the stand² on which the tallies were placed; and an attendant holds in his hand the pot.

2. The host entreats (one of the guests), saying, 'I have here these crooked³ arrows, and this pot with its wry³ mouth; but we beg you to amuse yourself with them.' The guest says, 'I have partaken, Sir, of your excellent drink and admirable viands; allow me to decline this further proposal for my pleasure.' The host rejoins, 'It is not worth the while for you to decline these poor arrows and pot; let me earnestly beg you to try them.' The guest repeats his refusal, saying, 'I have partaken (of your entertainment), and you would still further have me enjoy myself;—I venture firmly to decline.' The host again addresses his request in the same words, and then the guest says, 'I have firmly declined what you request, but you will not allow me to refuse;—I venture respectfully to obey you.'

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 50, 51.

² This was a small stand or tray, with the figure of a stag (or some other animal, according to the rank of the party) carved in wood and put down on it, with a tube by its side in which the tallies were to be placed.

³ These are merely the customary terms of depreciation in which a Chinese speaks of his own things.

The guest then bows twice, and signifies that he will receive (the arrows). The host wheels round, saying, 'Let me get out of the way;' and then at the top of the steps on the east, he bows to the guest and gives him the arrows. The guest wheels round, and says, 'Let me get out of the way¹.'

3. (The host) having bowed, and received the arrows (for himself), advances to the space between the two pillars. He then retires, and returns to his station, motioning also to the guest to go to his mat (for pitching from).

4. The superintendent of the archery comes forward, and measures the distance of the pot (from the mats), which should be a space of the length of two and a half arrows. He then returns to his station, sets forth the stand for the tallies, and with his face to the east, takes eight counters and stands up. He asks the guest to pitch, saying, 'When the arrow goes straight in, it is reckoned an entry. If you throw a second (without waiting for your opponent to pitch), it is not reckoned.' The victor gives the vanquished a cup to drink; and when the cups of decision have been dispatched, the superintendent begs to set up what he calls 'a horse' for the victor. If he set up one horse, then a second, and finally a third, he begs to congratulate the thrower on the number of his horses. He asks the host to pitch in the same way, and with the same words.

5. He orders the cithern-players to strike up

¹ From this point to the end of the paragraph, it is very difficult to make out from the text the sequence of proceedings between the host and guest.

'The pitching,' say the *K'ien-lung* editors, 'has been agreed on.'

'The Fox's Head,' with the same interval between (each repetition of the tune), and the director of the music answers, 'Yes.'

6. When the superintendent announces to them on the left and right that the arrows are all used up, he requests them to pitch again. When an arrow enters, he kneels, and puts down a counter. The partners of the guest are on the right, and those of the host on the left.

7. When they have done pitching, he takes up the counters, and says, 'They have done pitching, both on the left and right; allow me to take the numbers.' He then takes the numbers two by two, and leaves the single counters. After this he takes the single counters, and gives the announcement, saying, 'Such and such a side has the better by so many doubles, or naming the number of the singles.' If they are equal, he says, 'Left and right are equal.'

8. He then orders the cups to be filled, saying, 'Let the cup go round,' and the cup-bearer (of the successful side) replies, 'Yes.' Those who have to drink all kneel, and raising their cups with both hands, say, 'We receive what you give us to drink.' The victors (also) kneel and say, 'We beg respectfully to refresh you.'

9. When this cup has gone round, according to rule, (the superintendent) asks leave to exhibit the 'horses' (of the victorious side). Each 'horse' stands for so many counters. (He who has only) one 'horse' gives it to him who has two, to congratulate him (on his superiority). The usage in congratulating (the most successful) is to say, 'Your three "horses" are all here; allow me to congratulate you on their number.' The guests and host all express their

assent. The customary cup goes round, and the superintendent asks leave to remove the 'horses.'

10. The number of the counters varies according to the place in which they kneel (when playing the game). (Each round is with 4 arrows.) (If the game be in) the chamber, there are 5 sets of these; if in the hall, 7; if in the courtyard, 9. The counters are 1 cubit 2 inches long. The neck of the pot is 7 inches long; its belly, 5; and its mouth is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It contains a peck and 5 pints. It is filled with small beans, to prevent the arrows from leaping out. It is distant from the mats of the players, the length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ arrows. The arrows are made of mulberry wood, or from the zizyphus, without the bark being removed.

11. In Lû, the young people (taking part in the game) were admonished in these words, 'Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not talk about irrelevant matters; for those who stand awry, or speak about irrelevant matters, there is the regular (penal) cap.' A similar admonition in Hsieh was to this effect:—'Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not speak about irrelevant matters. Those who do any of these things must pay the penalty.'

12. The superintendent of the archery, the overseer of the courtyard, and the capped officers who stood by, all belonged to the party of the guest. The musicians and the boys who acted as attendants, all belonged to the party of the host.

13. There follows after this what appears to be a representation of the progress of a game by means of small circles and squares. The circles indicating blows on a small drum

called phî, and the squares, blows on the larger drum (kû);—according, we may suppose, to certain events in the game. The ‘drum’ marks are followed by what are called ‘halves’ or semis. The representation is:—

Semis.						Drums.					
○	○	□	○			○	○	○	○		
□	□	○	□			□	□	□	□		
○	□	○	○			○	□	○			

Then follows the representation of a game in Lû:—

Semis.						Lû drums.					
○	○					○	□	□	○	○	
□	□					□	○	○	□	□	
□	○					□	□	○	□	○	
○	○					○	○	□	○	○	

There is then a remark that in the Hsieh drums the semi marks were used for the game of pitch-pot, and all the marks for the archery game; and then we have:—

Semis.	Hsieh drums.					Semis.	Lû drums.	
○ ○	○	○	□	○	○	○ ○ ○	□ ○	
○ □		□	○	□	□	□ ○ □	○ □	
○ ○		○	○	○	○	○ ○ ○	○ ○	
□ □		○	○	□	○	○ ○	○	
○ ○		□	□	○	○	□ □	□	

BOOK XXXVIII. ZŪ HSING

OR

THE CONDUCT OF THE SCHOLAR¹.

1. Duke Âi of Lû asked Confucius, saying, 'Is not the dress, Master, which you wear that of the scholar²?' Confucius replied, 'When I was little, I lived in Lû, and wore the garment with large sleeves; when I was grown up, I lived in Sung, and was then capped with the *kang-fû* cap³. I have heard that the studies of the scholar are extensive, but his dress is that of the state from which he sprang. I do not know any dress of the scholar.'

2. The duke said, 'Allow me to ask what is the conduct of the scholar.' Confucius replied, 'If I were to enumerate the points in it summarily, I could not touch upon them all; if I were to go into details on each, it would take a long time. You would have changed all your attendants-in-waiting before I had concluded⁴.' The duke ordered a mat

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 51, 52.

² Callery renders *Zû* here by 'le Philosophe.' Evidently there was in Confucius' time a class of men, thus denominated, distinguished by their learning and conduct. The name first occurs in the *Kâu Lî*. It is now used for the literati of China, the followers of Confucius, in distinction from *Tâoists* and *Buddhists*.

³ See vol. xxvii, page 438, paragraph 3. Confucius' ancestors belonged to the state of Sung, the representative of the ancient Yin.

⁴ It was the custom for a ruler to change his attendants-in-waiting, so as not to overtire any.

to be placed for him, and Confucius took his place by his side.

3. He then said, 'The scholar has a precious gem placed upon its mat, with which he is waiting to receive an invitation (from some ruler)¹; early and late he studies with energy, waiting to be questioned. He carries in his bosom leal-heartedness and good faith, waiting to be raised (to office); he is vigorous in all his doings, waiting to be chosen (to employment):—so does he establish his character and prepare himself (for the future).

4. 'The scholar's garments and cap are all fitting and becoming; he is careful in his undertakings and doings: in declining great compliments he might seem to be rude, and in regard to small compliments, hypocritical; in great matters he has an air of dignity, and in small matters, of modesty; he seems to have a difficulty in advancing, but retires with ease and readiness; and he has a shrinking appearance, as if wanting in power:—such is he in his external appearance.

5. 'The scholar, wherever he resides, ordinarily or only for a time, is grave as if he were apprehensive of difficulties; when seated or on foot, he is courteous and respectful; in speaking, his object is, first of all, to be sincere; in acting, he wishes to be exact and correct; on the road, he does not strive about the most difficult or easiest places; in winter and summer, he does not strive about the temperature, the light and shade; he guards against death that he may be in waiting (for whatever he may be called to); he attends well to his person that he may be

¹ Compare Analects IX, 12. The gem is the scholar's virtue,—his character and capacities.

ready for action:—such are his preparations and precautions for the future.

6. 'The scholar does not consider gold and jade to be precious treasures, but leal-heartedness and good faith; he does not desire lands and territory, but considers the establishment of righteousness as his domain; he does not desire a great accumulation of wealth, but looks on many accomplishments as his riches; it is difficult to win him, but easy to pay him; it is easy to pay him, but difficult to retain him. As he will not show himself when the time is not proper for him to do so, is it not difficult to win him? As he will have no fellowship with what is not righteous, is it not difficult to retain him? As he must first do the work, and then take the pay, is it not easy to pay him?—such are the conditions of his close association with others.

7. 'Though there may be offered to the scholar valuable articles and wealth, and though it be tried to enervate him with delights and pleasures, he sees those advantages without doing anything contrary to his sense of righteousness; though a multitude may attempt to force him (from his standpoint), and his way be stopped by force of arms, he will look death in the face without changing the principles (which) he maintains; (he would face) birds and beasts of prey with their talons and wings, without regard to their fierceness; he would undertake to raise the heaviest tripod, without regard to his strength; he has no occasion to regret what he has done in the past, nor to make preparations for what may come to him in the future; he does not repeat any error of speech; any rumours against him he does not pursue up to their source; he does not allow his

dignity to be interrupted; he does not dread to practise (beforehand) the counsels (which he gives):—such are the things in which he stands out and apart from other men.

8. [‘With the scholar friendly relations may be cultivated, but no attempt must be made to constrain him; near association with him can be sought, but cannot be forced on him; he may be killed, but he cannot be disgraced;] in his dwelling he will not be extravagant; in his eating and drinking he will not be luxurious; he may be gently admonished of his errors and failings, but he should not have them enumerated to him to his face:—such is his boldness and determination. ✓

9. ‘The scholar considers leal-heartedness and good faith to be his coat-of-mail and helmet; propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing aloft over his head benevolence; he dwells, holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course:—such is the way in which he maintains himself. ✓

10. ‘The scholar may have a house in (only) a mǎu of ground,—a (poor) dwelling each of whose (surrounding) walls is (only) ten paces long, with an outer door of thorns and bamboos, and openings in the wall, long and pointed; within, the inner door stopped up by brushwood, and little round windows like the mouth of a jar¹; the inmates may have to

¹ This is a picture of squalid poverty, in which it is not easy to understand all the details without a discussion of the force of the Chinese characters, on which it is impossible to enter here. With all the discussion which they have received from the critics, there are still difficulties in interpreting the paragraph.

exchange garments when they go out; they may have to make one day's food serve for two days; if the ruler respond to him, he does not dare to have any hesitation (in accepting office); if he do not respond, he does not have recourse to flattery:—such is he in the matter of taking office, (however small).

11. 'The scholar lives and has his associations with men of the present day, but the men of antiquity are the subjects of his study. Following their (principles and example) in the present age, he will become a pattern in future ages. If it should be that his own age does not understand and encourage him, that those above him do not bring him, and those below him do not push him, forward, or even that calumniators and flatterers band together to put him in danger, his person may be placed in peril, but his aim cannot be taken from him. Though danger may threaten him in his undertakings and wherever he is, he will still pursue his aim, and never forget the afflictions of the people, (which he would relieve):—such is the anxiety which he cherishes.

✓ 12. 'The scholar learns extensively, but never allows his researches to come to an end; he does what he does with all his might, but is never weary; he may be living unnoticed, but does not give way to licentiousness; he may be having free course in his acknowledged position, but is not hampered (by it); in his practice of ceremonial usages he shows the value which he sets on a natural ease; in the excellence of his leal-heartedness and good faith, he acts under the law of a benignant playfulness; he shows his fond regard for men of virtue and ability, and yet

is forbearing and kind to all ; he (is like a potter who) breaks his square (mould), and his tiles are found to fit together :—such is the largeness and generosity of his spirit.

13. 'The scholar recommends members of his own family (to public employment), without shrinking from doing so, because of their kinship, and proposes others beyond it, without regard to their being at enmity with him ; he estimates men's merits, and takes into consideration all their services, selecting those of virtue and ability, and putting them forward, without expecting any recompense from them ; the ruler thus gets what he wishes, and if benefit results to the state, the scholar does not seek riches or honours for himself :—such is he in promoting the employment of the worthy and bringing forward the able.

14. 'The scholar when he hears what is good, tells it to (his friends), and when he sees what is good, shows it to them ; in the view of rank and position, he gives the precedence to them over himself ; if they encounter calamities and hardships, he is prepared to die with them ; if they are long (in getting advancement), he waits for them ; if they are far off, he brings them together with himself :—such is he in the employment and promotion of his friends.

15. 'The scholar keeps his person free from stain, and continually bathes (and refreshes) his virtue ; he sets forth what he has to say (to his superior by way of admonition), but remains himself in the back-ground, trying thus quietly to correct him ; if his superior do not acknowledge (his advice), he more proudly and clearly makes his views known, but still does

not press them urgently; he does not go among those who are low to make himself out to be high, nor place himself among those who have little (wisdom) to make himself out to have much; in a time of good government, he does not think little (of what he himself can do); in a time of disorder, he does not allow his course to be obstructed; he does not (hastily) agree with those who think like himself, nor condemn those who think differently:—so does he stand out alone among others and take his own solitary course.

16. ‘The scholar sometimes will not take the high office of being a minister of the son of Heaven, nor the lower office of serving the prince of a state; he is watchful over himself in his retirement, and values a generous enlargement of mind, while at the same time he is bold and resolute in his intercourse with others; he learns extensively that he may know whatever should be done; he makes himself acquainted with elegant accomplishments, and thus smoothes and polishes all his corners and angles; although the offer were made to share a state with him, it would be no more to him than the small weights of a balance; he will not take a ministry, he will not take an office:—such are the rules and conduct he prescribes to himself.

17. ‘The scholar has those with whom he agrees in aim, and pursues the same objects, with whom he cultivates the same course, and that by the same methods; when they stand on the same level with him, he rejoices in them; if their standing be below his, he does not tire of them; if for long he has not seen them, and hears rumours to their prejudice, he does not believe them; his actions are rooted in

correctness, and his standing is in what is right¹; if they proceed in the same direction with him, he goes forward with them, if not in the same direction, he withdraws from them:—so is he in his intercourse with his friends.

18. 'Gentleness and goodness are the roots of humanity; respect and attention are the ground on which it stands; generosity and large-mindedness are the manifestation of it; humility and courtesy are the ability of it; the rules of ceremony are the demonstration of it; speech is the ornament of it; singing and music are the harmony of it; sharing and distribution are the giving of it. The scholar possesses all these qualities in union and has them, and still he will not venture to claim a perfect humanity on account of them:—such is the honour (he feels for its ideal), and the humility (with which) he declines it (for himself).

19. 'The scholar is not cast down, or cut from his root, by poverty and mean condition; he is not elated or exhausted by riches and noble condition; he feels no disgrace that rulers and kings (may try to inflict); he is above the bonds that elders and superiors (may try to impose); and superior officers cannot distress him. Hence he is styled a scholar. Those to whom the multitude now-a-days give that name have no title to it, and they constantly employ it to one another as a term of reproach.'

When Confucius came (from his wanderings to Lû) to his own house, duke Âi gave him a (public) lodging. When the duke heard these words, he became more sincere in his speech, and more

¹ I suspect there is here some error in the text.

righteous in his conduct. He said, 'To the end of my days I will not presume to make a jest of the name of scholar¹.'

¹ It is doubtful whether any of this paragraph should be ascribed to Confucius, even in the sense in which we receive the preceding paragraphs as from him. Evidently the latter half of it is a note by the compiler to show the effect which the long discourse had on duke Âi.

BOOK XXXIX. TÂ HSIO

OR

THE GREAT LEARNING¹.

✓ 1. What the Great Learning teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to love the people²; and to rest in the highest excellence.

The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there will be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment (of the desired end).

Things have their root and their branches; affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught (in the Great Learning).

2. The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 53, 54.

² The text of the Tâ Hsio, since the labours of K'û Hsî upon it, reads here—'to renovate,' instead of 'to love,' the people. K'û adopted the alteration from Po-shun, called also Ming-táo, one of his 'masters,' the two brothers K'häng; but there is really no authority for it.

first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge.

3. The extension of knowledge is by the investigation of things¹.

4. Things being investigated, their knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy.

From the son of Heaven down to the multitudes of the people, all considered the cultivation of the person to be the root (of everything besides). It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and at the same time what was of slight importance has been greatly cared for².

¹ There is great difficulty in determining the meaning of this short sentence. What Kǎng and Khung Ying-tá say on it is unsatisfactory. Kú introduces a long paragraph explaining it from his master Kǎng;—see Chinese Classics, vol. i, pp. 229, 239.

² Here ends the first chapter of the Book according to the arrangement of Kú Hsî. He says that it is 'the words of Confucius, handed down by Ǵǎng-ǵze,' all the rest being the commentary of Ǵǎng-ǵze, recorded by his disciples. The sentiments in this chapter are not unworthy of Confucius; but there is no

This is called 'knowing the root,' this is called 'the perfection of knowledge.'

5. What is called 'making the thoughts sincere' is the allowing no self-deception ;—as when we hate a bad smell and love what is beautiful, naturally and without constraint. Therefore the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. There is no evil to which the small man, dwelling retired, will not proceed ; but when he sees a superior man, he tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him as if he saw his heart and reins ;—of what use (is his disguise) ? This is an instance of the saying, 'What truly is within will be manifested without.' Therefore the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

6. 3ǎng-ze said, 'What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence'.¹ (As) riches adorn a house, so virtue adorns the person. When the mind becomes enlarged, the body appears at ease. Therefore the superior man is sure to make his thoughts sincere.

7. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 1, 1),
'How rich the clumps of green bamboo,
Around each cove of *K'hi* !

evidence that they really proceeded from him, nor of the other assertions of *K'ü*. See what is said on the subject in the introductory notice.

¹ This saying is from 3ǎng-ze ; but standing as it does alone and apart, it gives no sanction to the view that the first chapter was handed down by him, or the rest of the Book compiled by his disciples. Rather, the contrary. 'The ten eyes and ten hands,' says Lo Kung-fân, 'indicate all the spirits who know men's inmost solitary thoughts.'

They lead my thoughts to our duke Wû;—
 Of winning grace is he!
 As knife and file make smooth the bone,
 As jade by chisel wrought and stone,
 Is stamp upon him set.
 Grave and of dignity serene;
 With force of will as plainly seen;
 Accomplished, elegant in mien;
 Him we can ne'er forget.'

(That expression), 'as knife and file make smooth the bone,' indicates the effect of learning. 'Like jade by chisel wrought and stone' indicates that of self-culture. 'Grave and of dignity serene' indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. 'With force of will as plainly seen' indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. (The lines),

'Accomplished, elegant in mien,
 Him can we ne'er forget,'

indicate how when virtue is complete, and excellence extreme, the people cannot forget them.

8. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, ode 4),

'The former kings in mind still bear,
 What glory can with theirs compare?'

Superior men deem worthy whom they deemed worthy, and love whom they loved. The inferior people delight in what they delighted in, and are benefited by their beneficial arrangements. It is on this account that the former kings, after they have quitted the world, are not forgotten.

9. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 3),

'He was able to make his virtue illustrious.'

It is said in the Thâi Kíá, 'He kept his eye

continually on the bright requirements of Heaven' (Shû, III, v, sect. 1, 2).

It is said in the Canon of the Tî (Yáo), 'He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue' (Shû, I, 2).

These (passages) all show how (those sovereigns) made themselves illustrious.

10. On the bathing-tub of Thang¹, the following words were engraved, 'If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, daily renovate yourself.'

In the Announcement to the Prince of Khang it is said, 'Stir up the new people' (Shû, V, ix, 7).

In the Book of Poetry it is said (III, i, 1, 1),

'The state of Kâu had long been known;
Heaven's will as new at last was shown.'

Therefore the superior man in everything uses his utmost endeavours².

11. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, 3),

'A thousand li extends the king's domain,
And there the people to repose are fain.'

And in another place (II, viii, 1),

'Titters fast the oriole
Where yonder bends the mound,
The happy little creature
Its resting-place has found.'

The Master said, 'Yes, it rests; it knows where

¹ A fact not elsewhere noted. But such inscriptions are still common in China.

² The repeated use of 'new,' 'renovated,' in this paragraph, is thought to justify the change of 'loving the people,' in paragraph 1, to 'renovating the people;' but the object of the renovating here is not the people.

to rest. Can one be a man, and yet not equal (in this respect) to this bird ?'

12. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, 1, 4),
'Deep were Wăn's thoughts, sustained his ways;
And reverent in each resting-place.'

As a ruler, he rested in benevolence ; as a minister, he rested in respect ; as a son, he rested in filial piety ; as a father, he rested in kindness ; in intercourse with his subjects, he rested in good faith.

13. The Master said, 'In hearing litigations, I am like any other body.' What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litigations, so that those who are devoid of truth shall find it impossible to carry out their speeches, and a great awe be struck into the minds of the people.

14. This is called 'knowing the root'¹.

15. What is meant by 'The cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind' (may be thus illustrated):—If a man be under the influence of anger, his conduct will not be correct. The same will be the case, if he be under the influence of terror, or of fond regard, or of sorrow and distress. When the mind is not present, we look and do not see ; we hear and do not understand ; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat. This is what is meant by saying that 'the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind.'

16. What is meant by 'The regulation of the family depends on the cultivation of the person'

¹ It is certainly difficult to see how paragraphs 13, 14 stand where they do. Lo Kung-fân omits them.

is this :—Men are partial where they feel affection and love ; partial where they despise and dislike ; partial where they stand in awe and with a feeling of respect ; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion ; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world who love and at the same time know the bad qualities (of the object of their love), or who hate and yet know the good qualities (of the object of their hatred). Hence it is said, in the common adage, ' A man does not know the badness of his son ; he does not know the richness of his growing corn.' This is what is meant by saying, that ' if his person be not cultivated, a man cannot regulate his family.'

17. What is meant by 'In order to govern well his state, it is necessary first to regulate his family' is this :—It is not possible for one to teach others while he cannot teach his own family. Therefore the superior man (who governs a state), without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for his state. There is filial piety ;—it has its application in the service of the ruler. There is brotherly obedience ;—it has its application in the service of elders. There is kindly gentleness ;—it has its application in the employment of the multitudes. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 9), '(Deal with the people), as if you were watching over an infant.' If (a mother) be really anxious about it, though she may not hit (exactly the wants of her infant), she will not be far from doing so. There never has been (a girl) who learned (first) to bring up an infant that she might afterwards be married.

18. From the loving (example) of one family,

a whole state may become loving, and from its courtesies, courteous, while from the ambition and perverseness of the One man, the whole state may be thrown into rebellious disorder ;—such is the nature of the influence. This is in accordance with the saying, ‘Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence ; a state may be settled by its One man.’

19. Yáo and Shun presided over the kingdom with benevolence, and the people followed them. Kieh and Kâu did so with violence, and the people followed them. When the orders of a ruler are contrary to what he himself loves to practise the people do not follow him.

20. Therefore the ruler must have in himself the (good) qualities, and then he may require them in others ; if they are not in himself, he cannot require them in others. Never has there been a man who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them. Thus we see how ‘the government of the state depends on the regulation of the family.’

21. In the Book of Poetry it is said (I, i, 6, 3),

‘Graceful and young the peach-tree stands,
Its foliage clustering green and full.
This bride to her new home repairs ;
Her household will attest her rule.’

Let the household be rightly ordered, and then the people of the state may be taught.

In another ode it is said (II, ii, 9, 3),

‘In concord with their brothers may they dwell !’

Let rulers dwell in concord with all their brethren, and then they may teach the people of their states.

In a third ode it is said (I, xiv, 3, 3),

‘His movements without fault or flaw beget
Good order for his rule throughout the state.’

When the ruler as a father, a son, an elder brother or a younger, is a model for imitation, then the people imitate him. These (passages) show how ‘the government of a state depends on the regulation of the family.’

22. What is meant by ‘The making the whole kingdom peaceful and happy depends on the government of its states’ is this:—When the superiors behave to their aged as the aged should be behaved to, the people become filial; when they behave to their elders as elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when they treat compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the superior man has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate his course.

23. What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in his treatment of his inferiors; and what he dislikes in his inferiors, let him not display in his service of his superiors: what he dislikes in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; and what he dislikes in those who are behind him, let him not therewith follow those who are before him: what he dislikes to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left; and what he dislikes to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right:—this is what is called ‘The Principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one’s course.’

24. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, ii, 7, 3),

‘To be rejoiced in are these noble men,
The parents of the people!’

When (a ruler) loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called 'The Parent of the People.'

25. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, iv, 7, 1),
 'That southern hill, sublime, uprears its craggy height ;
 Such thou, Grand-master Yin, before the nation's sight !'

Rulers of states should not neglect to be careful. If they deviate (to a selfish regard only for themselves), they will be counted a disgrace throughout the kingdom.

26. In the Book of Poetry it is said (III, i, 1, 6),
 'Ere Shang had lost the nation's heart,
 Its monarchs all with God had part
 In sacrifice. From them we see
 'Tis hard to keep High Heaven's decree.'

This shows that by gaining the people, the state is gained ; and by losing the people, the state is lost.

Therefore the ruler should first be careful about his (own) virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give him the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure.

Virtue is the root ; wealth is the branches. If he make the root his secondary object, and the branches his primary object, he will only quarrel with the people, and teach them rapine. Hence the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people, and the distribution of his wealth is the way to collect the people. Hence (also), when his words go forth contrary to right, they will come back to

him in the same way, and wealth got by improper ways will take its departure by the same.

27. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 2, 3), 'The decree (of Heaven) is not necessarily perpetual.' That is, goodness obtains the decree, and the want of goodness loses it.

28. In a Book of *K'û* it is said¹, 'The state of *K'û* does not consider (such a toy) to be precious. Its good men are what it considers to be precious.'

29. Fan, the maternal uncle (of duke Wăn of Jin), said, 'A fugitive (like you) should not account (that) to be precious. What he should consider precious is the affection due (even) to his (deceased) parent².'

30. It is said in the Speech of (duke Mû of) *K'ên* (Shû, V, xxx, 6, 7), 'Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not possessed of other abilities, but with a simple, upright, and at the same time a generous, mind, regarding the talents of others as if they were his own; and when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them (and employ them),—such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons, and other benefits (to the state) may well be expected from him. But if (it be his character), when he finds men of ability, to be

¹ The narratives about *K'û*, Section II, Article 5, in the 'Narratives of the States.' The exact characters of the text are not found in the article, but they might easily arise from what we do find. An officer of Jin is asking Wang-sun Wei, an envoy from *K'û*, about a famous girdle of that state. The envoy calls it a toy, and gives this answer.

² See vol. xxvii, page 165, paragraph 19.

jealous of them and hate them ; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them, and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them,—such a man will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons, and black-haired people ; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous (to the state) ?’

31. It is only the truly virtuous man that can send away such a man and banish him, driving him out among the barbarous tribes around, determined not to dwell with him in the Middle states. This is in accordance with the saying, ‘It is only the truly virtuous man who can love others or can hate others.’

32. To see men of worth, and not be able to raise them to office ; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly :—this is treating them with disrespect. To see bad men, and not to be able to remove them ; to remove them, but not to do so to a distance :—this is weakness.

33. To love those whom men hate, and to hate those whom men love :—this is to outrage the natural feeling of men. Calamities are sure to come on him who does so.

34. Thus we see that the ruler has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to succeed, and by pride and extravagance he will fail.

35. There is a great course (also) for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many, and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient.

36. The virtuous (ruler) uses his wealth so as to

make himself more distinguished. The vicious ruler will accumulate wealth, even though it cost him his life.

37. Never has there been a case of the superior loving benevolence, and his inferiors not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where (his inferiors) loved righteousness, and the business (of the superior) has not reached a happy issue. Never has there been a case where the wealth accumulated in the treasuries and arsenals (of such a ruler and people) did not continue to be his.

38. Mang Hsien-ze¹ said, 'He who keeps his team of horses² does not look after fowls and pigs. The family which has its stores of ice³ does not keep cattle or sheep. The house which possesses a hundred chariots⁴ should not keep a grasping minister to gather up all the taxes for it. Than have such a minister, it would be better to have one who would rob it of its revenues.' This is in accordance with the saying, 'In a state gain should not be considered prosperity; its prosperity lies in righteousness.'

39. When he who presides over a state or a family makes his revenues his chief business, he must be under the influence of some small man. He may consider him to be good; but when such a person is employed in the administration of a state

¹ The worthy minister of Lû, mentioned in vol. xxvii, p. 154, et al. His name was Kung-sun Mieh. Hsien was his posthumous title.

² An officer who has just attained to be a Great officer, and received from the ruler the carriage of distinction.

³ To be used in sacrificing; but, we may suppose, for other uses as well.

⁴ A dignitary, possessing an appanage.

or family, calamities and injuries will befall it together; and though a good man (may take his place), he will not be able to remedy the evil. This illustrates (again) the saying, 'In a state gain should not be considered prosperity; its prosperity should be sought in righteousness.'

BOOK XL. KWAN Í

OR

THE MEANING OF THE CEREMONY OF CAPPING¹.

1. Generally speaking, that which makes man man is the meaning of his ceremonial usages. The first indications of that meaning appear in the correct arrangement of the bodily carriage, the harmonious adjustment of the countenance, and in the natural ordering of the speech. When the bodily carriage is well arranged, the countenance harmoniously adjusted, and speech naturally ordered, the meaning of the ceremonial usages becomes complete, and serves to render correct the relation between ruler and subject, to give expression to the affection between father and son, and to establish harmony between seniors and juniors. When the relation between ruler and subject is made correct, affection secured between father and son, and harmony shown between seniors and juniors, then the meaning of those usages is established. Hence after the capping has taken place, provision is made for every other article of dress. With the complete provision of the dress, the bodily carriage becomes (fully) correct, the harmonious expression of the countenance is made perfect, and the speech is all conformed to its purposes. Hence it is said that in capping we have the first indications of (the meaning of the) ceremonial usages. It was on this account that the sage

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 54, 55.

kings of antiquity made so much as they did of the capping.

2. Anciently, when about to proceed to the ceremony of capping, they divined for the day by the stalks, and also for the guests (who should be present). In this way did they manifest the value which they attached to capping. Attaching such a value to it, they made the ceremony very important. They made the ceremony so important, showing how they considered it to lie at the foundation of the state's (prosperity).

3. Hence (also) the capping took place at the top of the eastern steps, (appropriate to the use of the Master);—to show that the son would (in due time) take his place. (The father) handed him a (special) cup in the guests' place. Three caps were used in the ceremony, each successive one more honourable, and giving the more importance to his coming of age. When the capping was over, he received the name of his maturity. So was it shown that he was now a full-grown man¹.

4. He presented himself before his mother, and his mother bowed to him; he did the same before his brothers and cousins, and they bowed to him:—he was a man grown, and so they exchanged courtesies with him. In the dark-coloured cap, and the dark-coloured square-cut robes, he put down his gift of introduction before the ruler, and then proceeded with the proper gifts to present himself to the high ministers and Great officers, and to the old gentlemen of the country:—appearing before them as a man grown.

¹ Compare paragraph 2 on pages 437, 438, vol. xxvii.

5. Treating him (now) as a grown-up man, they would require from him all the observances of a full-grown man. Doing so, they would require from him the performance of all the duties of a son, a younger brother, a subject, and a junior. But when these four duties or services were required from him, was it not right that the ceremony by which he was placed in such a position should be considered important?

6. Thus when the discharge of filial and fraternal duties, of loyal service, and of deferential submission was established, he could indeed be regarded as a (full-grown) man. When he could be regarded as such, he could be employed to govern other men. It was on this account that the sage kings attached such an importance to the ceremony, and therefore it was said, that in capping we have the introduction to all the ceremonial usages, and that it is the most important of the festive services.

Therefore the ancients considered the capping as so important. Considering it so important, they performed it in the ancestral temple. They did so, to do honour to so important a service. Feeling that it was to be honoured so, they did not dare to take the responsibility of its performance on themselves. Not daring themselves to take the responsibility of it, they therefore humbled themselves, and gave honour in doing so to their forefathers.

BOOK XLI. HWÂN Í

OR

THE MEANING OF THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY¹.

✓ 1. The ceremony of marriage was intended to be a bond of love between two (families of different) surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line. Therefore the superior men, (the ancient rulers), set a great value upon it. Hence, in regard to the various (introductory) ceremonies,—the proposal with its accompanying gift²; the inquiries about the (lady's) name; the intimation of the approving divination³; the receiving the special offerings⁴; and the request to fix the day⁵:—these all were received by the principal party (on the lady's side), as he rested on his mat or leaning-stool in the ancestral temple. (When they arrived), he met the messenger, and greeted him outside the gate, giving place to him as he entered, after which they ascended to the hall. Thus were the instruc-

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 55.

² This gift was always a goose; into the reasons for which it is not necessary to enter.

³ The gentleman's family had divined on the proposal.

⁴ These were various.

⁵ The lady's family fixed this. The first proposal was made, and perhaps those which followed also, by that important functionary in Chinese life, 'the go-between,' or a friend acting in that capacity.

tions received in the ancestral temple¹, and in this way was the ceremony respected, and watched over, while its importance was exhibited and care taken that all its details should be correct.

2. The father gave himself the special cup² to his son, and ordered him to go and meet the bride; it being proper that the male should take the first step (in all the arrangements). The son, having received the order, proceeded to meet his bride. Her father, who had been resting on his mat and leaning-stool in the temple, met him outside the gate and received him with a bow, and then the son-in-law entered, carrying a wild goose. After the (customary) bows and yieldings of precedence, they went up to the hall, when the bridegroom bowed twice and put down the wild goose. Then and in this way he received the bride from her parents.

After this they went down, and he went out and took the reins of the horses of her carriage, which he drove for three revolutions of the wheels, having handed the strap to assist her in mounting. He then went before, and waited outside his gate. When she arrived, he bowed to her as she entered. They ate together of the same animal, and joined in sipping from the cups made of the same melon³;

¹ Thus a religious sanction entered into the idea of marriage.

² The same cup that is mentioned in the last chapter, paragraph 3; the son received it and gave no cup to the father in return. This was its speciality. In the capping ceremonies it was given 'in the guests' place;' in those of marriage, in the son's chamber.

³ Once when I was permitted to witness this part of a marriage ceremony, the bridegroom raised his half of the melon, with the spirit in it, to the bride's lips, and she raised her half to his. Each sipped a little of the spirit.

thus showing that they now formed one body, were of equal rank, and pledged to mutual affection.

3. The respect, the caution, the importance, the attention to secure correctness in all the details, and then (the pledge of) mutual affection,—these were the great points in the ceremony, and served to establish the distinction to be observed between man and woman, and the righteousness to be maintained between husband and wife. From the distinction between man and woman came the righteousness between husband and wife. From that righteousness came the affection between father and son; and from that affection, the rectitude between ruler and minister. Whence it is said, ‘The ceremony of marriage is the root of the other ceremonial observances.’

4. Ceremonies (might be said to) commence with the capping; to have their root in marriage; to be most important in the rites of mourning and sacrifice; to confer the greatest honour in audiences at the royal court and in the interchange of visits at the feudal courts; and to be most promotive of harmony in the country festivals and celebrations of archery. These were the greatest occasions of ceremony, and the principal points in them.

5. Rising early (the morning after marriage), the young wife washed her head and bathed her person, and waited to be presented (to her husband’s parents), which was done by the directrix, as soon as it was bright day. She appeared before them, bearing a basket with dates, chestnuts, and slices of dried spiced meat. The directrix set before her a cup of sweet liquor, and she offered in sacrifice some of the dried meat and also of the liquor, thus

performing the ceremony which declared her their son's wife¹.

6. The father and mother-in-law then entered their apartment, where she set before them a single dressed pig,—thus showing the obedient duty of (their son's) wife¹.

7. Next day, the parents united in entertaining the young wife, and when the ceremonies of their severally pledging her in a single cup, and her pledging them in return, had been performed, they descended by the steps on the west, and she by those on the east,—thus showing that she would take the mother's place in the family¹.

8. Thus the ceremony establishing the young wife in her position; (followed by) that showing her obedient service (of her husband's parents); and both succeeded by that showing how she now occupied the position of continuing the family line:—all served to impress her with a sense of the deferential duty proper to her. When she was thus deferential, she was obedient to her parents-in-law, and harmonious with all the occupants of the women's apartments; she was the fitting partner of her husband, and could carry on all the work in silk and linen, making cloth and silken fabrics, and maintaining a watchful care over the various stores and depositories (of the household).

9. In this way when the deferential obedience of the wife was complete, the internal harmony was

¹ The details of the various usages briefly described in these paragraphs are to be found in the 4th Book of the Î Lî, the 2nd of those on the scholar's marriage ceremonies: paragraphs 1-10; 11-17; 18-20. There were differences in the ceremonies according to the rank of the parties; but all agreed in their general character.

secured; and when the internal harmony was secured, the long continuance of the family could be calculated on. Therefore the ancient kings attached such importance (to the marriage ceremonies).

10. Therefore, anciently, for three months before the marriage of a young lady, if the temple of the high ancestor (of her surname) were still standing (and she had admission to it), she was taught in it, as the public hall (of the members of her surname); if it were no longer standing (for her), she was taught in the public hall of the Head of that branch of the surname to which she belonged;—she was taught there the virtue, the speech, the carriage, and the work of a wife. When the teaching was accomplished, she offered a sacrifice (to the ancestor), using fish for the victim, and soups made of duckweed and pondweed. So was she trained to the obedience of a wife¹.

11. Anciently, the queen of the son of Heaven divided the harem into six palace-halls, (occupied) by the 3 ladies called fû-zăn, the 9 pin, the 27 shih-fû, and the 81 yü-khî. These were instructed in the domestic and private rule which should prevail throughout the kingdom, and how the deferential obedience of the wife should be illustrated; and thus internal harmony was everywhere secured, and families were regulated. (In the same way) the son of Heaven established six official departments, in

¹ There is supposed to be an allusion to this custom in the Shih, I, ii, 4, beginning,

‘She gathers fast the large duckweed,
From valley stream that southward flows;
And for the pondweed to the pools
Left on the plains by floods she goes.’

which were distributed the 3 kung, the 9 *k'ing*, the 27 tâ fû, and the 81 sze of the highest grade. These were instructed in all that concerned the public and external government of the kingdom, and how the lessons for the man should be illustrated; and thus harmony was secured in all external affairs, and the states were properly governed.

It is therefore said, 'From the son of Heaven there were learned the lessons for men; and from the queen, the obedience proper to women.' The son of Heaven directed the course to be pursued by the masculine energies, and the queen regulated the virtues to be cultivated by the feminine receptivities. The son of Heaven guided in all that affected the external administration (of affairs); and the queen, in all that concerned the internal regulation (of the family). The teachings (of the one) and the obedience (inculcated by the other) perfected the manners and ways (of the people); abroad and at home harmony and natural order prevailed; the states and the families were ruled according to their requirements:—this was what is called 'the condition of complete virtue.'

12. Therefore when the lessons for men are not cultivated, the masculine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;—as seen in the heavens, we have the sun eclipsed. When the obedience proper to women is not cultivated, the feminine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;—as seen in the heavens, we have the moon eclipsed. Hence on an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven put on plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six official departments, purifying everything that belonged to the masculine

sphere throughout the kingdom; and on an eclipse of the moon, the queen dressed herself in plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six palace-halls, purifying everything that belonged to the feminine sphere throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven is to the queen what the sun is to the moon, or the masculine energy of nature to the feminine. They are necessary to each other, and by their interdependence they fulfil their functions.

13. The son of Heaven attends to the lessons for men;—that is the function of the father. The queen attends to the obedience proper to women;—that is the function of the mother. Therefore it is said, ‘The son of Heaven and the queen are (to the people) what father and mother are.’ Hence for him who is the Heaven(-appointed) king they wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges,—as for a father; and for the queen they wear the sackcloth with the even edges,—as for a mother.

BOOK XLII. HSIANG YIN KIÜ Î

OR

THE MEANING OF THE DRINKING FESTIVITY IN THE DISTRICTS¹.

1. The meaning of the drinking in the country districts may be thus described :—The president on the occasion bows to the (coming) guest as he receives him outside the college gate. They enter and thrice salute each other till they come to the steps. There each thrice yields the precedence to the other, and then they ascend. In this way they carry to the utmost their mutual demonstrations of honour and humility. (The host) washes his hands, rinses the cup, and raises it,—to give the highest idea of purity. They bow on the guest's arrival; they bow as (the cup) is washed; they bow when the cup is received, and when it is presented (in return); they bow when the drinking it is over :—in this way carrying to the utmost their mutual respect.

2. Such giving of honour, such humility, such purity, and such respect belonged to the intercourse of superior men with others. When they gave honour and showed humility, no contentions arose. When they maintained purity and respect, no indifference or rudeness arose. When there was no rudeness or contention, quarrels and disputations were kept at a distance. When men did not quarrel

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 56.

nor dispute, there came no evils of violence or disorder. It was thus that superior men escaped suffering calamity from other men; and therefore the sages instituted the observances in this ceremony to secure such a result.

3. The chief of the district with the accomplished and virtuous men belonging to it had the vessel of liquor placed between the room (on the east), and the door (leading to the apartments on the west), host and guests sharing it between them. The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquor (of pure water);—showing the value they attached to its simplicity. The viands came forth from the room on the east;—being supplied by the host. All washing took place (in the courtyard) opposite the eastern wing;—showing how the host purified himself and made himself ready to serve the guests.

4. The (principal) guest and the host represented heaven and earth; the attendants of the guest and host respectively represented the forces inherent in nature in their contracting and expanding operations; the three (heads of the) guests (in their threefold division) represented the three (great) luminaries; the precedence thrice yielded (to the guest) represented the three days when the moon is invisible till it begins to reappear; the seating of the parties present (all round or) on the four sides represented the four seasons¹.

¹ P. Callery says:—‘There were at this ceremony, 1. the chief and his assistant; 2. the principal guest who was supposed to represent all the other guests, and who also had his assistant; 3. three guests who formed a second category; 4. finally, the crowd of guests, a number not fixed, to whom no honour was paid directly, since they were held to receive all the honours rendered to

5. The snell and icy wind (that blows between) heaven and earth begins in the south-west and is strongest in the north-west. This is the wind that represents the most commanding severity of heaven and earth;—the wind of their righteous justice. The warm and genial wind (that blows between) heaven and earth begins in the north-east and is strongest in the south-east. This is the wind that represents the abundant virtue of heaven and earth;—the wind of their benevolence. The host, wishing to do honour to his guest, assigns him his seat on the north-west, and that of his attendant on the south-west, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him. The guest (represents) the treatment of others according to justice, and therefore his seat is

the principal guest.' *Khân Hào* quotes an opinion that the principal guest was made to represent heaven, to do him the greater honour; and the host to represent the earth, because he was the entertainer and nourisher; and that their assistants represented the yin and yang, because they assisted their principals as these energies in nature assist heaven and earth.

On 'the three Luminaries,' Callery says:—'Ordinarily the name of "the three Luminaries" belongs to the sun, the moon, and the stars, but par. 16 below does not allow us to take it so here. The commentators say that we are to understand the three most brilliant constellations in the firmament, which they call Hsin, Fâ, and Po-*khân*, corresponding, I believe, in part to Orion, Scorpio, and Argo or the Ship.' So also *Khân Hào's* authority. Hsin is generally understood to be Scorpio (Antares, σ , τ , and two c. 3584 and 3587); Fâ to be ν Orion; and Po-*khân* to be the north polar star.

On the 'thrice-yielded precedence to the guest,' Callery says:—'The comparison is far-fetched; it is intended to say that as the moon would not receive light if the sun did not accord it, so the guest would not receive such honours if the host did not render them.' So the commentators certainly try to explain it.

on the north-west; the host (represents) the treatment of others according to benevolence and a genial kindness, and therefore his seat is on the south-east, and his attendant is seated on the north-east, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him ¹.

6. That intercourse according to benevolence and righteousness being established, so as to show the respective duties of host and guest, and the number of stands and dishes being properly fixed;—all this must be the result of sage intelligence. That intelligence established the arrangements, and each one being carried through with respect, it became a ceremonial usage. That usage proceeding to mark and embody the distinction between old and young, it became a virtue. Virtue is that which is the characteristic of the person. Therefore we have the saying, 'In the learning of antiquity, the methods by which they pursued the course adopted were intended to put men in possession of their proper virtue.' On this account the sages employed their powers (on its lessons) ².

¹ P. Callery observes on this paragraph :—'The meteorological observations on which these statements rest must have been made very long ago in the interior of the country, there where the winds come under the influence of the icy plains of Tartary and the high mountains which separate China from Thibet; for on the sea-coasts of China, exactly the contrary has place. During the winter the north-east monsoon prevails, varying sometimes to the north and sometimes to the east, rarely to the north-west; while during the heats of summer the wind blows from the south-west, bending a little towards the south or towards the east, according as the monsoon is in the period of its increase or decline. It is generally in the course of this monsoon that there takes place the terrible storms known by the name of typhoons.'

² The *K'ien-lung* editors do their best to elucidate this

7. When (the guest) offers in sacrifice some of the things that have been set before him, and some of the liquor, he showed how he respected (the host) for his courtesy; when he proceeded to take some of the lungs in his teeth, he thereby tasted (the host's) courtesy; when he then sipped some of the liquor, that was his last step in acknowledgment thereof. This last act was done at the end of his mat, showing that the mat was spread straight before him, not only for the purpose of eating and drinking, but also for the performance of the (proper) rites. In this was shown how it was the ceremony that was valued, while the wealth was made little account of. Finally, when the host filled their cups from the horn, they drained them at the top of the western steps;—showing how the mat was set not (merely) for the purpose of eating and drinking, and how the idea was that of giving to the ceremony the first place, and to wealth the last. But when the ceremony has the first place, and wealth the last, the people become respectful and yielding, and are not contentious with one another.

8. At the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, those who were sixty years old sat, and those who were (only fifty) stood, and were in waiting to receive any orders and perform any services;—thus illustrating the honour which should be paid to elders.

Before those who were sixty, three dishes were placed; before those of seventy, four; before those of eighty, five; before those of ninety, six:—

difficult and obscure paragraph; but are obliged to quote in the end the judgment of K'ü Hsi that 'it is vague and intractable, and not worth taking much trouble about.'

thus illustrating how the aged should be cherished and nourished.

When the people knew to honour their elders and nourish their aged, then at home they could practise filial piety and fraternal duty. Filial and fraternal at home and abroad, honouring elders and nourishing the aged, then their education was complete, and this led to the peace and tranquillity of the state. What the superior man calls filial piety, does not require that (every) family should be visited and its members daily taught; if (the people) be assembled at the archery meetings in the districts, and taught the usages at the district-drinkings, their conduct is brought to be filial and fraternal.

9. Confucius said, 'When I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal way may obtain free course.

10. 'The host in person invites the principal guest and his attendant, and all the other guests follow them of themselves. When they arrive outside the gate, he bows (and welcomes) the chief guest and his attendant, and all the others enter of themselves. In this way the distinction between the noble and the mean is exhibited.

11. 'With the interchange of three bows (the host and guest) arrive at the steps; and after precedence has been thrice yielded to him, the guest ascends. In bowing to him (on the hall), (the host) presents to him the cup, and receives the cup from him in return. The usages between them, now declining, now yielding, the one to the other, are numerous; but the attention paid to the assistant is less. As to the crowd of guests, they ascend, and receive the cup. Kneeling down they offer some of it in sacri-

fice ; they rise and drink it ; and without pledging the host in the return-cup, they descend. In this way the proper distinction is made between the different parties by the multitude or paucity of the observances paid to them.

12. ' The musicians enter, ascend the hall, and sing the three pieces which complete their performance, after which the host offers to them the cup. The organists enter, and (below the hall) play three tunes, which complete their part of the performance, after which the host offers to them (also) the cup. Then they sing and play alternately other three pieces and tunes ; and also thrice again they sing and play in concert. When this is finished, the musicians announce that the music is over, and go out.

' At the same time a person (as instructed by the host) takes up the horn, and one is appointed to superintend the drinking, and see that it proceeds correctly. From this we know how they could be harmonious and joyful, without being disorderly.

13. ' The (principal) guest pledges the host, the host pledges the attendants, the attendants pledge all the guests. Young and old pledge one another according to their age, and the cup circulates on to the keepers of the vases and the cup-washers. From this we know how they could practise brotherly deference to their elders without omitting any one.

14. ' Descending (after this), they take off their shoes ; ascending again, and taking their seats, they take their cups without any limit as to number. But the regulations of the drinking do not allow them to neglect the duties either of the morning or evening. When the guests go out, the host bows to each as he escorts him away. The regulations and

forms are observed to the end; and from this we know how they could enjoy the feast without turbulence or confusion.

15. 'The distinction between the noble and mean thus exhibited; the discrimination in the multitude or paucity of the observances to different parties; the harmony and joy without disorder; the brotherly deference to elders without omitting any; the happy feasting without turbulence or confusion;—the observance of these five things is sufficient to secure the rectification of the person, and the tranquillity of the state. When that one state is tranquil, all under heaven will be the same. Therefore I say that when I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal Way may obtain free course¹.'

16. According to the meaning attached to the festivity of drinking in the country districts, the principal guest was made to represent heaven; the host, to represent earth; their attendants respectively to represent the sun and moon; and the three head guests (according to the threefold division of them) to represent the three (great) luminaries. This was the form which the festivity received on its institution in antiquity: the presiding idea was found in heaven and earth; the regulation of that was found in the sun and moon; and the three luminaries were introduced as a third feature. (The

¹ I have supposed that all from paragraph 9 to this is the language of Confucius, and translated in the present tense as he would speak. Possibly, however, after par. 9 the compiler of the Book may be giving his own views of the different parts of the festivity (which would in that case have to be translated in the past tense), and then winds up with therefore 'He—Confucius—said,' &c.

whole represented) the fundamental principles in the conduct of government and instruction.

17. The dogs were boiled on the eastern side (of the courtyard¹);—in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that the vivifying and expanding power in nature issues from the east.

The washings took place at the eastern steps, and the water was kept on the east of the washing-place;—in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that heaven and earth have placed the sea on the left.

The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquid;—teaching the people not to forget the original practice (at ceremonies).

18. The rule was that the (principal) guest should face the south. The quarter of the east suggests the idea of the spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move:—(there is then at work that mysterious) intelligence which gives birth to all things. The quarter of the south suggests the idea of the summer, the name of which (also) denotes what is great:—what nourishes things, encourages their growth, and makes them great is benevolence. The quarter of the west suggests the idea of the autumn, the name of which also denotes gathering or collecting:—the fruits of the earth are gathered at this season, suggesting the idea of justice in discrimi-

¹ Compare the statement in paragraph 3, that 'the viands come forth from the room on the east.' *K'hsan Hsiang-t'ao* says:—'The dog is a creature that keeps watch, and is skilful in its selection of men;—it will keep away from any one who is not what he should be. On this account the ancients at all their festive occasions of eating and drinking employed it.'

nating and guarding. The quarter of the north suggests the idea of winter, the name of which denotes also what is kept within:—and the being within leads us to think of being stored up. On this account, when the son of Heaven stands up, he keeps (the quarter of the life-giving) intelligence on his left hand, faces (the quarter of) benevolence, has that of justice on his right hand, and that of depositing behind him¹.

19. It was the rule that his attendants should face the east; thus (making) the principal guest to be the chief (party) at the festivity.

¹ The *K'ien-lung* editors say that portions of this paragraph have been lost, and that other parts are out of their proper place; and they suggest the additions and alterations necessary to make it right. It is not worth while, however, to consider their views. No alterations will remedy its incurable defects or reverse the severe judgment passed on it by P. Callery:—‘The method,’ he says, ‘by which the author proceeds is exceedingly eccentric, and partakes at once of the nature of the pun, of allegory, and of mysticism. He begins by basing his comparisons on the resemblance of certain sounds, or the homophony of certain words. Then he seeks to find in the sense, proper to those words that are homophonous or nearly so, connexions with the principal word in the text; and as those connexions are far from being natural or simply plausible, he puts his spirit to the torture, and goes to seek in the mysterious action of nature points of contact of which no one would think. Thus in the sound *k'ün* (春, 蠢) he finds a natural analogy between the slow and gradual movement of a worm without eyes, and the march, equally slow and gradual, of vegetation in spring; in the sounds *hsiâ* and *hiâ* (夏, 假) he finds a direct connexion between greatness and the action which makes plants become great in summer. So in the same way with the other sounds which he deals with. To many Chinese this fashion of reasoning appears to be very profound; but, as I think, it is nothing but a childish play on words and hollow ideas.’

It was the rule that the host should be in the eastern quarter. The eastern quarter suggests the idea of spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move, and (it is spring) which produces all things. The host makes the festivity; that is, he produces all things.

20. The moon, after three days, completes the period of its dark disk. Three months complete a season. Therefore in this ceremony precedence is thrice yielded to the guest, and in establishing a state three high ministers must be appointed. That the guests are in three divisions, each with its head or leader, indicated the fundamental principles in the administration of government and instruction, and was the third great feature of the ceremony.

BOOK XLIII. SHÊ Î

OR

THE MEANING OF THE CEREMONY OF ARCHERY¹.

1. Anciently it was the rule for the feudal lords, when they would practise archery, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Banquet, and for the Great officers and ordinary officers, when they would shoot, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Drinking in the country districts. The ceremony of the Banquet served to illustrate the relation between ruler and subject; that of the District-drinking, to illustrate the distinction between seniors and juniors.

2. The archers, in advancing, retiring, and all their movements, were required to observe the rules. With minds correct, and straight carriage of the body, they were to hold their bows and arrows skilfully and firmly; and when they did so, they might be expected to hit the mark. In this way (from their archery) their characters could be seen¹.

3. To regulate (the discharging of the arrows), there was,—in the case of the son of Heaven, the playing of the 3âu-yü; in the case of the feudal lords, that of the Lî-shâu; in the case of the dignitaries, the Great officers, that of the 3hâi-pin; and in the case of officers, that of the 3hâi-fân².

¹ See introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 56, 57.

² Each archer discharged four arrows at the target. According to the account of the duties of the superintendent of archery in

The 3âu-yü¹ is expressive of joy that every office is (rightly) filled; the Lî-shâu is expressive of the joy at audiences of the court; the 3hâi-pin is expressive of the joy in observing the laws (which have been learned); and the 3hâi-fân is expressive of the joy in being free from all failures in duty. Therefore the son of Heaven regulated his shooting by keeping in his mind the right feeling of all officers; a feudal prince, by keeping in his mind the times of his appearing before the son of Heaven; a dignitary, being a Great officer, by keeping in his mind the observing of the laws (which he had learned); and an officer, by keeping in his mind that he must not fail in the duties of his office.

In this way, when they clearly understood the meaning of those regulating measures, and were thus able to avoid all failure in their services, they were successful in their undertakings, and their character

the K'âu Lî (射人, Book XXX, paragraphs 54-67, especially 57), the 3âu-yü was played or sung nine times; the Lî-shâu seven times; and the two other pieces five times. When the king was shooting therefore, he began to shoot after the fifth performance, and had all the previous time to prepare himself; a prince began to shoot after the third performance; and in the two other cases there was only the time of one performance for preparation.

¹ The 3âu-yü is the last piece in the 2nd Book of the first part of the Book of Poetry; supposed to celebrate the benevolence of the king; here seen in his delight at every office being rightly filled. The Lî-shâu, 'Fox's Head,' or 'Wild Cat's Head,' has not come down to us;—see note 2, page 124. The 3hâi-pin and 3hâi-fân are the fifth and second pieces of the same Book and same part of the Shih as the 3âu-yü. The regulating the discharge of the arrows by the playing of these pieces was part of the moral discipline to which it was sought to make the archery subservient.

and conduct were established. When their characters were established, no such evils as oppression and disorder occurred; and when their undertakings were successful, the states were tranquil and happy. Hence it is said that 'the archery served to show the completeness of (the archer's) virtue.'

4. Therefore, anciently, the son of Heaven chose the feudal lords, the dignitaries who were Great officers, and the officers, from their skill in archery. Archery is specially the business of males, and there were added to it the embellishments of ceremonies and music. Hence among the things which may afford the most complete illustration of ceremonies and music, and the frequent performance of which may serve to establish virtue and good conduct, there is nothing equal to archery: and therefore the ancient kings paid much attention to it.

5. Therefore, anciently, according to the royal institutes, the feudal princes annually presented the officers who had charge of their tribute to the son of Heaven, who made trial of them in the archery-hall. Those of them whose bodily carriage was in conformity with the rules, and whose shooting was in agreement with the music, and who hit the mark most frequently, were allowed to take part at the sacrifices. When his officers had frequently that privilege, their ruler was congratulated; if they frequently failed to obtain it, he was reprimanded. If a prince were frequently so congratulated, he received an increase to his territory; if he were frequently so reprimanded, part of his territory was taken from him. Hence came the saying, 'The archers shoot in the interest of their princes.' Thus, in the states, the rulers and their officers devoted

themselves to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of the ceremonies and music. But when rulers and officers practise ceremonies and music, never has it been known that such practice led to their banishment or ruin.

6. Hence it is said in the ode (now lost),

‘The long-descended lord
Presents your cups of grace.
His chiefs and noble men
Appear, all in their place;
Small officers and Great,
Not one will keep away.
See them before their prince,
All in their full array.
They feast, and then they shoot,
Happy and praised to boot.’

The lines show how when rulers and their officers earnestly devoted themselves together to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of ceremonies and music, they were happy and got renown. It was on this account that the son of Heaven instituted the custom, and the feudal lords diligently attended to it. This was the way in which the son of Heaven cherished the princes, and had no need of weapons of war (in dealing with them); it furnished (also) to the princes an instrument with which they trained themselves to rectitude.

7. (Once), when Confucius was conducting an archery meeting in a vegetable garden at Kio-hsiang, the lookers-on surrounded it like a wall. When the proceedings reached the point when a Master of the Horse should be appointed, he directed 3ze-lû to take his bow and arrows, and go

out to introduce those who wished to shoot, and to say, 'The general of a defeated army, the Great officer of a ruler-less state, and any one who (has schemed to be) the successor and heir of another, will not be allowed to enter, but the rest may all enter.' On this, one half went away, and the other half entered.

After this, (wishing to send the cup round among all the company), he further directed Kung-wang *K'hiu* and Hsü Tien to raise the horns of liquor, and make proclamation. Then Kung-wang *K'hiu* raised his horn, and said, 'Are the young and strong (here) observant of their filial and fraternal duties? Are the old and men of eighty (here) such as love propriety, not following licentious customs, and resolved to maintain their characters to death? (If so), they may occupy the position of guests.' On this, one half (of those who had entered) went away, and the other half remained.

Hsü Tien next raised his horn, and proclaimed, 'Are you fond of learning without being tired? are you fond of the rules of propriety, and unswerving in your adherence to them? Do those of you who are eighty, ninety, or one hundred, expound the way (of virtue) without confusion or error? If so, you can occupy the position of visitors.' Thereupon hardly any remained¹.

8. To shoot means to draw out to the end, and some say to lodge in the exact point. That draw-

¹ The authenticity of what is related in this paragraph, which is not in the expurgated edition of the *Lí Kí*, may be doubted. But however that be, it is evidently intended to be an illustration of what did, or might, take place at meetings for archery in the country. *K'io-hsiang* is understood to be the name of some place in *Lí*.

ing out to the end means every one unfolding his own idea ; hence, with the mind even-balanced and the body correctly poised, (the archer) holds his bow and arrow skilfully and firmly. When he so holds them, he will hit the mark. Hence it is said, 'The father (shoots) at the father-mark ; the son, at the son-mark ; the ruler, at the ruler-mark ; the subject, at the subject-mark.' Thus the archer shoots at the mark of his (ideal) self ; and so the Great archery of the son of Heaven is called shooting at (the mark of) the feudal prince. 'Shooting at the mark of the feudal prince' was shooting to prove himself a prince. He who hit the mark was permitted to be (that is, retain his rank as) a prince ; he who did not hit the mark was not permitted to retain his rank as a prince¹.

9. When the son of Heaven was about to sacrifice, the rule was that he should celebrate the archery at the pool, which name suggested the idea of selecting the officers (by their shooting)². After

¹ In this paragraph we have a remarkable instance of that punning or playing on words or sounds, which Callery has pointed out as a 'puerility' in Chinese writers, and of which we have many examples in the writers of the Han dynasty. The idea in the paragraph is good, that when one realises the ideal of what he is, becoming all he ought to be, he may be said to hit the mark. But to bring out this from the character (射), which is the symbol of shooting with the bow, the author is obliged to give it two names,—yî (射 = 繹, drawing out or unwinding the thread of a cocoon, or clue of silk, to the end) and shê (射 = 舍, a cottage or booth, a place to lodge in). The latter is the proper name for the character in the sense of shooting.

² Here there is another play on names,—jeh, in Pekinese kâi (澤), 'a pond or pool,' suggesting the character 擇, which has the same name, and means 'to choose, select.' There were two

the archery at the pool came that in the archery hall. Those who hit the mark were permitted to take part in the sacrifice; and those who failed were not permitted to do so. (The ruler of those) who did not receive the permission was reprimanded, and had part of his territory taken from him. The ruler of those who were permitted was congratulated, and received an addition to his territory. The advancement appeared in the rank; the disapprobation, in the (loss of) territory.

10. Hence, when a son is born, a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild raspberry plant (are placed on the left of the door), for the purpose of shooting at heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. Heaven, earth, and the four points denote the spheres wherein the business of a man lies. The young man must first give his mind to what is to be his business, and then he may venture to receive emolument, that is, the provision for his food.

11. Archery suggests to us the way of benevolence. (The archer) seeks to be correct in himself, and then discharges his arrow. If it miss the mark, he is not angry with the one who has surpassed himself, but turns round and seeks (for the cause of failure) in himself¹. Confucius said, 'The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said that he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? (But) he bows complaisantly to his competitor, ascends

places for the archery, one called the *K'âi Kung*, 'Palace or Hall by the pool,' and the other, *Shê Kung*, 'Palace or Hall of Archery,' which was, says Callery, 'a vast gallery in the royal college.'

¹ Compare above, page 307, paragraph 40, where we have 'the way of the superior man' instead of 'the way of benevolence, or perfect virtue.'

(the hall), descends (again), and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the superior man¹.

12. Confucius said, 'How difficult it is to shoot! How difficult it is to listen (to the music)! To shoot exactly in harmony with the note (given) by the music, and to shoot without missing the bull's-eye on the target :—it is only the archer of superior virtue who can do this! How shall a man of inferior character be able to hit the mark? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 6, 1),

“Now shoot,” he says, “and show your skill.”

The other answers, “Shoot I will,

And hit the mark ;—and when you miss,

Pray you the penal cup to kiss.”’

‘To pray’ is to ask. The archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup. The liquor in the cup is designed (properly) to nourish the aged, or the sick. When the archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup, that is declining what should serve to nourish (those that need it).

¹ See Confucian Analects, III, vii.

BOOK XLIV. YEN Î

OR

THE MEANING OF THE BANQUET¹.

1. Anciently, among the officers of the kings of *K'au*, there was one called the *shû-jze*. He was charged with the care of the sons of the feudal lords, the high dignitaries who were the Great officers, and (other) officers,—the eldest sons who occupied the next place to their fathers. He managed (the issuing) to them of (all) cautions and orders; superintended their instruction in all they had to learn and (the art of self-)government; arranged them in their different classes; and saw that they occupied their correct positions. If there were any grand solemnity (being transacted) in the kingdom, he conducted them—these sons of the state—and placed them under the eldest son, the heir-apparent, who made what use of them he thought fit. If any military operations were being undertaken, he provided for them their carriages and coats of mail, assembled for them the companies of a hundred men and of five men (of which they should have charge), and appointed their inferior officers, thus training them in the art of war:—they were not under the jurisdiction of the minister of War. In all (other) governmental business of the state, these sons of it were left free, their fathers' eldest sons, without public occupation,

¹ See introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 57, 58.

and were made to attend to the cultivation of virtuous ways. In spring, (the shû-jze) assembled them in the college; and in autumn, in the archery (hall), that he might examine into their proficiency, and advanced or degraded them accordingly.

2. The meaning of the ceremony of the banquet at the feudal courts (may be thus described):—The ruler stood on the south-east of (his own) steps on the east, having his face towards the south, fronting the ministers or dignitaries who were nearest to him. They and all the (other) Great officers came forward a little, taking each his proper station. The ruler's mat is placed at the top of the eastern steps:—there is the station of the host. The ruler alone goes up and stands on his mat; with his face to the west he stands there by himself:—showing that no one presumes to place himself on a par with him.

3. Guests and host having been arranged, according to the rules for the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, (the ruler) makes his chief cook act for him in presenting (the cup):—a minister may not presume to take on himself any usage proper to the ruler. None of the (three) kung and no high minister has the place of a guest; but the Great officers are among the guests,—because of the doubts that might arise, and to show the jealousy (which such great men in that position might create).

When the guests have entered to the middle of the courtyard, the ruler descends a step and bows to them:—thus courteously receiving them.

4. The ruler sends the cup round among the guests in order; and when he has given a special cup to

any, they all descend, and bow twice, laying at the same time their heads to the ground; after which they ascend, and complete their bowing:—thus showing the observance due from subjects. The ruler responds to them, for every act of courtesy must be responded to:—illustrating the observances due from the ruler and superiors. When ministers and inferiors do their utmost to perform service for the state, the ruler must recompense them with rank and emoluments. Hence all officers and inferiors endeavour with their utmost strength and ability to establish their merit, and thus the state is kept in tranquillity, and the ruler's mind is at rest.

(The principle) that every act of courtesy must be responded to, showed that rulers do not receive anything from their inferiors without sufficient ground for doing so. The ruler must illustrate the path of rectitude in his conduct of the people; and when the people follow that path and do good service (for the state), then he may take from them a tenth part (of their revenues). In this way he has enough, and his subjects do not suffer want. Thus harmony and affection prevail between high and low, and they have no mutual dissatisfactions. Such harmony and rest are the result of the ceremonial usages. This is the great idea in the relation between ruler and subject, between high and low:—hence it is said that the object of the banquet was to illustrate the idea of justice between ruler and subject.

5. The mats were arranged so that the dignitaries of smaller rank occupied the place next (in honour) to those of higher; the Great officers, the place next to the lower dignitaries. The officers and sons of

concubines¹ (also) took their places below in their regular order. The cup being presented to the ruler, he begins the general pledging, and offers the cup to the high dignitaries². They continue the ceremony, and offer the cup to the Great officers, who offer it in turn to the (other) officers, and these finally offer it to the sons of concubines. The stands and dishes, with the flesh of the animals³, and the savoury viands, were all proportioned to the differences of rank in the guests:—and thus the distinction was shown between the noble and the mean.

¹ This is a common meaning of the phrase *shû-jze*. We cannot suppose that there is a reference to the officer so called in paragraph 1. He was of too high a rank to be placed after the officers, who ranked below the Great officers. Nor can we suppose that it denotes here 'the sons of the state' under his charge.

² The ruler did this by his deputy, the chief cook, who officiated for him on the occasion. All the different offerings are said to have been made by him indeed; but that is not the natural interpretation of the text.

³ *Khân Hâu* says these were dogs; see above, page 443, paragraph 17.

BOOK XLV. PHING 1

OR

THE MEANING OF THE INTERCHANGE OF MISSIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT COURTS¹.

1. According to the ceremonies in missions, a duke of the highest grade sent seven attendants with (his representative); a marquis or earl, five; and a count or baron, three. The difference in number served to show the difference in rank of their principals².

2. The messages (between the visitor and the host) were passed through all the attendants, from one to another. A superior man, where he wishes to do honour, will not venture to communicate directly and in person. This was a high tribute of respect.

3. The message was transmitted (only) after the messenger had thrice declined to receive (the courtesies offered to him at the gate); he entered the gate of the ancestral temple after thrice in the same way trying to avoid doing so; thrice he exchanged bows with his conductor before they arrived at the steps; and thrice he yielded the precedence offered to him before he ascended the hall:—so did he carry to

¹ See introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages 58, 59.

² If the ruler went in person on the mission, he had in every case, according to his rank, two attendants more than the number specified for his representative.

the utmost his giving of honour and yielding courtesy.

4. The ruler sent an officer to meet (the messenger) at the border (of the state), and a Great officer to offer him the customary presents and congratulations (after the toils of the journey) in the suburb (near the capital); he himself met him and bowed to him inside the great gate, and then received him in the ancestral temple; with his face to the north he bowed to him when the presents (which he brought) were presented, and bowed again (when his message was delivered), in acknowledgment of its condescension;—in this way did he (on his part) testify his respect.

5. Respectfulness and yielding courtesy mark the intercourse of superior men with one another. Hence, when the feudal lords received one another with such respectfulness and yielding courtesy, they would not attack or encroach on one another.

6. A high minister is employed as principal usher (for the messenger), a Great officer as the next, and (ordinary) officers acted as their attendants. (When he had delivered his message), the ruler himself showed him courtesy, (and presented to him the cup of new liquor). He had his private interviews (with the dignitaries and Great officers of the court), and also with the ruler¹. (After this), supplies of animals, slaughtered and living, were sent (to his hotel). (When he was about to take his departure), the jade-symbols (by which he was accredited) were returned to him, and the return

¹ At these interviews, after he had discharged his mission and presented the gifts from his ruler, he presented other gifts on his own account.

gifts (of silk and other things) presented at the same time. He had been entertained and feasted. All these observances served to illustrate the idea underlying the relations between ruler and minister in receiving visitors and guests¹.

7. Therefore it was a statute made by the son of Heaven for the feudal lords, that every year they should interchange a small mission, and every three years a great one:—thus stimulating one another to the exercise of courtesy. If the messenger committed any error in the exchange of his mission, the ruler, his host, did not personally entertain and feast him:—thereby making him ashamed, and stimulating him.

When the princes thus stimulated one another to the observance of the ceremonial usages, they did not make any attacks on one another, and in their states there was no oppression or encroachment. In this way the son of Heaven cherished and nourished them; there was no occasion for any appeal to arms, and they were furnished with an instrument to maintain themselves in rectitude.

8. (The commissioners) carried with them their jade-symbols, the sceptre and half-sceptre:—showing the importance of the ceremony. On the completion of their mission, these were returned to them:—showing the small importance to be attached to their value, and the great importance of the ceremony. When the princes thus stimulated one another, to set light by the value of the articles, and recognise the importance of the ceremony, the people learned to be yielding and courteous.

¹ The entertainment took place in the open court; the banquet in the banquetting chamber.

9. The prince of the state to which the mission was sent treated his guests in this way:—Till their departure from their coming, they were supplied from the three stores (provided for such purposes). Living animals were sent to them at their lodging. A provision of five sets of the three animals for slaughter was made inside. Thirty loads of rice, the same number of grain with the straw, and twice as many of fodder and firewood were provided outside. There were five pairs of birds that went in flocks every day. All the attendants had cattle supplied to them for their food. There was one meal (a day in the court), and two (spare) entertainments (in the temple). The banquets and occasional bounties were without any definite number. With such generosity was the importance of the ceremony indicated¹.

10. They could not always be so profuse as this in antiquity in the use of their wealth; but their employment of it thus liberally (in connexion with these missions) showed how they were prepared to devote it to the maintenance of the ceremonies. When they expended it as they did on the ceremonies, then in the states ruler and minister did not encroach on one another's rights and possessions, and different states did not attack one another. It was on this account that the kings made their statute about these missions, and the feudal lords did their utmost to fulfil it².

¹ The particulars here briefly mentioned and many others are to be found in great detail in the 8th division of the *Î Li*, Books 15-18, which are on the subject of these missions.

² About twenty years ago, when I had occasion to accompany a mandarin from Canton to a disturbed district in the interior, he

11. The archery in connexion with these missions was a very great institution. With the early dawn they commenced it, and it was nearly midday before the whole of the ceremonies were concluded :— it required men of great vigour and strength to go through with it.

And further, when such men were about to engage in it, though the liquor might be clear and they were thirsty, they did not venture to drink of it; though the stalks of flesh were dry (and ready to their hand), and they were hungry, they did not venture to eat of them; at the close of the day, when they were tired, they continued to maintain a grave and correct deportment. So they carried out all the details of the ceremonies; so they maintained correctly the relation between ruler and subject, affection between father and son, and harmony between seniors and juniors. All this it is difficult for the generality of men to do, but it was done by those superior men; and on this account they were called men possessed of great ability in action. The ascribing to them such ability in action implied their possession of the sense of righteousness; and their possession of that sense implied that they were valiant and daring. The

introduced one day in conversation the subject of these missions, saying that they must have been a great drain on the revenues of the ancient states, and that in the same way in the present day the provincial administrations were burdened with many outlays which should be borne by the imperial treasury. As resident ambassadors from foreign nations had then begun to be talked about, he asked whether China would have to pay their expenses, or the countries which they represented would do so, and was greatly relieved when I told him that each nation would pay the expenses of its embassy.

most valuable quality in a man who is bold and daring is that he can thereby establish his sense of righteousness; the most valuable quality in him who establishes that sense is that he can thereby show his great ability in action; the most valuable quality in him who has that ability is that he can carry all ceremonies into practice. In this way, the most valuable quality in valiant daring is that its possessor dares to carry into practice the rules of ceremony and righteousness.

It follows from this that such men, bold and daring, full of vigour and strength, when the kingdom was at peace, employed their gifts in the exercise of propriety and righteousness; and, when there was trouble in the kingdom, employed them in the battle-field and in gaining victory. When they employed them to conquer in battle, no enemies could resist them; when they employed them in the exercise of propriety and righteousness, then obedience and good order prevailed. No enemies abroad, and obedience and good order at home:—this was called the perfect condition for a state. But when men, so endowed, did not use their valour and strength in the service of propriety and righteousness, and to secure victory, but in strifes and contentions, then they were styled men of turbulence or disorder. Punishments were put in requisition throughout the kingdom, and the (first) use of them was to deal with those same men, and take them off. In this way (again), the people became obedient and there was good order, and the state was tranquil and happy.

12. 3ze-kung asked Confucius, saying, 'Allow me to ask the reason why the superior man sets

a high value on jade, and but little on soapstone ? Is it because jade is rare, and the soapstone plentiful ?'

13. Confucius replied, 'It is not because the soapstone is plentiful that he thinks but little of it, and because jade is rare that he sets a high value on it. Anciently superior men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade. Soft, smooth, and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence ; fine, compact, and strong,—like intelligence ; angular, but not sharp and cutting,—like righteousness ; hanging down (in beads) as if it would fall to the ground,—like (the humility of) propriety ; when struck, yielding a note, clear and prolonged, yet terminating abruptly,—like music ; its flaws not concealing its beauty, nor its beauty concealing its flaws,—like loyalty ; with an internal radiance issuing from it on every side,—like good faith ; bright as a brilliant rainbow,—like heaven ; exquisite and mysterious, appearing in the hills and streams,—like the earth ; standing out conspicuous in the symbols of rank,—like virtue ; esteemed by all under the sky,—like the path of truth and duty. As is said in the ode (I, xi, ode 3, 1),

“Such my lord's car. He rises in my mind,
Lovely and bland, like jade of richest kind.”

This is why the superior man esteems it so highly !'

BOOK XLVI. SANG FÛ SZE K'IH

OR

THE FOUR PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE DRESS OF MOURNING¹.

1. All ceremonial usages looked at in their great characteristics are the embodiment of (the ideas suggested by) heaven and earth; take their laws from the (changes of the) four seasons; imitate the (operation of the) contracting and developing movements in nature; and are conformed to the feelings of men. It is on this account that they are called the Rules of Propriety; and when any one finds fault with them, he only shows his ignorance of their origin.

2. Those usages are different in their applications to felicitous and unfortunate occurrences; in which they should not come into collision with one another:—this is derived from (their pattern as given by) the contracting and developing movements in nature.

3. The mourning dress has its four definite fashions and styles, the changes in which are always according to what is right:—this is derived from the (changes of the) four seasons.

Now, affection predominates; now, nice distinctions; now, defined regulations; and now, the consideration of circumstances:—all these are

¹ See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pp. 59, 60.

derived from the human feelings. In affection we have benevolence; in nice distinctions, righteousness; in defined regulations, propriety; and in the consideration of circumstances, knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge;—these make up the characteristic attributes of humanity.

4. Where the affection has been great, the mourning worn is deep. On this account the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn for the father for three years:—the regulation is determined by affection.

5. In the regulation (of the mourning) within the family circle, the affection throws the (duty of public) righteousness into the shade¹. In the regulation (of that which is) beyond that circle, the (duty of public) righteousness cuts the (mourning of) affection short¹. The service due to a father is employed in serving a ruler, and the reverence is the same for both:—this is the greatest instance of (the conviction of the duty of) righteousness, in all the esteem shown to nobility and the honour done to the honourable. Hence the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn (also) for the ruler for three years:—the regulation is determined by righteousness.

6. The eating after three days; the washing the head after three months; the sacrifice and change of dress at the end of the first year; the not carrying the emaciation to such an extent as to affect life:—these regulations were to avoid doing harm to the living

¹ A son, on his father's death, is exempted from official duties for a time; but this exemption is suspended on occasions of pressing exigency.

(by the mourning) for the dead. Not protracting the mourning rites beyond three years ; not mending even the coarsest sackcloth ; making no addition to the mound (raised at first) over the grave ; fixing the day for the sacrifice at the end of the second year ; playing (at first, on the conclusion of the rites) on a plain, unvarnished lute :—all these things were to make the people aware of the termination (of the several rites), and constituted the defined regulations.

The service due to a father is employed in serving a mother, and the love is the same for both. (But) in the sky there are not two suns, nor in a land two kings, nor in a state two rulers, nor in a family two equally honourable :—one (principle) regulates (all) these conditions. Hence, while the father is alive, the sackcloth with even edges is worn (for a mother), (and only) for a year,—showing that there are not (in the family) two equally honourable.

7. What is meant by the use of the staff ? It is (a symbol of) rank. On the third day it is given to the son ; on the fifth day, to Great officers ; and on the seventh day, to ordinary officers ;—(at the mourning rites for a ruler). Some say that it is given to them as the presiding mourners ; and others, that it is to support them in their distress.

A daughter (not yet fully grown) and a son (while but a lad), do not carry a staff ;—(being supposed) not to be capable of (extreme) distress.

When all the array of officers is complete, and all things are provided, and (the mourner) cannot speak (his directions), and things must (still) proceed, he is assisted to rise. If he be able to speak, and things will proceed (as he directs), he rises by the help of

the staff. Where (the mourner) has himself to take part in what is to be done, he will have his face grimed (as if black with sorrow). Women who are bald do not use the coiffure; hunchbacks do not unbare their arms; the lame do not leap; and the old and ill do not give up the use of liquor and flesh. All these are cases regulated by the consideration of circumstances.

8. After the occurrence of the death, the (wailing for) three days, which left no leisure for anything else; the not taking off (the headband or girdle) for three months; the grief and lamentation for a whole year; and the sorrow on to the three years:—(in all these things) there was a gradual diminution of the (manifestation of) affection. The sages, in accordance with that diminution of the natural feeling, made their various definite regulations.

9. It was on this account that the mourning rites were limited to three years. The worthiest were not permitted to go beyond this period, nor those who were inferior to them to fall short of it. This was the proper and invariable time for those rites, what the (sage) kings always carried into practice.

When it is said in the Shû (Part IV, Book VIII, i, 1), that Káo Jung, while occupying the mourning shed, for three years did not speak, this expresses approval of that sovereign. But the kings all observed this rule;—why is the approval only expressed in connexion with him? It may be replied, 'This Káo Jung was Wû Ting.' Wû Ting was a worthy sovereign of Yin. He had come to the throne in the due order of succession, and was thus loving and good in his observance of the mourning rites. At this time Yin, which had been

decaying, revived again ; ceremonial usages, which had been neglected, came again into use. On this account the approval of him was expressed, and therefore it was recorded in the Shû, and he was styled Kâo (The Exalted), and designated Kâo Jung (The Exalted and Honoured Sovereign). (The rule was that), during the three years' mourning, a ruler should not speak ; and that the Shû says, ' Kâo Jung, while he occupied the mourning shed, for the three years did not speak,' was an illustration of this. When it is said (in the Hsiâo King, chapter 18th), ' They speak, but without elegance of phrase,' the reference is to ministers and inferior (officers).

10. According to the usages, when wearing the sackcloth with jagged edges (for a father), (a son) indicated that he heard what was said to him, but did not reply in words ; when wearing that with even edges (for a mother), he replied, but did not speak (of anything else) ; when wearing the mourning of nine months, he might speak (of other things), but did not enter into any discussion ; when wearing that of five months, or of three, he might discuss, but did not show pleasure in doing so.

11. At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) wore the cap of sackcloth, with strings of cords, and sandals of straw ; after the third day, he (began to) take gruel ; after the third month, he washed his head ; at the end of the year, in the thirteenth month, he put on the mourning silk and cap proper after the first year ; and when the three years were completed, he offered the auspicious sacrifice.

12. When one has completed these three regulated periods, the most animated with the sentiment

of benevolence (or humanity) can perceive the affection (underlying the usages); he who has (most) knowledge can perceive the nice distinctions pervading them; and he who has (most) strength can perceive the (force of) will (required for their discharge). The propriety that regulates them, and the righteousness that maintains their correctness, may be examined by filial sons, deferential younger brothers, and pure-minded virgins.

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PARTS I, II, III, IV,

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- Yû (king), i, 296; iii, 372. (Disciple), iii, 127, 415 (i. q. Ze-lû, q. v.) Yû-ze, iii, 130, 149, 176; iv, 141, i. q. Yû Zo, iii, 165, 174, 188-9.
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.								
		III Class.								
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	.	.	𑖅	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	𑖆	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	𑖇	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	k
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	𑖈	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	kh
15 Media	.	g	.	𑖉	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	.
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	𑖊	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.
17 " Nasalis	ñ	.	.	𑖋	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(j)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ש	s
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬨	𐬨	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬨	𐬨	د	د	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l		ळ	𐬨	𐬨				
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			s (ʃ)							
35 " lenis	z									z
36 " asperimus 1			z (ʒ)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (ʒ)							

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXXIX

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1891

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA
THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART I

THE TÂO TEH KING
THE WRITINGS OF KWANG-3ZE
BOOKS I—XVII

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1891

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PREFACE.

IN the Preface to the third volume of these 'Sacred Books of the East' (1879), I stated that I proposed giving in due course, in order to exhibit the System of Tâoism, translations of the Tâo Teh King by Lâo-ȳze (sixth century B.C.), the Writings of Kwang-ȳze (between the middle of the fourth and third centuries B.C.), and the Treatise of 'Actions and their Retributions' (of our eleventh century); and perhaps also of one or more of the other characteristic Productions of the System.

The two volumes now submitted to the reader are a fulfilment of the promise made so long ago. They contain versions of the Three Works which were specified, and, in addition, as Appendixes, four other shorter Treatises of Tâoism; Analyses of several of the Books of Kwang-ȳze by Lin Hsi-ȳung; a list of the stories which form so important a part of those Books; two Essays by two of the greatest Scholars of China, written the one in A.D. 586 and illustrating the Tâoistic beliefs of that age, and the other in A.D. 1078 and dealing with the four Books of Kwang-ȳze, whose genuineness is frequently called in question. The concluding Index is confined very much to Proper Names. For Subjects the reader is referred to the Tables of Contents, the Introduction to the Books of Kwang-ȳze (vol. xxxix, pp. 127-163), and the Introductory Notes to the various Appendixes.

The Treatise of Actions and their Retributions exhibits to us the Tâoism of the eleventh century in its moral or ethical aspects; in the two earlier Works we see it rather as a philosophical speculation than as a religion in the ordinary sense of that term. It was not till after the introduction of Buddhism into China in our first century that Tâoism began to organise itself as a

Religion, having its monasteries and nunneries, its images and rituals. While it did so, it maintained the superstitions peculiar to itself:—some, like the cultivation of the Táo as a rule of life favourable to longevity, come down from the earliest times, and others which grew up during the decay of the *Káu* dynasty, and subsequently blossomed;—now in Mystical Speculation; now in the pursuits of Alchemy; now in the search for the pills of Immortality and the Elixir vitae; now in Astrological fancies; now in visions of Spirits and in Magical arts to control them; and finally in the terrors of its Purgatory and everlasting Hell. Its phases have been continually changing, and at present it attracts our notice more as a degraded adjunct of Buddhism than as a development of the speculations of *Lão-ze* and *Kwang-ze*. Up to its contact with Buddhism, it subsisted as an opposition to the Confucian system, which, while admitting the existence and rule of the Supreme Being, bases its teachings on the study of man's nature and the enforcement of the duties binding on all men from the moral and social principles of their constitution.

It is only during the present century that the Texts of Táoism have begun to receive the attention which they deserve. Christianity was introduced into China by Nestorian missionaries in the seventh century; and from the Hsî-an monument, which was erected by their successors in 781, nearly 150 years after their first entrance, we perceive that they were as familiar with the books of *Lão-ze* and *Kwang-ze* as with the Confucian literature of the empire, but that monument is the only memorial of them that remains. In the thirteenth century the Roman Catholic Church sent its earliest missionaries to China, but we hardly know anything of their literary labours.

The great Romish missions which continue to the present day began towards the end of the sixteenth century; and there exists now in the India Office a translation of the Táo Teh King in Latin, which was brought to England

by a Mr. Matthew Raper, and presented by him to the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow, on January 10th, 1788. The manuscript is in excellent preservation, but we do not know by whom the version was made. It was presented, as stated in the Introduction, p. 12, to Mr. Raper by P. de Grammont, 'Missionarius Apostolicus, ex-Jesuita.' The chief object of the translator or translators was to show that 'the Mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Incarnate God were anciently known to the Chinese nation.' The version as a whole is of little value. The reader will find, on pp. 115, 116, its explanation of L  o's seventy-second chapter;—the first morsel of it that has appeared in print.

Protestant missions to China commenced in 1807; but it was not till 1868 that the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, a member of one of them, published his 'Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of "The Old Philosopher," Lao-Tsze.' Meanwhile, Abel R  musat had aroused the curiosity of scholars throughout Europe, in 1823, by his 'Memoir on the Life and Opinions of L  o-Tseu, a Chinese Philosopher of the sixth century before our era, who professed the opinions commonly attributed to Pythagoras, to Plato, and to their disciples.' R  musat was followed by one who had received from him his first lessons in Chinese, and had become a truly great Chinese scholar,—the late Stanislas Julien. He published in 1842 'a complete translation for the first time of this memorable Work, which is regarded with reason as the most profound, the most abstract, and the most difficult of all Chinese Literature.' Dr. Chalmers's translation was also complete, but his comments, whether original or from Chinese sources, were much fewer than those supplied by Julien. Two years later, two German versions of the Treatise were published at Leipzig;—by Reinhold von Pl  nckner and Victor von Strauss, differing much from each other, but both marked by originality and ability.

I undertook myself, as stated above, in 1879 to translate for 'The Sacred Books of the East' the Texts of T  oism

which appear in these volumes; and, as I could find time from my labours on 'The Texts of Confucianism,' I had written out more than one version of L  o's work by the end of 1880. Though not satisfied with the result, I felt justified in exhibiting my general views of it in an article in the *British Quarterly Review* of July, 1883.

In 1884 Mr. F. H. Balfour published at Shanghai a version of 'Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political, and Speculative.' His Texts were ten in all, the *T  o Teh King* being the first and longest of them. His version of this differed in many points from all previous versions; and Mr. H. A. Giles, of H. M.'s Consular Service in China, vehemently assailed it and also Dr. Chalmers's translation, in the *China Review* for March and April, 1886. Mr. Giles, indeed, occasionally launched a shaft also at Julien and myself; but his main object in his article was to discredit the genuineness and authenticity of the *T  o Teh King* itself. 'The work,' he says, 'is undoubtedly a forgery. It contains, indeed, much that L  o Tz   did say, but more that he did not.' I replied, so far as was necessary, to Mr. Giles in the same *Review* for January and February, 1888; and a brief summary of my reply is given in the second chapter of the Introduction in this volume. My confidence has never been shaken for a moment in the *T  o Teh King* as a genuine relic of L  o-  ze, one of the most original minds of the Chinese race.

In preparing the version now published, I have used :—

First, 'The Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers;'—a *S  -   u* reprint in 1804 of the best editions of the Philosophers, nearly all belonging more or less to the T  oist school, included in it. It is a fine specimen of Chinese printing, clear and accurate. The Treatise of L  o-  ze of course occupies the first place, as edited by Kwei Y  -kwang (better known as Kwei K  n-shan) of the M  ng dynasty. The Text and Commentary are those of Ho-shang Kung (Intro., p. 7), along with the division of the whole into Parts and eighty-one chapters, and the titles of the several chapters, all attributed to him. Along the top of the page,

there is a large collection of notes from celebrated commentators and writers down to the editor himself.

Second, the Text and Commentary of Wang Pi (called also Fû-sze), who died A.D. 249, at the early age of twenty-four. See Introduction, p. 8.

Third, 'Helps (lit. Wings) to Lâo-îze;' by Jião Hung (called also Zâo-hâu), and prefaced by him in 1587. This is what Julien calls 'the most extensive and most important contribution to the understanding of Lâo-îze, which we yet possess.' Its contents are selected from the ablest writings on the Treatise from Han Fei (Introd., p. 5) downwards, closing in many chapters with the notes made by the compiler himself in the course of his studies. Altogether the book sets before us the substance of the views of sixty-four writers on our short *King*. Julien took the trouble to analyse the list of them, and found it composed of three emperors, twenty professed Tâoists, seven Buddhists, and thirty-four Confucianists or members of the Literati. He says, 'These last constantly explain Lâo-îze according to the ideas peculiar to the School of Confucius, at the risk of misrepresenting him, and with the express intention of throttling his system;' then adding, 'The commentaries written in such a spirit have no interest for persons who wish to enter fully into the thought of Lâo-îze, and obtain a just idea of his doctrine. I have thought it useless, therefore, to specify the names of such commentaries and their authors.'

I have quoted these sentences of Julien, because of a charge brought by Mr. Balfour, in a prefatory note to his own version of the Tâo Teh *King*, against him and other translators. 'One prime defect,' he says, though with some hesitation, 'lies at the root of every translation that has been published hitherto; and this is, that not one seems to have been based solely and entirely on commentaries furnished by members of the Tâoist school. The Confucian element enters largely into all; and here, I think, an injustice has been done to Lâo-îze. To a Confucianist the Tâoist system is in every sense of the word a heresy, and

a commentator holding this opinion is surely not the best expositor. It is as a Grammarian rather than as a Philosopher that a member of the Jû Chiá deals with the *Táo Teh King*; he gives the sense of a passage according to the syntactical construction rather than according to the genius of the philosophy itself; and in attempting to explain the text by his own canons, instead of by the canons of Táoism, he mistakes the superficial and apparently obvious meaning for the hidden and esoteric interpretation.'

Mr. Balfour will hardly repeat his charge of imperfect or erroneous interpretation against Julien; and I believe that it is equally undeserved by most, if not all, of the other translators against whom it is directed. He himself adopted as his guide the 'Explanations of the *Táo Teh King*,' current as the work of Lü Yen (called also Lü 3ü, Lü Tung-pin, and Lü K'ün-yang), a Táoist of the eighth century. Through Mr. Balfour's kindness I have had an opportunity of examining this edition of Láo's Treatise; and I am compelled to agree with the very unfavourable judgment on it pronounced by Mr. Giles as both 'spurious' and 'ridiculous.' All that we are told of Lü Yen is very suspicious; much of it evidently false. The editions of our little book ascribed to him are many. I have for more than twenty years possessed one with the title of 'The Meaning of the *Táo Teh King* Explained by the TRUE Man of K'ün-yang,' being a reprint of 1690, and as different as possible from the work patronised by Mr. Balfour.

Fourth, the *Thái Shang Hwun Hsüan Táo Teh K'ăn King*,—a work of the present dynasty, published at Shanghai, but when produced I do not know. It is certainly of the Lü 3ü type, and is worth purchasing as one of the finest specimens of block-printing. It professes to be the production of 'The Immortals of the Eight Grottoes,' each of whom is styled 'a Divine Ruler (Tí K'ün).' The eighty-one chapters are equally divided for commentary among them, excepting that 'the Divine Ruler, the Universal Refiner,' has the last eleven assigned to him. The Text is everywhere broken up into short clauses, which are explained in

a very few characters by 'God, the True Helper,' the same, I suppose, who is also styled, 'The Divine Ruler, the True Helper,' and comments at length on chapters 31 to 40. I mention these particulars as an illustration of how the ancient Tâoism has become polytheistic and absurd. The name 'God, the True Helper,' is a title, I imagine, given to Lü 3û. With all this nonsense, the composite commentary is a good one, the work, evidently, of one hand. One of several recommendatory Prefaces is ascribed to Wân *Khang*, the god of Literature; and he specially praises the work, as 'explaining the meaning by examination of the Text.'

Fifth, a 'Collection of the Most Important Treatises of the Tâoist Fathers (Tâo 3û *Kăn Kwan Kî Yáo*).' This was reprinted in 1877 at *Khang-kâu* in *Kiang-sû*; beginning with the Tâo Teh King, and ending with the Kan Ying Phien. Between these there are fourteen other Treatises, mostly short, five of them being among Mr. Balfour's 'Tâoist Texts.' The Collection was edited by a Lü Yü; and the Commentary selected by him, in all but the last Treatise, was by a Lî Hsî-yüeh, who appears to have been a recluse in a monastery on a mountain in the department of Pào-ning, *Sze-khwan*, if, indeed, what is said of him be not entirely fabulous.

Sixth, the Commentary on the Tâo Teh King, by Wû *Khăng* (A.D. 1249-1333) of Lin *Khwan*. This has been of the highest service to me. Wû *Khăng* was the greatest of the Yüan scholars. He is one of the Literati quoted from occasionally by 3iáo Hung in his 'Wings;' but by no means so extensively as Julien supposes (*Observations Détachées*, p. xli). My own copy of his work is in the 12th Section of the large Collection of the 'Yüeh-yâ Hall,' published in 1853. Writing of Wû *Khăng* in 1865 (*Proleg. to the Shû*, p. 36), I said that he was 'a bold thinker and a daring critic, handling his text with a freedom which I had not seen in any other Chinese scholar.' The subsequent study of his writings has confirmed me in this opinion of him. Perhaps he might be characterised as an independent, rather than as a bold, thinker, and the daring

of his criticism must not be supposed to be without caution. (See *Intro.*, p. 9.)

The Writings of *Kwang-ze* have been studied by foreigners still less than the *Treatise of Láo-ze*. When I undertook in 1879 to translate them, no version of them had been published. In 1881, however, there appeared at Shanghai Mr. Balfour's 'The Divine Classic of Nan-hua (*Intro.*, pp. 11, 12), being the Works of Chuang Tszé, Táoist Philosopher.' It was a 'bold' undertaking in Mr. Balfour thus to commence his translations of Chinese Books with one of the most difficult of them. I fancy that he was himself convinced of this, and that his undertaking had been 'too bold,' by the criticism to which his work was subjected in the *China Review* by Mr. Giles. Nevertheless, it was no small achievement to be the first to endeavour to lift up the veil from *Kwang-ze*. Even a first translation, though imperfect, is not without benefit to others who come after, and are able to do better. In preparing the draft of my own version, which draft was finished in April, 1887, I made frequent reference to the volume of Mr. Balfour.

Having exposed the errors of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Giles proceeded to make a version of his own, which was published last year in London, with the title of 'CHUANG Tzŭ, Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer.' It was not, however, till I was well through with the revision of my draft version, that I supplied myself with a copy of his volume. I did not doubt that Mr. Giles's translation would be well and tersely done, and I preferred to do my own work independently and without the help which he would have afforded me. In carrying my sheets through the press, I have often paused over my rendering of a passage to compare it with his; and I have pleasure in acknowledging the merits of his version. The careful and competent reader will see and form his own judgment on passages and points where we differ.

Before describing the editions of *Kwang-ze* which I

have consulted, I must not omit to mention Professor Gabelentz's 'Treatise on the Speech or Style of *Kwang-ze*,' as 'a Contribution to Chinese Grammar,' published at Leipzig in 1888. It has been a satisfaction to me to find myself on almost every point of usage in agreement with the views of so able a Chinese scholar.

The works which I employed in preparing my version have been:—

First, 'The True *K'ing* of Nan-hwâ,' in 'The Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers,' which has been described above. The Commentary which it supplies is that of Kwo Hsiang (Introd., pp. 9, 10), with 'The Sounds and Meanings of the Characters' from Lû Teh Ming's 'Explanations of the Terms and Phrases of the Classics,' of our seventh century. As in the case of the Táo Teh *K'ing*, the Ming editor has introduced at the top of his pages a selection of comments and notes from a great variety of scholars down to his own time.

Second, 'Helps (Wings) to *Kwang-ze* by Jiáo Hung,'—a kindred work to the one with a similar title on *Lão-ze*; by the same author, and prefaced by him in 1588. The two works are constructed on the same lines. Jiáo draws his materials from forty-eight authorities, from Kwo Hsiang to himself. He divides the several Books also into paragraphs, more or fewer according to their length, and the variety of subjects in them; and my version follows him in this lead with little or no change. He has two concluding Books; the one containing a collation of various readings, and the other a collection of articles on the history and genius of *Kwang-ze*, and different passages of his Text.

Third, the *Kwang-ze* Hsüeh or '*Kwang-ze* made like Snow,' equivalent to our '*Kwang-ze* Elucidated,' by a Lû Shû-kih of Canton province, written in 1796. The different Books are preceded by a short summary of their subject-matter. The work goes far to fulfil the promise of its title.

Fourth, *Kwang-ze* Yin, meaning 'The Train of

Thought in *Kwang-ze* Traced in its Phraseology.' My copy is a reprint, in 1880, of the Commentary of Lin Hsi-kung, who lived from the Ming into the present dynasty, under the editorship of a Lû K'û-wang of Kiang-sû province. The style is clear and elegant, but rather more concise than that of the preceding work. It leaves out the four disputed Books (XXVIII to XXXI); but all the others are followed by an elaborate discussion of their scope and plan.

Fifth, 'The Nan-hwâ Classic of *Kwang-ze* Explained,' published in 1621, by a Hsüan Ying or Jung (宣穎, 宣穎; the name is printed throughout the book, now in one of these ways, now in the other), called also Mâu-kung. The commentary is carefully executed and ingenious; but my copy of the book is so incorrectly printed that it can only be used with caution. Mr. Balfour appears to have made his version mainly from the same edition of the work; and some of his grossest errors pointed out by Mr. Giles arose from his accepting without question the misprints of his authority.

Sixth, 'Independent Views of *Kwang-ze* (莊子獨見);'—by Hû Wăn-ying, published in 1751. Occasionally, the writer pauses over a passage, which, he thinks, has defied all preceding students, and suggests the right explanation of it, or leaves it as inexplicable.

It only remains for me to refer to the Repertories of 'Elegant Extracts,' called by the Chinese K'û Wăn, which abound in their literature, and where the masterpieces of composition are elucidated with more or less of critical detail and paraphrase. I have consulted nearly a dozen of these collections, and would mention my indebtedness especially to that called Mèi K'wan, which discusses passages from twelve of *Kwang-ze*'s books.

When consulting the editions of Lin Hsi-kung and Lû Shû-kih, the reader is surprised by the frequency with which they refer to the 'old explanations' as 'incomplete and unsatisfactory,' often as 'absurd,' or 'ridiculous,' and he

finds on examination that they do not so express themselves without reason. He is soon convinced that the translation of *Kwang-ze* calls for the exercise of one's individual judgment, and the employment of every method akin to the critical processes by which the meaning in the books of other languages is determined. It was the perception of this which made me prepare in the first place a draft version to familiarise myself with the peculiar style and eccentric thought of the author.

From *Kwang-ze* to the Tractate of 'Actions and their Retributions' the transition is great. Translation in the latter case is as easy as it is difficult in the former. It was Rémusat who in 1816 called attention to the *Kan Ying Phien* in Europe, as he did to the *Tão Teh King* seven years later, and he translated the Text of it with a few Notes and Illustrative Anecdotes. In 1828 Klaproth published a translation of it from the *Man-châu* version; and in 1830 a translation in English appeared in the *Canton Register*, a newspaper published at Macao. In 1828 Julien published what has since been the standard version of it; with an immense amount of additional matter under the title—'Le Livre Des Récompenses et Des Peines, en Chinois et en Français; Accompagné de quatre cent Légendes, Anecdotes et Histoires, qui font connaître les Doctrines, les Croyances et les Mœurs de la Secte des Tão-ssé.'

In writing out my own version I have had before me:—

First, 'The *Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien*, with Plates and the Description of them;' a popular edition, as profusely furnished with anecdotes and stories as Julien's original, and all pictorially illustrated. The notes, comments, and corresponding sentences from the Confucian Classics are also abundant.

Second, 'The *Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien*, with explanations collected from the Classics and Histories;'—a Cantonese reprint of an edition prepared in the *Khien-lung* reign by a Hsiâ Kiû-hsiâ.

Third, the edition in the Collection of Tàost Texts described above on p. xvii; by Hsü Hsiù-teh. It is decidedly Tàostic; but without stories or pictures.

Fourth, 'The Thái Shang Kan Ying Phien Kû;' by Hui Tung, of the present dynasty. The Work follows the Commentary of Wú K'ăng on the Tào Teh King in the Collection of the Yüeh-yâ Hall. The preface of the author is dated in 1749. The Commentary, he tells us, was written in consequence of a vow, when his mother was ill, and he was praying for her recovery. It contains many extracts from Ko Hung (Introduction, p. 5, note), to whom he always refers by his nom de plume of Pao-phoh 3ze, or 'Maintainer of Simplicity.' He considers indeed this Tractate to have originated from him.

I have thus set forth all that is necessary to be said here by way of preface. For various information about the Treatises comprised in the Appendixes, the reader is referred to the preliminary notes, which precede the translation of most of them. I have often sorely missed the presence of a competent native scholar who would have assisted me in the quest of references, and in talking over difficult passages. Such a helper would have saved me much time; but the result, I think, would scarcely have appeared in any great alteration of my versions.

J. L.

OXFORD,

December 20, 1890.

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM.

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

WAS TÂOISM OLDER THAN LÂO-3ZE?

1. In writing the preface to the third volume of these Sacred Books of the East in 1879, I referred to Lâo-3ze as 'the acknowledged founder' of the system of Tâoism. Prolonged study and research, however, have brought me to the conclusion that there was a Tâoism earlier than his; and that before he wrote his *Tâo Teh King*, the principles taught in it had been promulgated, and the ordering of human conduct and government flowing from them inculcated.

For more than a thousand years 'the Three Religions' has been a stereotyped phrase in China, meaning what we call Confucianism, Tâoism, and Buddhism. The phrase itself simply means 'the Three Teachings,' or systems of instruction, leaving the subject-matter of each 'Teaching' to be learned by inquiry. Of the three, Buddhism is of course the most recent, having been introduced into China only in the first century of our Christian era. Both the others were indigenous to the country, and are traceable to a much greater antiquity, so that it is a question to which the earlier origin should be assigned. The years of Confucius's life lay between B.C. 551 and 478; but his own acknowledgment that he was 'a transmitter and not a maker,' and the testimony of his grandson, that 'he handed down the doctrines of Yâo and Shun (B.C. 2300), and elegantly displayed the regulations

of Wân and Wû (B.C. 1200), taking them as his model,' are well known.

2. Láo-¿ze's birth is said, in the most likely account of it, to have taken place in the third year of king Ting of the Káu dynasty, (B.C.) 604. He was thus rather more than fifty years older than Confucius. The two men seem to have met more than once, and I am inclined to think that the name of Láo-¿ze, as the designation of the other, arose from Confucius's styling him to his disciples 'The Old Philosopher.' They met as Heads of different schools or schemes of thought; but did not touch, so far as we know, on the comparative antiquity of their views. It is a peculiarity of the Táo Teh K'ing that any historical element in

Peculiarity of
the Táo Teh
K'ing.

it is of the vaguest nature possible, and in all its chapters there is not a single proper name.

Yet there are some references to earlier sages whose words the author was copying out, and to 'sentence-makers' whose maxims he was introducing to illustrate his own sentiments¹. In the most distant antiquity he saw a happy society in which his highest ideas of the Táo were realised, and in the seventeenth chapter he tells us that in the earliest times the people did not know that there were their rulers, and when those rulers were most successful in dealing with them, simply said, 'We are what we are of ourselves.' Evidently, men existed to Láo-¿ze at first in a condition of happy innocence,—in what we must call a paradisiacal state, according to his idea of what such a state was likely to be.

When we turn from the treatise of Láo-¿ze to the writings of K'wang-¿ze, the greatest of his followers, we are

¹ The sixth chapter of Láo's treatise, that about 'the Spirit of the Valley,' is referred to in Lich-¿ze (I, 1^b), as being from Hwang Tí, from which the commentator Tú Táo-¿ien (about A.D. 1300) takes occasion to say: 'From which we know that Láo-¿ze was accustomed to quote in his treatise passages from earlier records,—as when he refers to the remarks of "some sage," of "some ancient," of "the sentence-makers," and of "some writer on war." In all these cases he is clearly introducing the words of earlier wise men. The case is like that of Confucius when he said, "I am a transmitter and not a maker," &c.' Found in Biáo Hung, in loc.

not left in doubt as to his belief in an early state of paradisiacal Tâoism. Hwang Tî, the first year of whose reign is placed in B.C. 2697, is often introduced as a seeker of the Tâo, and is occasionally condemned as having been one of the first to disturb its rule in men's minds and break up 'the State of Perfect Unity.' He mentions several sovereigns of whom we can hardly find a trace in the records of history as having ruled in the primeval period, and gives us more than one description of the condition of the world during that happy time ¹.

I do not think that *Kwang-ze* had any historical evidence for the statements which he makes about those early days, the men who flourished in them, and their ways. His narratives are for the most part fictions, in which the names and incidents are of his own devising. They are no more true as matters of fact than the accounts of the characters in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are true, with reference to any particular individuals; but as these last are grandly true of myriads of minds in different ages, so may we read in *Kwang-ze's* stories the thoughts of Tâoistic men beyond the restrictions of place and time. He believed that those thoughts were as old as the men to whom he attributed them. I find in his belief a ground for believing myself that to Tâoism, as well as to Confucianism, we ought to attribute a much earlier origin than the famous men whose names they bear. Perhaps they did not differ so much at first as they came afterwards to do in the hands of Confucius and Lâo-ze, both great thinkers, the one more of a moralist, and the other more of a metaphysician. When and how, if they were ever more akin than they came to be, their divergence took place, are difficult questions on which it may be well to make some remarks after we have tried to set forth the most important principles of Tâoism.

Those principles have to be learned from the treatise of Lâo-ze and the writings of *Kwang-ze*. We can hardly

¹ See in Books IX, X, and XII.

say that the Táoism taught in them is the Táoism now current in China, or that has been current in it for many centuries; but in an inquiry into the nature and origin of religions these are the authorities that must be consulted for Táoism, and whose evidence must be accepted. The treatise, 'Actions and the Responses to them,' will show one of the phases of it at a much later period.

CHAPTER II.

THE TEXTS OF THE TÁO TEH KING AND K'WANG-JZE SHÛ, AS REGARDS THEIR AUTHENTICITY AND GENUINENESS, AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THEM.

I. 1. I will now state briefly, first, the grounds on which I accept the Táo Teh King as a genuine production of the age to which it has been assigned, and the truth of its authorship by Láo-jze to whom it has been ascribed. It would not have been necessary a few years ago to write as if these points could be called in question, but in 1886 Mr. Herbert A. Giles, of Her Majesty's Consular Service in China, and one of the ablest Chinese scholars living, vehemently called them in question in an article in the China Review for the months of March and April. His strictures have been replied to, and I am not going to revive here the controversy which they produced, but only to state a portion of the evidence which satisfies my own mind on the two points just mentioned.

2. It has been said above that the year B. C. 604 was, probably, that of Láo-jze's birth. The year of his death is not recorded. Sze-mâ K'ien, the first great Chinese historian, who died in about B. C. 85, commences ^{The evidence of Sze-mâ K'ien, the historian.} his 'Biographies' with a short account of Láo-jze. He tells us that the philosopher had been a curator of the Royal Library of K'âu, and that, mourning over the decadence of the dynasty, he wished to withdraw from the world, and proceeded to the pass or defile of Hsien-ku ¹,

¹ In the present district of Ling-páo, Shan K'âu, province of Ho-nan.

leading from China to the west. There he was recognised by the warden of the pass, Yin Hsî (often called Kwan Yin), himself a well-known Tâoist, who insisted on his leaving him a writing before he went into seclusion. Lâo-ze then wrote his views on 'The Tâo and its Characteristics,' in two parts or sections, containing more than 5000 characters, gave the manuscript to the warden, and went his way¹; 'nor is it known where he died.' This account is strange enough, and we need not wonder that it was by and by embellished with many marvels. It contains, however, the definite statements that Lâo-ze wrote the Tâo Teh K'ing in two parts, and consisting of more than 5000 characters. And that K'ien was himself well acquainted with the treatise is apparent from his quotations from it, with, in almost every case, the specification of the author. He thus adduces part of the first chapter, and a large portion of the last chapter but one. His brief references also to Lâo-ze and his writings are numerous.

3. But between Lâo-ze and Sze-mâ K'ien there were many Tâoist writers whose works remain. I may specify of them Lieh-ze (assuming that his chapters, though not composed in their present form by him, may yet be accepted as fair specimens of his teaching); Kwang-ze (of the fourth century B.C. We find him refusing to accept high office from king Wei of K'û, B.C. 339-299); Han Fei, a voluminous author, who died by his own hand in B.C. 230; and Liû An, a scion of the Imperial House of Han, king of Hwâi-nan, and better known to us as Hwâi-nan Ze, who also died by his own hand in B.C. 122. In the books of all these men we find quotations of many passages that are in our treatise. They are expressly said to be, many of them, quotations from Lâo-ze; Han Fei several times all but

Lieh-ze, Han
Fei-ze, and
other Tâoist
authors.

¹ In an ordinary Student's Manual I find a note with reference to this incident to which it may be worth while to give a place here:—The warden, it is said, set before Lâo-ze a dish of tea; and this was the origin of the custom of tea-drinking between host and guest (see the 幼學故事尋源, ch. 7, on Food and Drink).

shows the book beneath his eyes. To show how numerous the quotations by Han Fei and Liû An are, let it be borne in mind that the Tâo Teh King has come down to us as divided into eighty-one short chapters; and that the whole of it is shorter than the shortest of our Gospels. Of the eighty-one chapters, either the whole or portions of seventy-one are found in those two writers. There are other authors not so decidedly Tâoistic, in whom we find quotations from the little book. These quotations are in general wonderfully correct. Various readings indeed there are; but if we were sure that the writers did trust to memory, their differences would only prove that copies of the text had been multiplied from the very first.

In passing on from quotations to the complete text, I will Evidence of Pan Kû. clinch the assertion that *K'ien* was well acquainted with our treatise, by a passage from the History of the Former Han Dynasty (B.C. 206–A.D. 24), which was begun to be compiled by Pan Kû, who died however in 92, and left a portion to be completed by his sister, the famous Pan K'áo. The thirty-second chapter of his Biographies is devoted to Sze-mâ *K'ien*, and towards the end it is said that 'on the subject of the Great Tâo he preferred Hwang and Láo to the six King.' 'Hwang and Láo' must there be the writings of Hwang-Tî and Láo-ze. The association of the two names also illustrates the antiquity claimed for Tâoism, and the subject of note 1, p. 2.

4. We go on from quotations to complete texts, and turn, first, to the catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, as compiled by Liû Hsin, not later than the commencement of our Christian era. There are entered in it Tâoist works by thirty-seven different authors, containing in all Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han. 993 chapters or sections (phien). Í Yin, the premier of *K'hang* Thang (B.C. 1766), heads the list with fifty-one sections. There are in it four editions of Láo-ze's work with commentaries:—by a Mr. Lin, in four sections; a Mr. Fû, in thirty-seven sections; a Mr. Hsü, in six sections; and by Liû Hsiang, Hsin's own father, in four sections. All these four works have since perished, but there they were in the Imperial Library before

our era began. *Kwang-ze* is in the same list in fifty-two books or sections, the greater part of which have happily escaped the devouring tooth of time.

We turn now to the twentieth chapter of *K'ien's* Biographies, in which he gives an account of *Yo Í*, the scion of a distinguished family, and who himself played a famous part, both as a politician and military leader, and became prince of *Wang-kú* under the kingdom of *K'ao* in B.C. 279. Among his descendants was a *Yo K'ăn*, who learned in *K'hi* 'the words,' that is, the T'aoistic writings 'of *Hwang-Ti* and *L'ao-ze* from an old man who lived on the *Ho-side*.' The origin of this old man was not known, but *Yo K'ăn* taught what he learned from him to a *Mr. Ko*, who again became preceptor to *Sh'ao Sh'han*, the chief minister of *K'hi*, and afterwards of the new dynasty of *Han*, dying in B.C. 190.

5. Referring now to the catalogue of the Imperial Library of the dynasty of *Sui* (A.D. 589-618), we find that

The catalogue it contained many editions of *L'ao's* treatise of the *Sui* dynasty. with commentaries. The first mentioned is 'The *T'ao Teh King*,' with the commentary of the old man of the *Ho-side*, in the time of the emperor *W'ăn* of *Han* (B.C. 179-142). It is added in a note that the dynasty of *Liang* (A.D. 502-556) had possessed the edition of 'the old man of the *Ho-side*, of the time of the Warring States; but that with some other texts and commentaries it had disappeared.' I find it difficult to believe that there had been two old men of the *Ho-side*¹, both teachers of T'aoism and commentators on our *King*, but I am willing to content myself with the more recent work, and accept the copy that has been current—say from B.C. 150, when *Sze-m'ă K'ien* could have been little more than a boy. T'aoism was a favourite study with many of the *Han* emperors and their ladies. *Hw'ai-nan Ze*, of whose many quotations from

¹ The earlier old man of the *Ho-side* is styled in Chinese 河上丈人; the other 河上公; but the designations have the same meaning. Some critical objections to the genuineness of the latter's commentary on the ground of the style are without foundation.

the text of *Lão I* have spoken, was an uncle of the emperor *Wăn*. To the emperor *King* (B.C. 156-143), the son of *Wăn*, there is attributed the designation of *Lão's* treatise as a *King*, a work of standard authority. At the beginning of his reign, we are told, some one was commending to him four works, among which were those of *Lão-je* and *Kwang-je*. Deeming that the work of *Hwang-je* and *Lão-je* was of a deeper character than the others, he ordered that it should be called a *King*, established a board for the study of *Táoism*, and issued an edict that the book should be learned and recited at court, and throughout the country¹. Thenceforth it was so styled. We find *Hwang-fû Mî* (A.D. 215-282) referring to it as the *Táo Teh King*.

The second place in the *Sui* catalogue is given to the text and commentary of *Wang Pi* or *Wang Fû-sze*, an

The work of Wang Pi. extraordinary scholar who died in A.D. 249, at the early age of twenty-four. This work has always been much prized. It was its text which *Lû Teh-ming* used in his 'Explanation of the Terms and Phrases of the Classics,' in the seventh century. Among the editions of it which I possess is that printed in 1794 with the imperial moveable metal types.

I need not speak of editions or commentaries subsequent to *Wang Pi's*. They soon begin to be many, and are only not so numerous as those of the *Confucian Classics*.

6. All the editions of the book are divided into two parts, the former called *Táo*, and the latter *Teh*, meaning the Qualities or Characteristics of the *Táo*, but this distinction of subjects is by no means uniformly adhered to.

Divisions into parts, chapters; and number of characters in the text.

I referred already to the division of the whole into eighty-one short chapters (37 + 44), which is by common tradition attributed to *Ho-shang Kung*, or 'The old man of the *Ho-side*.' Another very early commentator, called *Yen Jun* or *Yen Kün-phing*, made a division into seventy-two chapters (40 + 32), under the influence, no doubt, of some

¹ See *Sião Hung's Wings or Helps*, ch. v, p. 11^a.

mystical considerations. His predecessor, perhaps, had no better reason for his eighty-one; but the names of his chapters were, for the most part, happily chosen, and have been preserved. Wû *Khǎng* arranged the two parts in sixty-seven chapters (31 + 36). It is a mistake, however, to suppose, as even Mr. Wylie with all his general accuracy did¹, that Wû 'curtails the ordinary text to some extent.' He does not curtail, but only re-arranges according to his fashion, uniting some of Ho-shang Kung's chapters in one, and sometimes altering the order of their clauses.

Sze-mâ *Khien* tells us that, as the treatise came from Láo-ze, it contained more than 5000 characters; that is, as one critic says, 'more than 5000 and fewer than 6000.' Ho-shang Kung's text has 5350, and one copy 5590; Wang P's, 5683, and one copy 5610. Two other early texts have been counted, giving 5720 and 5635 characters respectively. The brevity arises from the terse conciseness of the style, owing mainly to the absence of the embellishment of particles, which forms so striking a peculiarity in the composition of Mencius and *Kwang-ze*.

In passing on to speak, secondly and more briefly, of the far more voluminous writings of *Kwang-ze*, I may say that I do not know of any other book of so ancient a date as the *Táo Teh King*, of which the authenticity of the origin and genuineness of the text can claim to be so well substantiated.

II. 7. In the catalogue of the Han Library we have the entry of '*Kwang-ze* in fifty-two books or sections.' By

The Books of the time of the Sui dynasty, the editions of *Kwang-ze*. his work amounted to nearly a score. The earliest commentary that has come down to us goes by the name of Kwo Hsiang's. He was an officer and scholar of the Jin dynasty, who died about the year 312. Another officer, also of Jin, called Hsiang Hsiù, of rather an earlier date, had undertaken the same task, but left it incomplete; and his manuscripts coming (not, as it appears, by

¹ Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 173.

any fraud) into Kwo's hands, he altered and completed them as suited his own views, and then gave them to the public. In the short account of Kwo, given in the twentieth chapter of the Biographies of the 3in history, it is said that several tens of commentators had laboured unsatisfactorily on *Kwang's* writings before Hsiang Hsiû took them in hand. As the joint result of the labours of the two men, however, we have only thirty-three of the fifty-two sections mentioned in the Han catalogue. It is in vain that I have tried to discover how and when the other nineteen sections were lost. In one of the earliest commentaries on the *Tâo Teh King*, that by Yen 3un, we have several quotations from *Kwang-3ze* which bear evidently the stamp of his handiwork, and are not in the current Books; but they would not altogether make up a single section. We have only to be thankful that so large a proportion of the original work has been preserved. Sû Shih (3ze-kan, and Tung-pho), it is well known, called in question the genuineness of Books 28 to 31¹. Books 15 and 16 have also been challenged, and a paragraph here and there in one or other of the Books. The various readings, according to a collation given by 3iâo Hung, are few.

8. There can be no doubt that the Books of *Kwang-3ze* were hailed by all the friends of Tâoism. It has been mentioned above that the names 'Hwang-Ti' and 'Lâo-3ze' were associated together as denoting the masters of Tâoism, and the phrase, 'the words of Hwang-Ti and Lâo-3ze,' came to be no more than a name for the *Tâo Teh King*. Gradually the two names were contracted into 'Hwang Lâo,' as in the passage quoted on p. 6 from Pan Kû. After the Han dynasty, the name Hwang gave place to *Kwang*, and the names *Lâo Kwang*, and, sometimes inverted, *Kwang Lâo*, were employed to denote the system or the texts of Tâoism. In the account, for instance, of *Ki*

Importance to
Tâoism of the
Books of
Kwang-3ze.

¹ A brother of Shih, Sû Kêh (3ze-yû and Ying-pin), wrote a remarkable commentary on the *Tâo Teh King*; but it was Shih who first discredited those four Books, in his Inscription for the temple of *Kwang-3ze*, prepared in 1078.

Khang, in the nineteenth chapter of the Biographies of Jin, we have a typical Tâoist brought before us. When grown up, 'he loved Lâo and Kwang;' and a visitor, to produce the most favourable impression on him, says, 'Lâo-ze and Kwang Kâu are my masters.'

9. The thirty-three Books of Kwang-ze are divided into three Parts, called Nêi, or 'the Inner;' Wâi, or 'the Outer;' and Jâ, 'the Miscellaneous.' The first Part comprises seven Books; the second, fifteen; and the third, eleven. 'Inner' may be understood as equivalent to esoteric or More Im-

portant. The titles of the several Books are significant, and each expresses the subject or theme of its Book. They are believed to have been prefixed by Kwang-ze himself, and that no alteration could be made in the composition but for the worse. 'Outer' is understood in the sense of supplementary or subsidiary. The fifteen Books so called are 'Wings' to the previous seven. Their titles were not given by the author, and are not significant of the Tâoistic truth which all the paragraphs unite, or should unite, in illustrating; they are merely some name or phrase taken from the commencement of the first paragraph in each Book,—like the names of the Books of the Confucian Analects, or of the Hebrew Pentateuch. The fixing them originally is generally supposed to have been the work of Kwo Hsiang. The eleven Miscellaneous Books are also supplementary to those of the first Part, and it is not easy to see why a difference was made between them and the fifteen that precede.

10. Kwang-ze's writings have long been current under the name of Nan Hwa Kân King. He was a native of the duchy of Sung, born in what was then called the district of Măng, and belonged to the state or kingdom of Liang or Wei. As he grew up, he filled some official post in the city of Zhî-yüan,—the site of which it is not easy to determine with certainty. In A.D. 742, the name of his birth-place was changed (but only for a time) to Nan-hwa, and an imperial order was issued that Kwang-ze should thence-

The general title
of Kwang-ze's
works.

forth be styled 'The True Man of Nan-hwa,' and his Book, 'The True Book of Nan-hwa'.¹ To be 'a True Man' is the highest Táoistic achievement of a man, and our author thus canonised communicates his glory to his Book.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE NAME TÁO? AND THE CHIEF POINTS OF BELIEF IN TÁOISM.

1. The first translation of the *Táo Teh King* into a Western language was executed in Latin by some of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and a copy of Meaning of the name Táo. it was brought to England by a Mr. Matthew Raper, F.R.S., and presented by him to the Society at a meeting on the 10th January, 1788,—being the gift to him of P. Jos. de Grammont, 'Missionarius Apostolicus, ex-Jesuita.' In this version *Táo* is taken in the sense of *Ratio*, or the Supreme Reason of the Divine Being, the Creator and Governor.

M. Abel Rémusat, the first Professor of Chinese in Paris, does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the above version in London, but his attention was attracted to *Láo's* treatise about 1820, and, in 1823, he wrote of the character *Táo*, 'Ce mot me semble ne pas pouvoir être bien traduit, si ce n'est par le mot *λόγος* dans le triple sens de souverain Être, de raison, et de parole.'

Rémusat's successor in the chair of Chinese, the late Stanislas Julien, published in 1842 a translation of the whole treatise. Having concluded from an examination of it, and the earliest Táoist writers, such as *Kwang-ze*, *Ho-kwan Ze*, and *Ho-shang Kung*, that the *Táo* was devoid of action, of thought, of judgment, and of intelligence, he concluded that it was impossible to understand by it 'the Primordial Reason, or the Sublime Intelligence which created, and which governs the world,' and to

¹ See the *Khang-hsf Thesaurus* (佩文韻府), under 華.

this he subjoined the following note:—‘*Quelque étrange que puisse paraître cette idée de Lâo-ze, elle n’est pas sans exemple dans l’histoire de la philosophie. Le mot nature n’a-t-il pas été employé par certains philosophes, que la religion et la raison condamnent, pour désigner une cause première, également dépourvue de pensée et d’intelligence?*’ Julien himself did not doubt that Lâo’s idea of the character was that it primarily and properly meant ‘a way,’ and hence he translated the title *Tâo Teh King* by ‘*Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu*,’ transferring at the same time the name *Tâo* to the text of his version.

The first English writer who endeavoured to give a distinct account of *Tâoism* was the late Archdeacon Hardwick, while he held the office of Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. In his ‘*Christ and other Masters*’ (vol. ii, p. 67), when treating of the religions of China, he says, ‘I feel disposed to argue that the centre of the system founded by Lâo-ze had been awarded to some energy or power resembling the “Nature” of modern speculators. The indefinite expression *Tâo* was adopted to denominate an abstract cause, or the initial principle of life and order, to which worshippers were able to assign the attributes of immateriality, eternity, immensity, invisibility.’

It was, probably, Julien’s reference in his note to the use of the term *nature*, which suggested to Hardwick his analogy between Lâo-ze’s *Tâo*, and ‘the Nature of modern speculation.’ Canon Farrar has said, ‘We have long personified under the name of Nature the sum total of God’s laws as observed in the physical world; and now the notion of Nature as a distinct, living, independent entity seems to be ineradicable alike from our literature and our systems of philosophy¹.’ But it seems to me that this metaphorical or mythological use of the word *nature* for the Cause and Ruler of it, implies the previous notion of Him, that is, of God, in the mind. Does not this clearly appear in the words of Seneca?—‘*Vis illum (h.e. Jovem Deum) naturam*

¹ *Language and Languages*, pp. 184, 185.

vocare, non peccabis:—hic est ex quo nata sunt omnia, cujus spiritu vivimus¹.

In his translation of the Works of *Kwang-ze* in 1881, Mr. Balfour adopted Nature as the ordinary rendering of the Chinese Tâo. He says, 'When the word is translated Way, it means the Way of Nature,—her processes, her methods, and her laws; when translated Reason, it is the same as li,—the power that works in all created things, producing, preserving, and life-giving,—the intelligent principle of the world; when translated Doctrine, it refers to the True doctrine respecting the laws and mysteries of Nature.' He calls attention also to the point that 'he uses NATURE in the sense of *Natura naturans*, while the Chinese expression *wan wû* (= all things) denotes *Natura naturata*.' But this really comes to the metaphorical use of nature which has been touched upon above. It can claim as its patrons great names like those of Aquinas, Giordano Bruno, and Spinoza, but I have never been able to see that its barbarous phraseology makes it more than a figure of speech².

The term Nature, however, is so handy, and often fits so appropriately into a version, that if Tâo had ever such a signification I should not hesitate to employ it as freely as Mr. Balfour has done; but as it has not that signification, to try to put a non-natural meaning into it, only perplexes the mind, and obscures the idea of Lâo-ze.

Mr. Balfour himself says (p. xviii), 'The primary signification of Tâo is simply "road."' Beyond question this meaning underlies the use of it by the great master of Tâoism and by *Kwang-ze*³. Let the reader refer to the version of the twenty-fifth chapter of Lâo's treatise, and to

¹ Natur. Quaest. lib. II, cap. xlv.

² Martineau's 'Types of Ethical Theory,' I, p. 286, and his whole 'Conjectural History of Spinoza's Thought.'

³ 道 is equivalent to the Greek *ἡ ὁδός*, the way. Where this name for the Christian system occurs in our Revised Version of the New Testament in the Acts of the Apostles, the literal rendering is adhered to, Way being printed with a capital W. See Acts ix. 2; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14, 22.

the notes subjoined to it. There Tâo appears as the spontaneously operating cause of all movement in the phenomena of the universe; and the nearest the writer can come to a name for it is 'the Great Tâo.' Having established this name, he subsequently uses it repeatedly; see chh. xxxiv and liii. In the third paragraph of his twentieth chapter, K'wang-ze uses a synonymous phrase instead of Lâo's 'Great Tâo,' calling it the 'Great Thû,' about which there can be no dispute, as meaning 'the Great Path,' 'Way,' or 'Course¹.' In the last paragraph of his twenty-fifth Book, K'wang-ze again sets forth the metaphorical origin of the name Tâo. 'Tâo,' he says, 'cannot be regarded as having a positive existence; existences cannot be regarded as non-existent. The name Tâo is a metaphor used for the purpose of description. To say that it exercises some causation, or that it does nothing, is speaking of it from the phase of a thing;—how can such language serve as a designation of it in its greatness? If words were sufficient for the purpose, we might in a day's time exhaust the subject of the Tâo. Words not being sufficient, we may talk about it the whole day, and the subject of discourse will only have been a thing. Tâo is the extreme to which things conduct us. Neither speech nor silence is sufficient to convey the notion of it. When we neither speak nor refrain from speech, our speculations about it reach their highest point.'

The Tâo therefore is a phenomenon; not a positive being, but a mode of being. Lâo's idea of it may become plainer as we proceed to other points of his system. In the meantime, the best way of dealing with it in translating is to transfer it to the version, instead of trying to introduce an English equivalent for it.

2. Next in importance to Tâo is the name Thien, meaning at first the vaulted sky or the open firmament of heaven. In the Confucian Classics, and in the speech of the Chinese

¹ 大塗. The Khang-hsi dictionary defines thû by lû, road or way. Medhurst gives 'road.' Unfortunately, both Morrison and Williams overlooked this definition of the character. Giles has also a note in loc., showing how this synonym settles the original meaning of Tâo in the sense of 'road.'

people, this name is used metaphorically as it is by ourselves for the Supreme Being, with reference especially to His will and rule. So it was that the idea of God arose among the Chinese fathers; so it was that they proceeded to fashion a name for God, calling Him Tî, and Shang Tî, 'the Ruler,' and 'the Supreme Ruler.' The Táoist fathers found this among their people; but in their idea of the Táo they had already a Supreme Concept which superseded the necessity of any other. The name Tî for God only occurs once in the Táo Teh King; in the well-known passage of the fourth chapter, where, speaking of the Táo, Láo-¿ze says, 'I do not know whose Son it is; it might seem to be before God.'

Nor is the name Thien very common. We have the phrase, 'Heaven and Earth,' used for the two great constituents of the kosmos, owing their origin to the Táo, and also for a sort of binomial power, acting in harmony with the Táo, covering, protecting, nurturing, and maturing all things. Never once is Thien used in the sense of God, the Supreme Being. In its peculiarly Táoistic employment, it is more an adjective than a noun. 'The Táo of Heaven' means the Táo that is Heavenly, the course that is quiet and undemonstrative, that is free from motive and effort, such as is seen in the processes of nature, grandly proceeding and successful without any striving or crying. The Táo of man, not dominated by this Táo, is contrary to it, and shows will, purpose, and effort, till, submitting to it, it becomes 'the Táo or Way of the Sages,' which in all its action has no striving.

The characteristics both of Heaven and man are dealt with more fully by Kwang than by Láo. In the conclusion of his eleventh Book, for instance, he says:—'What do we mean by Táo? There is the Táo (or Way) of Heaven, and there is the Táo of man. Acting without action, and yet attracting all honour, is the Way of Heaven. Doing and being embarrassed thereby is the Way of man. The Way of Heaven should play the part of lord; the Way of man, the part of minister. The two are far apart, and should be distinguished from each other.'

In his next Book (par. 2), *Kwang-ze* tells us what he intends by 'Heaven:—' 'Acting without action,—this is what is called Heaven.' Heaven thus takes its law from the Táo. 'The oldest sages and sovereigns attained to do the same,'—it was for all men to aim at the same achievement. As they were successful, 'vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and non-action' would be found to be their characteristics, and they would go on to the perfection of the Táo¹.

The employment of Thien by the Confucianists, as of Heaven by ourselves, must be distinguished therefore from the Táoistic use of the name to denote the quiet but mighty influence of the impersonal Táo; and to translate it by 'God' only obscures the meaning of the Táoist writers. This has been done by Mr. Giles in his version of *Kwang-ze*, which is otherwise for the most part so good. Everywhere on his pages there appears the great name 'God';—a blot on his translation more painful to my eyes and ears than the use of 'Nature' for Táo by Mr. Balfour. I know that Mr. Giles's plan in translating is to use strictly English equivalents for all kinds of Chinese terms². The plan is good where there are in the two languages such strict equivalents; but in the case before us there is no ground for its application. The exact English equivalent for the Chinese thien is our heaven. The Confucianists often used thien metaphorically for the personal Being whom they denominated Tî (God) and Shang Tî (the Supreme God), and a translator may occasionally, in working on books of Confucian literature, employ our name God for it. But neither Láo nor *Kwang* ever attached anything like our idea of God to it; and when one, in working on books of early Táoist literature, translates thien by God, such a rendering must fail to produce in an English reader a correct apprehension of the meaning.

There is also in *Kwang-ze* a peculiar usage of the name Thien. He applies it to the Beings whom he introduces as

¹ The Táo Teh King, ch. 25, and *Kwang-ze*, XIII, par. 1.

² See 'Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio,' vol. i, p. 1, note 2.

Peculiar usage
of Thien in
Kwang-ze. Masters of the Tâo, generally with mystical appellations in order to set forth his own views. Two instances from Book XI will suffice in illustration of this. In par. 4, Hwang-Ti does reverence to his instructor Kwang *Khăng-ze*¹, saying, 'In Kwang *Khăng-ze* we have an example of what is called Heaven,' which Mr. Giles renders 'Kwang *Khăng Ze* is surely God.' In par. 5, again, the mystical Yün-kiang is made to say to the equally fabulous and mystical Hung-mung, 'O Heaven, have you forgotten me?' and, farther on, 'O Heaven, you have conferred on me (the knowledge of) your operation, and revealed to me the mystery of it;' in both which passages Mr. Giles renders thien by 'your Holiness.'

But Mr. Giles seems to agree with me that the old Tâoists had no idea of a personal God, when they wrote of Thien or Heaven. On his sixty-eighth page, near the beginning of Book VI, we meet with the following sentence, having every appearance of being translated from the Chinese text:—'God is a principle which exists by virtue of its own intrinsicity, and operates without self-manifestation.' By an inadvertence he has introduced his own definition of 'God' as if it were *Kwang-ze*'s; and though I can find no characters in the text of which I can suppose that he intends it to be the translation, it is valuable as helping us to understand the meaning to be attached to the Great Name in his volume.

I have referred above (p. 16) to the only passage in Lâo's treatise, where he uses the name Tî or God in its highest sense, saying that 'the Tâo might seem to have been before Him.' He might well say so, for in his first chapter he describes the Tâo, '(conceived of as) having no name, as the Originator of heaven and

¹ Kwang *Khăng-ze* heads the list of characters in Ko Hung's 'History of Spirit-like Immortals (神仙傳),' written in our fourth century. 'He was,' it is said, 'an Immortal of old, who lives on the hill of M'ung-thung in a grotto of rocks.'

earth, and (conceived of as) having a name, as the Mother of all things.' The reader will also find the same predicates of the Tão at greater length in his fifty-first chapter.

The character Tî is also of rare occurrence in *Kwang-ze*, excepting as applied to the five ancient Tîs. In Bk. III, par. 4, and in one other place, we find it indicating the Supreme Being, but the usage is ascribed to the ancients. In Bk. XV, par. 3, in a description of the human SPIRIT, its name is said to be 'Thung Tî,' which Mr. Giles renders 'Of God;' Mr. Balfour, 'One with God;' while my own version is 'The Divinity in Man.' In Bk. XII, par. 6, we have the expression 'the place of God;' in Mr. Giles, 'the kingdom of God;' in Mr. Balfour, 'the home of God.' In this and the former instance, the character seems to be used with the ancient meaning which had entered into the folklore of the people. But in Bk. VI, par. 7, there is a passage which shows clearly the relative position of Tão and Tî in the Tãoistic system; and having called attention to it, I will go on to other points. Let the reader mark well the following predicates of the Tão:—'Before there were heaven and earth, from of old, there It was, securely existing. From It came the mysterious existence of spirits; from It the mysterious existence of Tî (God). It produced heaven, It produced earth¹.' This says more than the utterance of Lâu,—that 'the Tão seemed to be before God;'—does it not say that Tão was before God, and that He was what He is by virtue of Its operation?

3. Among the various personal names given to the Tão are those of 3ão Hwâ, 'Maker and Transformer,' and 3ão Wû Kê, 'Maker of things.' Instances of both these names are found in Bk. VI, parr. 9, 10. 'Creator' and 'God' have both been employed for them; but there is no idea of Creation in Tãoism.

Again and again *Kwang-ze* entertains the question of

¹ For this sentence we find in Mr. Balfour:—'Spirits of the dead, receiving It, become divine; the very gods themselves owe their divinity to its influence; and by it both Heaven and Earth were produced.' The version of it by Mr. Giles is too condensed:—'Spiritual beings drew their spirituality therefrom, while the universe became what we see it now.'

how it was at the first beginning of things. Different views are stated. In Bk. II, par. 4, he says:—‘Among the men of old their knowledge reached the extreme point. What was that extreme point?’

‘Some held that at first there was not anything. This is the extreme point,—the utmost limit to which nothing can be added.

‘A second class held that there was something, but without any responsive recognition of it (on the part of man).

‘A third class held that there was such recognition, but there had not begun to be any expression of different opinions about it. It was through the definite expression of different opinions about it that there ensued injury to the (doctrine of the) Tâo¹.’

The first of these three views was that which *Kwang-ze* himself preferred. The most condensed expression of it is given in Bk. XII, par. 8:—‘In the Grand Beginning of all things there was nothing in all the vacancy of space; there was nothing that could be named². It was in this state that there arose the first existence; the first existence, but still without bodily shape. From this things could be produced, (receiving) what we call their several characters. That which had no bodily shape was divided, and then without intermission there was what we call the process of conferring. (The two processes) continued to operate, and things were produced. As they were completed, there appeared the distinguishing lines of each, which we call the bodily shape. That shape was the body preserving in it the spirit, and each had its peculiar manifestation which we call its nature.’

Such was the genesis of things; the formation of heaven

¹ Compare also Bk. XXII, parr. 7, 8, and XXIII, par. 10.

² Mr. Balfour had given for this sentence:—‘In the beginning of all things there was not even nothing. There were no names; these arose afterwards.’ In his critique on Mr. Balfour’s version in 1882, Mr. Giles proposed:—‘At the beginning of all things there was nothing; but this nothing had no name.’ He now in his own version gives for it, ‘At the beginning of the beginning, even nothing did not exist. Then came the period of the nameless;’—an improvement, certainly, on the other; but which can hardly be accepted as the correct version of the text.

and earth and all that in them is, under the guidance of the Táo. It was an evolution and not a creation. How the Táo itself came,—I do not say into existence, but into operation,—neither Láo nor Kwang ever thought of saying anything about. We have seen that it is nothing material¹. It acted spontaneously of itself. Its sudden appearance in the field of non-existence, Producer, Transformer, Beautifier, surpasses my comprehension. To Láo it seemed to be before God. I am compelled to accept the existence of God, as the ultimate Fact, bowing before it with reverence, and not attempting to explain it, the one mystery, the sole mystery of the universe.

4. 'The bodily shape was the body preserving in it the spirit, and each had its peculiar manifestation which we call its nature.' So it is said in the passage quoted above from Kwang-ze's twelfth Book, and the language shows

how Táoism, in a loose and indefinite way,
 Man is composed of body and spirit, considered man to be composed of body and spirit, associated together, yet not necessarily

dependent on each other. Little is found bearing on this tenet in the Táo Teh King. The concluding sentence of ch. 33, 'He who dies and yet does not perish, has longevity,' is of doubtful acceptance. More pertinent is the description of life as 'a coming forth,' and of death as 'an entering²;' but Kwang-ze expounds more fully, though after all unsatisfactorily, the teaching of their system on the subject.

At the conclusion of his third Book, writing of the death of Láo-ze, he says, 'When the master came, it was at the proper time; when he went away, it was the simple sequence (of his coming). Quiet acquiescence in what happens at its proper time, and quietly submitting (to its sequence), afford no occasion for grief or for joy. The ancients described (death) as the loosening of the cord on which God suspended (the life). What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed; but the fire is transmitted elsewhere, and we know not that it is over and ended.'

¹ The Táo Teh King, ch. 14; et al.

² Ch. 50.

It is, however, in connexion with the death of his own wife, as related in the eighteenth Book, that his views most fully—I do not say ‘clearly’—appear. We are told that when that event took place, his friend Hui-ze went to condole with him, and found him squatted on the ground, drumming on the vessel (of ice), and singing. His friend said to him, ‘When a wife has lived with her husband, brought up children, and then dies in her old age, not to wail for her is enough. When you go on to drum on the vessel and sing, is it not an excessive (and strange) demonstration?’ Kwang-ze replied, ‘It is not so. When she first died, was it possible for me to be singular, and not affected by the event? But I reflected on the commencement of her being, when she had not yet been born to life. Not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form. Not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath. Suddenly in this chaotic condition there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; a further change, and she was born to life; a change now again, and she is dead. The relation between those changes is like the procession of the four seasons,—spring, autumn, winter, and summer. There she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber¹; and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wail for her, I should think I did not understand what was appointed for all. I therefore restrained myself.’

The next paragraph of the same Book contains another story about two ancient men, both deformed, who, when looking at the graves on Kwán-lun, begin to feel in their own frames the symptoms of approaching dissolution. One says to the other, ‘Do you dread it?’ and gets the reply, ‘No. Why should I dread it? Life is a borrowed thing. The living frame thus borrowed is but so much dust. Life and death are like day and night.’

In every birth, it would thus appear, there is, somehow, a repetition of what it is said, as we have seen, took place at ‘the Grand Beginning of all things,’ when out of the

¹ That is, between heaven and earth.

primal nothingness, the T'ao somehow appeared, and there was developed through its operation the world of things,—material things and the material body of man, which enshrines or enshrouds an immaterial spirit. This returns to the T'ao that gave it, and may be regarded indeed as that T'ao operating in the body during the time of life, and in due time receives a new embodiment.

In these notions of T'aoism there was a preparation for the appreciation by its followers of the Buddhistic system when it came to be introduced into the country, and which forms a close connexion between the two at the present day, T'aoism itself constantly becoming less definite and influential on the minds of the Chinese people. The Book which tells us of the death of *K'wang-ze's* wife concludes with a narrative about *Lieh-ze* and an old bleached skull¹, and to this is appended a passage about the metamorphoses of things, ending with the statement that 'the panther produces the horse, and the horse the man, who then again enters into the great machinery (of evolution), from which all things come forth (at birth) and into which they re-enter (at death).' Such representations need not be characterised.

5. K'ü Hsi, 'the prince of Literature,' described the main object of T'aoism to be 'the preservation of the breath of life;' and Liü Mî, probably of our thirteenth century², in his 'Dispassionate Comparison of the Three Religions,' declares that 'its chief achievement is the prolongation of longevity.' Such is the account of T'aoism ordinarily given by Confucian and Buddhist writers, but our authorities, L'ao and K'wang, hardly bear out this representation of it as true of their time. There are chapters of the T'ao Teh King which

¹ Quoted in the Amplification of the Sixteen Precepts or Maxims of the second emperor of the present dynasty by his son. The words are from Dr. Milne's version of 'the Sacred Edict,' p. 137.

² In his Index to the Tripitaka, Mr. Bunyio Nanjio (p. 359) assigns Liü Mî and his work to the Yüan dynasty. In a copy of the work in my possession they are assigned to that of Sung. The author, no doubt, lived under both dynasties,—from the Sung into the Yüan.

presuppose a peculiar management of the breath, but the treatise is singularly free from anything to justify what Mr. Balfour well calls 'the antics of the Kung-fû, or system of mystic and recondite calisthenics¹.' Láo insists, however, on the Táo as conducive to long life, and in *Kwang-ze* we have references to it as a discipline of longevity, though even he mentions rather with disapproval 'those who kept blowing and breathing with open mouth, inhaling and exhaling the breath, expelling the old and taking in new; passing their time like the (dormant) bear, and stretching and twisting (their necks) like birds.' He says that 'all this simply shows their desire for longevity, and is what the scholars who manage the breath, and men who nourish the body and wish to live as long as Phăng-ü, are fond of doing².' My own opinion is that the methods of the Táo were first cultivated for the sake of the longevity which they were thought to promote, and that Láo, discountenancing such a use of them, endeavoured to give the doctrine a higher character; and this view is favoured by passages in *Kwang-ze*. In the seventh paragraph, for instance, of his Book VI, speaking of parties who had obtained the Táo, he begins with a prehistoric sovereign, who 'got it and by it adjusted heaven and earth.' Among his other instances is Phăng-ü, who got it in the time of Shun, and lived on to the time of the five leading princes of Kâu, —a longevity of more than 1800 years, greater than that ascribed to Methuselah! In the paragraph that follows there appears a Nü Yü, who is addressed by another famous Táoist in the words, 'You are old, Sir, while your complexion is like that of a child;—how is it so?' and the reply is, 'I became acquainted with the Táo.'

I will adduce only one more passage of *Kwang*. In his eleventh Book, and the fourth paragraph, he tells us of interviews between Hwang-Ti, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which would be B. C. 2679, and his instructor Kwang Khăng-ze. The Táoist sage is not readily prevailed on

¹ See note on p. 187 of his *Kwang-ze*.

² See Bk. XV, par. 1.

to unfold the treasures of his knowledge to the sovereign, but at last his reluctance is overcome, and he says to him, 'Come, and I will tell you about the Perfect Táo. Its essence is surrounded with the deepest obscurity; its highest reach is in darkness and silence. There is nothing to be seen, nothing to be heard. When it holds the spirit in its arms in stillness, then the bodily form will of itself become correct. You must be still, you must be pure; not subjecting your body to toil, not agitating your vital force:—then you may live for long. When your eyes see nothing, your ears hear nothing, and your mind knows nothing, your spirit will keep your body, and the body will live long. Watch over what is within you; shut up the avenues that connect you with what is external;—much knowledge is pernicious. I will proceed with you to the summit of the Grand Brilliance, where we come to the bright and expanding (element); I will enter with you the gate of the dark and depressing element. There heaven and earth have their Controllers; there the Yin and Yang have their Repositories. Watch over and keep your body, and all things will of themselves give it vigour. I maintain the (original) unity (of these elements). In this way I have cultivated myself for 1200 years, and my bodily form knows no decay.' Add 1200 to 2679, and we obtain 3879 as the year B.C. of Kwang K'ang-ze's birth!

6. Láo-ze describes some other and kindred results of cultivating the Táo in terms which are sufficiently startling, and which it is difficult to accept. In his Startling results of the Táo. fiftieth chapter he says, 'He who is skilful in managing his life travels on land without having to shun rhinoceros or tiger, and enters a host without having to avoid buff coat or sharp weapon. The rhinoceros finds no place in him into which to thrust its horn, nor the tiger a place in which to fix its claws, nor the weapon a place to admit its point. And for what reason? Because there is in him no place of death.' To the same effect he says in his fifty-fifth chapter, 'He who has in himself abundantly the attributes (of the Táo) is like an infant. Poisonous

insects will not sting him ; fierce beasts will not seize him ; birds of prey will not strike him.'

Such assertions startle us by their contrariety to our observation and experience, but so does most of the teaching of Tâoism. What can seem more absurd than the declaration that 'the Tâo does nothing, and so there is nothing that it does not do?' And yet this is one of the fundamental axioms of the system. The thirty-seventh chapter, which enunciates it, goes on to say, 'If princes and kings were able to maintain (the Tâo), all things would of themselves be transformed by them.' This principle, if we can call it so, is generalised in the fortieth, one of the shortest chapters, and partly in rhyme :—

'The movement of the Tâo
By contraries proceeds ;
And weakness marks the course
Of Tâo's mighty deeds.

All things under heaven sprang from it as existing (and named) ; that existence sprang from it as non-existent (and not named).'

Ho-shang Kung, or whoever gave their names to the chapters of the Tâo Teh K'ing, styles this fortieth chapter 'Dispensing with the use (of means).' If the wish to use means arise in the mind, the nature of the Tâo as 'the Nameless Simplicity' has been vitiated ; and this nature is celebrated in lines like those just quoted :—

'Simplicity without a name
Is free from all external aim.
With no desire, at rest and still,
All things go right, as of their will.'

I do not cull any passages from *Kwang-ze* to illustrate these points. In his eleventh Book his subject is Government by 'Let-a-be and the exercise of Forbearance.'

7. This Tâo ruled men at first, and then the world was in a paradisiacal state. Neither of our authorities tells us how long this condition lasted, but as Lâo observes in his eighteenth chapter, 'the Tâo ceased to be observed.' *Kwang-ze*, however, gives us

more than one description of what he considered the paradisiacal state was. He calls it 'the age of Perfect Virtue.' In the thirteenth paragraph of his twelfth Book he says, 'In this age, they attached no value to wisdom, nor employed men of ability. Superiors were (but) as the higher branches of a tree; and the people were like the deer of the wild. They were upright and correct, without knowing that to be so was Righteousness; they loved one another, without knowing that to do so was Benevolence; they were honest and leal-hearted, without knowing that it was Loyalty; they fulfilled their engagements, without knowing that to do so was Good Faith; in their movements they employed the services of one another, without thinking that they were conferring or receiving any gift. Therefore their actions left no trace, and there was no record of their affairs.'

Again, in the fourth paragraph of his tenth Book, addressing an imaginary interlocutor, he says, 'Are you, Sir, unacquainted with the age of Perfect Virtue?' He then gives the names of twelve sovereigns who ruled in it, of the greater number of whom we have no other means of knowing anything, and goes on:—'In their times the people used knotted cords in carrying on their business. They thought their (simple) food pleasant, and their (plain) clothing beautiful. They were happy in their (simple) manners, and felt at rest in their (poor) dwellings. (The people of) neighbouring states might be able to descry one another; the voices of their cocks and dogs might be heard from one to the other; they might not die till they were old; and yet all their life they would have no communication together. In those times perfect good order prevailed.'

One other description of the primeval state is still more interesting. It is in the second paragraph of Bk. IX:—'The people had their regular and constant nature:—they wove and made themselves clothes; they tilled the ground and got food. This was their common faculty. They were all one in this, and did not form themselves into separate classes; so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies. Therefore in the age of Perfect Virtue men walked along with slow and grave step, and with their

looks steadily directed forwards. On the hills there were no footpaths nor excavated passages; on the lakes there were no boats nor dams. All creatures lived in companies, and their places of settlement were made near to one another. Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds; the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long. The birds and beasts might be led about without feeling the constraint; the nest of the magpie might be climbed to, and peeped into. Yes, in the age of Perfect Virtue, men lived in common with birds and beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family;—how could they know among themselves the distinctions of superior men and small men? Equally without knowledge, they did not leave the path of their natural virtue; equally free from desires, they were in the state of pure simplicity. In that pure simplicity, their nature was what it ought to be.'

Such were the earliest Chinese of whom *K'wang-ze* could venture to give any account. If ever their ancestors had been in a ruder or savage condition, it must have been at a much antecedent time. These had long passed out of such a state; they were tillers of the ground, and acquainted with the use of the loom. They lived in happy relations with one another, and in kindly harmony with the tribes of inferior creatures. But there is not the slightest allusion to any sentiment of piety as animating them individually, or to any ceremony of religion as observed by them in common. This surely is a remarkable feature in their condition. I call attention to it, but I do not dwell upon it.

8. But by the time of *Lão* and *K'wang* the cultivation of the *Tão* had fallen into disuse. The simplicity of life which it demanded, with its freedom from all disturbing speculation and action, was no longer to be found in individuals or in government. It was the general decay of manners and of social order which unsettled the mind of *Lão*, made him resign his position as a curator of the Royal Library, and determine to withdraw from China and hide himself

The decay of the
Tão before the
growth of
knowledge.

among the rude peoples beyond it. The cause of the deterioration of the Táo and of all the evils of the nation was attributed to the ever-growing pursuit of knowledge, and of what we call the arts of culture. It had commenced very long before;—in the time of Hwang-Ti, *Kwang* says in one place¹; and in another he carries it still higher to Sui-zăn and Fu-hsî². There had been indeed, all along the line of history, a groping for the rules of life, as indicated by the constitution of man's nature. The results were embodied in the ancient literature which was the life-long study of Confucius. He had gathered up that literature; he recognised the nature of man as the gift of Heaven or God. The monitions of God as given in the convictions of man's mind supplied him with a Táo or Path of duty very different from the Táo or Mysterious Way of Láo. All this was gall and wormwood to the dreaming librarian or brooding recluse, and made him say, 'If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold. If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our (scheming for) gain, there would be no thieves nor robbers³.'

We can laugh at this. Táoism was wrong in its opposition to the increase of knowledge. Man exists under a law of progress. In pursuing it there are demanded discretion and justice. Moral ends must rule over material ends, and advance in virtue be ranked higher than advance in science. So have good and evil, truth and error, to fight out the battle on the field of the world, and in all the range of time; but there is no standing still for the individual or for society. Even Confucius taught his countrymen to set too high a value on the examples of antiquity. The school of Láo-ze fixing themselves in an unknown region beyond antiquity,—a prehistoric time between 'the Grand Beginning of all things' out of nothing, and the unknown commencement of societies of men,—has made no advance

¹ Bk. XI, par. 5.

² Bk. XVI, par. 2.

³ Táo Teh K'ing, ch. 19.

but rather retrograded, and is represented by the still more degenerate Tâoism of the present day.

There is a short parabolic story of *Kwang-ze*, intended to represent the antagonism between Tâoism and knowledge, which has always struck me as curious. The last paragraph of his seventh Book is this:—‘The Ruler (or god Tî) of the Southern Ocean was Shû (that is, Heedless); the Ruler of the Northern Ocean was Hû (that is, Hasty); and the Ruler of the Centre was Hwun-tun (that is, Chaos). Shû and Hû were continually meeting in the land of Hwun-tun, who treated them very well. They consulted together how they might repay his kindness, and said, “Men have all seven orifices for the purposes of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing, while this (poor) Ruler alone has not one. Let us try and make them for him.” Accordingly they dug one orifice in him every day; and at the end of seven days Chaos died.’

So it was that Chaos passed away before Light. So did the nameless Simplicity of the Tâo disappear before Knowledge. But it was better that the Chaos should give place to the Kosmos. ‘Heedless’ and ‘Hasty’ did a good deed.

9. I have thus set forth eight characteristics of the Tâoistic system, having respect mostly to what is peculiar and mystical in it. I will now conclude my exhibition of it by

The practical
lessons of
Lâo-ze.

bringing together under one head the practical lessons of its author for men individually, and for the administration of government.

The praise of whatever excellence these possess belongs to Lâo himself: *Kwang-ze* devotes himself mainly to the illustration of the abstruse and difficult points.

First, it does not surprise us that in his rules for individual man, Lâo should place Humility in the foremost place. A favourite illustration with him of the Tâo is water. In his

Humility.

eighth chapter he says:—‘The highest excellence is like that of water. The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying, without striving to the contrary, the low ground which all men dislike. Hence (its way) is near to that of the Tâo.’ To the same effect in the seventy-eighth

chapter:—‘There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it. Every one in the world knows that the soft overcomes the hard, and the weak the strong; but no one is able to carry it out in practice.’

In his sixty-seventh chapter L  o associates with Humility two other virtues, and calls them his three Precious Things or

L  o’s three Jewels. They are Gentleness, Economy, and Jewels. Shrinking from taking precedence of others.

‘With that Gentleness,’ he says, ‘I can be bold; with that Economy I can be liberal; Shrinking from taking precedence of others, I can become a vessel of the highest honour.’

And in his sixty-third chapter, he rises to a still loftier height of morality. He says, ‘(It is the way of the T  o) to act without (thinking of) acting, to conduct affairs without (feeling) the trouble of them; to taste without discern-

ing any flavour, to consider the small as great, and the few as many, and to recompense injury with kindness.’

Rendering good
for evil.

Here is the grand Christian precept, ‘Render to no man evil for evil. If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good.’ We know that the maxim made some noise in its author’s lifetime; that the disciples of Confucius consulted him about it, and that he was unable to receive it¹. It comes in with less important matters by virtue of the T  oistic ‘rule of contraries.’ I have been surprised to find what little reference to it I have met with in the course of my Chinese reading. I do not think that Kwang-  ze takes notice of it to illustrate it after his fashion. There, however, it is in the T  o Teh King. The fruit of it has yet to be developed.

Second, L  o laid down the same rule for the policy of the state as for the life of the individual. He says in his sixty-first chapter, ‘What makes a state great is its being like a low-lying, down-flowing stream;—it becomes the

¹ Confucian Analects, XIV, 36.

centre to which tend all (the small states) under heaven.' He then uses an illustration which will produce a smile :— 'Take the case of all females. The female always overcomes the male by her stillness. Stillness may be considered (a sort of) abasement.' Resuming his subject, he adds, 'Thus it is that a great state, by condescending to small states, gains them for itself; and that small states, by abasing themselves to a great state, win it over to them. In the one case the abasement tends to gaining adherents; in the other case, to procuring favour. The great state only wishes to unite men together and nourish them; a small state only wishes to be received by, and to serve, the other. Each gets what it desires, but the great state must learn to abase itself.'

'All very well in theory,' some one will exclaim, 'but, the world has not seen it yet reduced to practice.' So it is. The fact is deplorable. No one saw the misery arising from it, and exposed its unreasonableness more unsparingly, than *K'wang-ze*. But it was all in vain in his time, as it has been in all the centuries that have since rolled their course. Philosophy, philanthropy, and religion have still to toil on, 'faint, yet pursuing,' believing that the time will yet come when humility and love shall secure the reign of peace and good will among the nations of men.

While enjoining humility, *Lão* protested against war. In his thirty-first chapter he says, 'Arms, however beautiful, are instruments of evil omen; hateful, it may be said, to all creatures. They who have the *Táo* do not like to employ them.' Perhaps in his sixty-ninth chapter he allows defensive war, but he adds, 'There is no calamity greater than that of lightly engaging in war. To do that is near losing the gentleness which is so precious. Thus it is that when weapons are (actually) crossed, he who deplors the (situation) conquers.'

There are some other points in the practical lessons of *Táoism* to which I should like to call the attention of the reader, but I must refer him for them to the chapters of the *Táo Teh King*, and the Books of *K'wang-ze*. Its salient features have been set forth somewhat fully. Not-

withstanding the scorn poured so freely on Confucius by Kwang-ze and other Tâoist writers, he proved in the course of time too strong for Lâo as the teacher of their people. The entrance of Buddhism, moreover, into the country in our first century, was very injurious to Tâoism, which still exists, but is only the shadow of its former self. It is tolerated by the government, but not patronised as it was when emperors and empresses seemed to think more of it than of Confucianism. It is by the spread of knowledge, which it has always opposed, that its overthrow and disappearance will be brought about ere long.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCOUNTS OF LÂO-3ZE AND KWANG-3ZE GIVEN BY SZE-MÂ KHIEN.

It seems desirable, before passing from Lâo and Kwang in this Introduction, to give a place in it to what is said about them by Sze-mâ K'ien. I have said that not a single proper name occurs in the Tâo Teh King. There is hardly an historical allusion in it. Only one chapter, the twentieth, has somewhat of an autobiographical character. It tells us, however, of no incidents of his life. He appears alone in the world through his cultivation of the Tâo, melancholy and misunderstood, yet binding that Tâo more closely to his bosom.

The Books of Kwang-ze are of a different nature, abounding in pictures of Tâoist life, in anecdotes and narratives, graphic, argumentative, often satirical. But they are not historical. Confucius and many of his disciples, Lâo and members of his school, heroes and sages of antiquity, and men of his own day, move across his pages; but the incidents in connexion with which they are introduced are probably fictitious, and devised by him 'to point his moral or adorn his tale.' His names of individuals and places are often like those of Bunyan in his Pilgrim's Progress or his Holy War, emblematic of their characters and the doctrines which he employs

them to illustrate. He often comes on the stage himself, and there is an air of verisimilitude in his descriptions, possibly also a certain amount of fact about them; but we cannot appeal to them as historical testimony. It is only to Sze-má *K'ien* that we can go for this; he always writes in the spirit of an historian; but what he has to tell us of the two men is not much.

And first, as to his account of Láo-ze. When he wrote, about the beginning of the first century B.C., the Taoist master was already known as Láo-ze. *K'ien*, however, tells us that his surname was Lî, and his name *R*, meaning 'Ear,' which gave place after his death to Tan, meaning 'Long-eared,' from which we may conclude that he was named from some peculiarity in the form of his ears. He was a native of the state of *K'û*, which had then extended far beyond its original limits, and his birth-place was in the present province of Ho-nan or of An-hui. He was a curator in the Royal Library; and when Confucius visited the capital in the year B.C. 517, the two men met. *K'ien* says that Confucius's visit to Lo-yang was that he might question Láo on the subject of ceremonies. He might have other objects in mind as well; but however that was, the two met. Lî said to Khung, 'The men about whom you talk are dead, and their bones are mouldered to dust; only their words are left. Moreover, when the superior man gets his opportunity, he mounts aloft; but when the time is against him, he is carried along by the force of circumstances¹. I have heard that a good merchant, though he have rich treasures safely stored, appears as if he were poor; and that the superior man, though his virtue be complete, is yet to outward seeming stupid. Put away your proud air and many desires, your insinuating habit and wild will. They are of no advantage to you;—this is all I have to tell you.' Confucius is made to say to his disciples after the interview: 'I know how

¹ Julien translates this by 'il erre à l'aventure.' In 1861 I rendered it, 'He moves as if his feet were entangled.' To one critic it suggests the idea of a bundle or wisp of brushwood rolled about over the ground by the wind.

birds can fly, fishes swim, and animals run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer hooked, and the flyer shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon:—I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen Láo-ze, and can only compare him to the dragon.'

In this speech of Confucius we have, I believe, the origin of the name Láo-ze, as applied to the master of Táoism. Its meaning is 'The Old Philosopher,' or 'The Old Gentleman'¹. Confucius might well so style Lî R. At the time of this interview he was himself in his thirty-fifth year, and the other was in his eighty-eighth. K'ien adds, 'Láo-ze cultivated the Táo and its attributes, the chief aim of his studies being how to keep himself concealed and remain unknown. He continued to reside at (the capital of) Káu, but after a long time, seeing the decay of the dynasty, he left it and went away to the barrier-gate, leading out of the kingdom on the north-west. Yin Hsí, the warden of the gate, said to him, "You are about to withdraw yourself out of sight. Let me insist on your (first) composing for me a book." On this, Láo-ze wrote a book in two parts, setting forth his views on the Táo and its attributes, in more than 5000 characters. He then went away, and it is not known where he died. He was a superior man, who liked to keep himself unknown.'

K'ien finally traces Láo's descendants down to the first century B.C., and concludes by saying, 'Those who attach themselves to the doctrine of Láo-ze condemn that of the Literati, and the Literati on their part condemn Láo-ze, verifying the saying, "Parties whose principles are different cannot take counsel together." Lî R taught that by doing nothing others are as a matter of course trans-

¹ The characters may mean 'the old boy,' and so understood have given rise to various fabulous legends; that his mother had carried him in her womb for seventy-two years (some say, for eighty-one), and that when born the child had the white hair of an old man. Julien has translated the fabulous legend of Ko Hung of our fourth century about him. By that time the legends of Buddhism about Sâkyamuni had become current in China, and were copied and applied to Láo-ze by his followers. Looking at the meaning of the two names, I am surprised no one has characterized Láo-ze as the Chinese Seneca.

formed, and that rectification in the same way ensues from being pure and still.'

This morsel is all that we have of historical narrative about Láo-ze. The account of the writing of the Táo Teh King at the request of the warden of the barrier-gate has a doubtful and legendary appearance. Otherwise, the record is free from anything to raise suspicion about it. It says nothing about previous existences of Láo, and nothing of his travelling to the west, and learning there the doctrines which are embodied in his work. He goes through the pass out of the domain of Káu, and died no one knowing where.

It is difficult, however, to reconcile this last statement with a narrative in the end of Kwang-ze's third Book. There we see Láo-ze dead, and a crowd of mourners wailing round the corpse, and giving extraordinary demonstrations of grief, which offend a disciple of a higher order, who has gone to the house to offer his condolences on the occasion. But for the peculiar nature of most of Kwang's narratives, we should say, in opposition to K'ien, that the place and time of Láo's death were well known. Possibly, however, Kwang-ze may have invented the whole story, to give him the opportunity of setting forth what, according to his ideal of it, the life of a Táolist master should be, and how even Láo-ze himself fell short of it.

Second, K'ien's account of Kwang-ze is still more brief. He was a native, he tells us, of the territory of Mǎng, which belonged to the kingdom of Liang or Wei, and held an office, he does not say what, in the city of K'hi-yüan. Kwang was thus of the same part of China as Láo-ze, and probably grew up familiar with all his speculations and lessons. He lived during the reigns of the kings Hui of Liang, Hsüan of K'hi, and Wei of K'ü. We cannot be wrong therefore in assigning his period to the latter half of the third, and earlier part of the fourth century B.C. He was thus a contemporary of Mencius. They visited at the same courts, and yet neither ever mentions the other. They were the two ablest debaters of their day, and fond of exposing what they deemed heresy. But it would only be

a matter of useless speculation to try to account for their never having come into argumentative collision.

K'ien says: 'Kwang had made himself well acquainted with all the literature of his time, but preferred the views of Lâo-ze, and ranked himself among his followers, so that of the more than ten myriads of characters contained in his published writings the greater part are occupied with metaphorical illustrations of Lâo's doctrines. He made "The Old Fisherman," "The Robber *Kih*," and "The Cutting open Satchels," to satirize and expose the disciples of Confucius, and clearly exhibit the sentiments of Lâo. Such names and characters as "Wei-lêi Hsü" and "Khang-sang Ze" are fictitious, and the pieces where they occur are not to be understood as narratives of real events¹.

'But Kwang was an admirable writer and skilful composer, and by his instances and truthful descriptions hit and exposed the Mohists and Literati. The ablest scholars of his day could not escape his satire nor reply to it, while he allowed and enjoyed himself with his sparkling, dashing style; and thus it was that the greatest men, even kings and princes, could not use him for their purposes.

'King Wei of *K'û*, having heard of the ability of Kwang *K'û*, sent messengers with large gifts to bring him to his court, and promising also that he would make him his chief minister. Kwang-ze, however, only laughed and said to them, "A thousand ounces of silver are a great gain to me, and to be a high noble and minister is a most honourable position. But have you not seen the victim-ox for the border sacrifice? It is carefully fed for several years, and robed with rich embroidery that it may be fit to enter the Grand Temple. When the time comes for it to do so, it would prefer to be a little pig, but it cannot get to be so. Go away quickly, and do not soil me with your presence.

¹ Khang-sang Ze is evidently the Käng-sang *K'û* of Kwang's Book XXIII. Wei-lêi Hsü is supposed by Sze-mâ K'ang of the Tang dynasty, who called himself the Lesser Sze-mâ, to be the name of a Book; one, in that case, of the lost books of Kwang. But as we find the 'Hill of Wei-lêi' mentioned in Bk. XXIII as the scene of Käng-sang *K'û*'s Tâoistic labours and success, I suppose that *K'ien*'s reference is to that. The names are quoted by him from memory, or might be insisted on as instances of different readings.

I had rather amuse and enjoy myself in the midst of a filthy ditch than be subject to the rules and restrictions in the court of a sovereign. I have determined never to take office, but prefer the enjoyment of my own free will.”

K'hen concludes his account of *K'wang-ze* with the above story, condensed by him, probably, from two of *K'wang's* own narratives, in par. 11 of Bk. XVII, and 13 of XXXII, to the injury of them both. Paragraph 14 of XXXII brings before us one of the last scenes of *K'wang-ze's* life, and we may doubt whether it should be received as from his own pencil. It is interesting in itself, however, and I introduce it here: ‘When *K'wang-ze* was about to die, his disciples signified their wish to give him a grand burial. “I shall have heaven and earth,” he said, “for my coffin and its shell; the sun and moon for my two round symbols of jade; the stars and constellations for my pearls and jewels;—will not the provisions for my interment be complete? What would you add to them?” The disciples replied, “We are afraid that the crows and kites will eat our master.” *K'wang-ze* rejoined, “Above, the crows and kites will eat me; below, the mole-cricket and ants will eat me; to take from those and give to these would only show your partiality.”’

Such were among the last words of *K'wang-ze*. His end was not so impressive as that of Confucius; but it was in keeping with the general magniloquence and strong assertion of independence that marked all his course.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE TRACTATE OF ACTIONS AND THEIR RETRIBUTIONS.

1. The contrast is great between the style of the *Tao Teh King* and the Books of *K'wang-ze* and that of the *Kan Ying Phien*, a translation of which is now submitted as a specimen of the Texts of Taoism. The works of *Lao* and *K'wang* stand alone in the literature of the system. What

Peculiar style
and nature of
the *Kan Ying*
Phien.

it was before Láo cannot be ascertained, and in his chapters it comes before us not as a religion, but as a subject of philosophical speculation, together with some practical applications of it insisted on by Láo himself. The brilliant pages of *K'wang-ze* contain little more than his ingenious defence of his master's speculations, and an aggregate of illustrative narratives sparkling with the charms of his composition, but in themselves for the most part unbelievable, often grotesque and absurd. This treatise, on the other hand, is more of what we understand by a sermon or popular tract. It eschews all difficult discussion, and sets forth a variety of traits of character and actions which are good, and a still greater variety of others which are bad, exhorting to the cultivation and performance of the former, and warning against the latter. It describes at the outset the machinery to secure the record of men's doings, and the infliction of the certain retribution, and concludes with insisting on the wisdom of repentance and reformation. At the same time it does not carry its idea of retribution beyond death, but declares that if the reward or punishment is not completed in the present life, the remainder will be received by the posterity of the good-doer and of the offender.

A place is given to the treatise among the Texts of Táoism in 'The Sacred Books of the East,' because of its popularity in China. 'The various editions of it,' as observed by Mr. Wylie, 'are innumerable; it has appeared from time to time in almost every conceivable size, shape, and style of execution. Many commentaries have been written upon it, and it is frequently published with a collection of several hundred anecdotes, along with pictorial illustrations, to illustrate every paragraph seriatim. It is deemed a great act of merit to aid by voluntary contribution towards the gratuitous distribution of this work¹.'

2. The author of the treatise is not known, but, as Mr. Wylie also observes, it appears to have been written during the Sung dynasty. The earliest mention of it which I have met with is in the continua-

The origin of
the treatise.

¹ Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 179.

tion of Ma-twan Lin's encyclopedic work by Wang *K'hi*, first published in 1586, the fourteenth year of the fourteenth emperor of the Ming dynasty. In Wang's supplement to his predecessor's account of Taoist works, the sixth notice is of 'a commentary on the *Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien* by a *Lî K'hang-ling*,' and immediately before it is a commentary on the short but well-known *Yin Fû King* by a *Lû Tien*, who lived 1042-1102. Immediately after it other works of the eleventh century are mentioned. To that same century therefore we may reasonably refer the origin of the *Kan Ying Phien*.

As to the meaning of the title, the only difficulty is with the two commencing characters *Thâi Shang*. Julien left

The meaning of them untranslated, with the note, however, the title. that they were 'l'abréviation de *Thâi Shang*

Lão K'ün, expression honorifique par laquelle les Tào-sze désignent *Lão-ze*, le fondateur de leur secte¹. This is the interpretation commonly given of the phrase, and it is hardly worth while to indicate any doubt of its correctness; but if the characters were taken, as I believe they were, from the beginning of the seventeenth chapter of the *Tào Teh King*, I should prefer to understand them of the highest and oldest form of the Taoistic teaching².

3. I quoted on page 13 the view of Hardwick, the Christian Advocate of Cambridge, that 'the indefinite expression

¹ See 'Le Livre des Récompense et des Peines en Chinois et en François' (London, 1835).

² The designation of *Lão-ze* as *Thâi Shang Lão K'ün* originated probably in the Tang dynasty. It is on record that in 666 *K'ao Jung*, the third emperor, went to *Lão-ze's* temple at *Po K'âu* (the place of *Lão's* birth, and still called by the same name, in the department of *F'ang-yang* in *An-hui*), and conferred on him the title of *Thâi Shang Yüan Yüan Hwang T'î*, 'The Great God, the Mysterious Originator, the Most High.' 'Then,' says Mayers, *Manual*, p. 113, 'for the first time he was ranked among the gods as "Great Supreme, the Emperor (or Imperial God) of the Dark First Cause."' The whole entry is

至亳州尊老君爲太上元(或玄)元皇帝.
Later on, in 1014, we find *K'ao Jung*, the fourth Sung emperor, also visiting *Po K'âu*, and in *Lão's* temple, which has by this time become 'the Palace of Grand Purity,' enlarging his title to *Thâi Shang Lão K'ün Hwun Yüan Shang Teh Hwang T'î*, 'The Most High, the Ruler *Lão*, the Great God of Grand Virtue at the Chaotic Origin.' But such titles are not easily translated.

Tào was adopted to denominate an abstract Cause, or the initial principle of life and order, to Taoism a religion? which worshippers were able to assign the attributes of immateriality, eternity, immensity, invisibility.' His selection of the term worshippers in this passage was unfortunate. Neither Lâu nor Kwang says anything about the worship of the Tào, about priests or monks, about temples or rituals. How could they do so, seeing that Tào was not to them the name of a personal Being, nor 'Heaven' a metaphorical term equivalent to the Confucian Tî, 'Ruler,' or Shang Tî, 'Supreme Ruler.' With this agnosticism as to God, and their belief that by a certain management and discipline of the breath life might be prolonged indefinitely, I do not see how anything of an organised religion was possible for the old Tàoists.

The Tàoist proclivities of the founder of the *K'in* dynasty are well known. If his life had been prolonged, and the dynasty become consolidated, there might have arisen such a religion in connexion with Tàoism, for we have a record that he, as head of the Empire, had eight spirits¹ to which he offered sacrifices. *K'in*, however, soon passed away; what remained in permanency from it was only the abolition of the feudal kingdom.

4. We cannot here attempt to relate in detail the rise and growth of the *K'ang* family in which the headship of Tàoism has been hereditary since our first Christian century, with the exception of one not very long interruption.

The family of *K'ang*. One of the earliest members of it, *K'ang* Liang, must have been born not long after the death of *K'wang-ze*, for he joined the party of *Liú*

¹ The eight spirits were:—1. The Lord of Heaven; 2. The Lord of Earth; 3. The Lord of War; 4. The Lord of the Yang operation; 5. The Lord of the Yin operation; 6. The Lord of the Moon; 7. The Lord of the Sun; and 8. The Lord of the Four Seasons. See Mayers's *C. R. Manual*, pp. 327, 328. His authority is the sixth of Sze-mâ *K'ien*'s monographs. *K'ien* seems to say that the worship of these spirits could be traced to *Thâi Kung*, one of the principal ministers of kings *Wân* and *Wû* at the rise of the *K'âu* dynasty in the twelfth century B. C., and to whom in the list of Tàoist writings in the Imperial Library of Han, no fewer than 237 *chien* are ascribed.

Pang, the founder of the dynasty of Han, in B. C. 208, and by his wisdom and bravery contributed greatly to his success over the adherents of *K'in*, and other contenders for the sovereignty of the empire. Abandoning then a political career, he spent the latter years of his life in a vain quest for the elixir of life.

Among Liang's descendants in our first century was a *Kang Tào-ling*, who, eschewing a career in the service of the state, devoted himself to the pursuits of alchemy, and at last succeeded in compounding the grand elixir or pill, and at the age of 123 was released from the trammels of the mortal body, and entered on the enjoyment of immortality, leaving to his descendants his books, talismans and charms, his sword, mighty against spirits, and his seal. *Tào-ling* stands out, in *Tâoist* accounts, as the first patriarch of the system, with the title of *Thien Shih*, 'Master or Preceptor of Heaven.' *Hsüan Jung* of the *Thang* dynasty in 748, confirmed the dignity and title in the family; and in 1016 the *Sung* emperor *K'ân Jung* invested its representative with large tracts of land near the *Lung-hû* mountain in *K'iang-hsi*. The present patriarch—for I suppose the same man is still alive—made a journey from his residence not many years ago, and was interviewed by several foreigners in Shanghai. The succession is said to be perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul of *Kang Tào-ling* into some infant or youthful member of the family; whose heirship is supernaturally revealed as soon as the miracle is effected¹.

This superstitious notion shows the influence of Buddhism on *Tâoism*. It has been seen from the eighteenth of the Books of *K'wang-ze* what affinities there were between *Tâoism* and the Indian system; and there can be no doubt that the introduction of the latter into China did more than anything else to affect the development of the *Tâoistic* system. As early as the time of Confucius there were recluses in the country, men who had withdrawn from the world, disgusted with its

Influence of
Buddhism on
Tâoism.

¹ See Mayers's C. R. Manual, Part I, article 35.

vanities and in despair from its disorders. Lâo would appear to have himself contemplated this course. When their representatives of our early centuries saw the Buddhists among them with their images, monasteries, and nunneries, their ritual and discipline, they proceeded to organise themselves after a similar fashion. They built monasteries and nunneries, framed images, composed liturgies, and adopted a peculiar mode of tying up their hair. The 'Three Precious Ones' of Buddhism, emblematic to the initiated of Intelligence personified in Buddha, the Law, and the Community or Church, but to the mass of the worshippers merely three great idols, styled by them Buddha Past, Present, and To Come: these appeared in Tâoism as the 'Three Pure Ones,' also represented by three great images, each of which receives the title of 'His Celestial Eminence,' and is styled the 'Most High God (Shang Tî).' The first of them is a deification of Chaos, the second, of Lâo-ze, and the third of I know not whom or what; perhaps of the Tâo.

But those Three Pure Ones have been very much cast into the shade, as the objects of popular worship and veneration, by Yü Hwang Tî or Yü Hwang Shang Tî. This personage appears to have been a member of the Kang clan, held to be a magician and venerated from the time of the Thang dynasty, but deified in 1116 by the Sung emperor Hui Jung at the instigation of a charlatan Lin Ling-sû, a renegade Buddhist monk. He is the god in the court of heaven to whom the spirits of the body and of the hearth in our treatise proceed at stated times to report for approval or condemnation the conduct of men.

Since the first publication of the Kan Ying Phien, the tenets of Buddhism have been still further adopted by the teachers of Tâoism, and shaped to suit the nature of their own system. I have observed that the idea of retribution in our treatise does not go beyond the present life; but the manifestoes of Tâoism of more recent times are much occupied with descriptions of the courts of purgatory and threatenings of the everlasting misery of hell to those whom their sufferings in those courts

fail to wean from their wickedness. Those manifestoes are published by the mercy of Yü Hwang Shang Tî that men and women may be led to repent of their faults and make atonement for their crimes. They emanate from the temples of the tutelary deities¹ which are found throughout the empire, and especially in the walled cities, and are under the charge of Tâoist monks. A visitor to one of the larger of these temples may not only see the pictures of the purgatorial courts and other forms of the modern superstitions, but he will find also astrologers, diviners, geomancers, physiognomists, et id genus omne, plying their trades or waiting to be asked to do so, and he will wonder how it has been possible to affiliate such things with the teachings of Lâo-ze.

Other manifestoes of a milder form, and more like our tractate, are also continually being issued as from one or other of what are called the state gods, whose temples are all in the charge of the same monks. In the approximation which has thus been going on of Tâoism to Buddhism, the requirement of celibacy was long resisted by the professors of the former; but recent editions of the Penal Code² contain sundry regulations framed to enforce celibacy, to bind the monks and nuns of both systems to the observance of the Confucian maxims concerning filial piety, and the sacrificial worship of the dead; and also to restrict the multiplication of monasteries and nunneries. Neither Lâo nor Kwang was a celibate or recommended celibacy. The present patriarch, as a married man, would seem to be able still to resist the law.

¹ Called *K'zăng Hwang Miào*, 'Wall and Moat Temples,' Palladia of the city.

² See Dr. Eitel's third edition of his 'Three Lectures on Buddhism,' pp. 36-45 (Hongkong: Lane, Crawford & Co., 1884). The edition of the Penal Code to which he refers is of 1879.

THE TÂO TEH KING,

OR

THE TÂO

AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS.

THE WRITINGS OF KWANG-3ZE.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE DIFFERENT BOOKS.

BOOK I. HSIÄO-YÄO YÛ.

The three characters which form the title of this Book have all of them the ideagram 𢀏 (*Ko*), which gives the idea, as the Shwo Wăn explains it, of 'now walking, now halting.' We might render the title by 'Sauntering or Rambling at Ease;' but it is the untroubled enjoyment of the mind which the author has in view. And this enjoyment is secured by the *Tâo*, though that character does not once occur in the Book. *Kwang-3ze* illustrates his thesis first by the cases of creatures, the largest and the smallest, showing that however different they may be in size, they should not pass judgment on one another, but may equally find their happiness in the *Tâo*. From this he advances to men, and from the cases of *Yung-3ze* and *Lieh-3ze* proceeds to that of one who finds his enjoyment in himself, independent of every other being or instrumentality; and we have the three important definitions of the accomplished *Tâoist*, as 'the Perfect Man,' 'the Spirit-like Man,' and 'the Sagely Man.' Those definitions are then illustrated;—the third in *Yáo* and *Hsü Yû*, and the second in the conversation between *K'ien Wû* and *Lien Shû*. The description given in this conversation of the spirit-like man is very startling, and contains statements that are true only of Him who is a 'Spirit,' 'the Blessed and only Potentate,' 'Who covereth Himself with light as with a garment, Who stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain,

Who layeth the beams of His chambers in the waters, Who maketh the clouds His chariot, Who walketh on the wings of the wind,' 'Who rideth on a cherub,' 'Who inhabiteth eternity.' The most imaginative and metaphorical expressions in the *Táo Teh King* about the power of the possessor of the *Táo* are tame, compared with the language of our author. I call attention to it here, as he often uses the same extravagant style. There follows an illustration of 'the Perfect Man,' which is comparatively feeble, and part of it, so far as I can see, inappropriate, though Lin Hsí-kung says that all other interpretations of the sentences are ridiculous.

In the seventh and last paragraph we have two illustrations that nothing is really useless, if only used *Táo-istically*; 'to the same effect,' says 3iáo Hung, 'as Confucius in the *Analects*, XVII, ii.' They hang loosely, however, from what precedes.

An old view of the Book was that *Kwang-ze* intended himself by the great phăng, 'which,' says Lû Shû-ñih, 'is wide of the mark.'

BOOK II. *KHÎ WŨ LUN*.

Mr. Balfour has translated this title by 'Essay on the Uniformity of All Things;' and, the subject of the Book being thus misconceived, his translation of it could not fail to be very incorrect. The Chinese critics, I may say without exception, construe the title as I have done. The second and third characters, *Wŭ Lun*, are taken together, and mean 'Discussions about Things,' equivalent to our 'Controversies.' They are under the government of the first character *Khî*, used as a verb, with the signification of 'Harmonising,' or 'Adjusting.' Let me illustrate this by condensing a passage from the 'Supplementary Commentary of a Mr. Kang, a sub-secretary of the Imperial Chancery,' of the Ming dynasty (張學士補註). He says, 'What *Kwang-ze* calls "Discussions about Things" has reference to the various branches of the numerous schools, each of which has its own views, conflicting with

the views of the others.' He goes on to show that if they would only adopt the method pointed out by *K'wang-ze*, 'their controversies would be adjusted (物論齊)' now using the first *K'î* in the passive voice.

This then was the theme of our author in this Book. It must be left for the reader to discover from the translation how he pursues it. I pointed out a peculiarity in the former Book, that though the idea of the *Táo* underlies it all, the term itself is never allowed to appear. Not only does the same idea underlie this Book, but the name is frequently employed. The *Táo* is the panacea for the evils of controversy, the solvent through the use of which the different views of men may be made to disappear.

That the *Táo* is not a Personal name in the conception of *K'wang-ze* is seen in several passages. We have not to go beyond the phenomena of nature to discover the reason of their being what they are; nor have we to go beyond the bigoted egoism and vaingloriousness of controversialists to find the explanation of their discussions, various as these are, and confounding like the sounds of the wind among the trees of a forest. To man, neither in nature nor in the sphere of knowledge, is there any other 'Heaven' but what belongs to his own mind. That is his only 'True Ruler.' If there be any other, we do not see His form, nor any traces of His acting. Things come about in their proper course. We cannot advance any proof of Creation. Whether we assume that there was something 'in the beginning' or nothing, we are equally landed in contradiction and absurdity. Let us stop at the limit of what we know, and not try to advance a step beyond it.

Towards the end of the Book our author's agnosticism seems to reach its farthest point. All human experience is spoken of as a dream or as 'illusion.' He who calls another a dreamer does not know that he is not dreaming himself. One and another commentator discover in such utterances something very like the Buddhist doctrine that all life is but so much illusion (象). This notion has its consummation in the story with which the Book concludes.

Kwang-ze had dreamt that he was a butterfly. When he awoke, and was himself again, he did not know whether he, *Kwang Kâu*, had been dreaming that he was a butterfly, or was now a butterfly dreaming that it was *Kwang Kâu*. And yet he adds that there must be a difference between *Kâu* and a butterfly, but he does not say what that difference is. But had he ever dreamt that he was a butterfly, so as to lose the consciousness of his personal identity as *Kwang Kâu*? I do not think so. One may, perhaps, lose that consciousness in the state of insanity; but the language of Young is not sufficiently guarded when he writes of

‘Dreams, where thought, in fancy’s maze, runs mad.’

When dreaming, our thoughts are not conditioned by the categories of time and space; but the conviction of our identity is never lost.

BOOK III. YANG SHANG K’Ü.

‘The Lord of Life’ is the *Tâo*. It is to this that we are indebted for the origin of life and for the preservation of it. Though not a Personal Being, it is here spoken of as if it were,—‘the Lord of Life;’ just as in the preceding Book it is made to appear as ‘a True Governor,’ and ‘a True Ruler.’ But how can we nourish the *Tâo*? The reply is, By avoiding all striving to do so; by a passionless, unstraining performance of what we have to do in our position in life; simply allowing the *Tâo* to guide and nourish us, without doing anything to please ourselves or to counteract the tendency of our being to decay and death.

Par. 1 exhibits the injury arising from not thus nourishing the life, and sets forth the rule we are to pursue.

Par. 2 illustrates the observance of the rule by the perfect skill with which the cook of the ruler *Wăn-hui* of Wei cut up the oxen for his employer without trouble to himself, or injury to his knife.

Par. 3 illustrates the result of a neglect of one of the cautions in par. 1 to a certain master of the Left, who had brought on himself dismemberment in the loss of one of his feet.

Par. 4 shows how even Láo-ze had failed in nourishing 'the Lord of Life' by neglecting the other caution, and allowing in his good-doing an admixture of human feeling, which produced in his disciples a regard for him that was inconsistent with the nature of the Táo, and made them wail for him excessively on his death. This is the most remarkable portion of the Book, and it is followed by a sentence which implies that the existence of man's spirit continues after death has taken place. His body is intended by the 'faggots' that are consumed by the fire. That fire represents the spirit which may be transferred elsewhere.

Some commentators dwell on the analogy between this and the Buddhistic transrotation of births; which latter teaching, however, they do not seem to understand. Others say that 'the nourishment of the Lord of Life' is simply acting as Yü did when he conveyed away the flooded waters 'by doing that which gave him no trouble;'—see Mencius, IV, ii, 26.

In Kwang-ze there are various other stories of the same character as that about king Wán-hui's cook,—e.g. XIX, 3 and XXII, 9. They are instances of the dexterity acquired by habit, and should hardly be pressed into the service of the doctrine of the Táo.

BOOK IV. ZÂN KIEN SHIH.

A man has his place among other men in the world; he is a member, while he lives, of the body of humanity. And as he has his place in society, so also he has his special duties to discharge, according to his position, and his relation to others. Táoist writers refer to this Book as a proof of the practical character of the writings of Kwang-ze.

They are right to a certain extent in doing so; but the cases of relationship which are exhibited and prescribed for are of so peculiar a character, that the Book is of little value as a directory of human conduct and duty. In the first two paragraphs we have the case of Yen Hui, who wishes to go to Wei, and try to reform the character and government of its oppressive ruler; in the third and fourth, that of the duke of Sheh, who has been entrusted by the king of *K'û* with a difficult mission to the court of *K'û*, which is occasioning him much anxiety and apprehension; and in the fifth, that of a Yen Ho, who is about to undertake the office of teacher to the son of duke Ling of Wei, a young man with a very bad natural disposition. The other four paragraphs do not seem to come in naturally after these three cases, being occupied with two immense and wonderful trees, the case of a poor deformed cripple, and the lecture for the benefit of Confucius by 'the madman of *K'û*.' In all these last paragraphs, the theme is the usefulness, to the party himself at least, of being of no use.

Confucius is the principal speaker in the first four paragraphs. In what he says to Yen Hui and the duke of Sheh there is much that is shrewd and good; but we prefer the practical style of his teachings, as related by his own disciples in the Confucian Analects. Possibly, it was the object of *Kwang-ze* to exhibit his teaching, as containing, without his being aware of it, much of the mystical character of the Tâoistic system. His conversation with the duke of Sheh, however, is less obnoxious to this charge than what he is made to say to Yen Hui. The adviser of Yen Ho is a *K'ü Po-yü*, a disciple of Confucius, who still has a place in the sage's temples.

In the conclusion, the Tâoism of our author comes out in contrast with the methods of Confucius. His object in the whole treatise, perhaps, was to show how 'the doing nothing, and yet thereby doing everything,' was the method to be pursued in all the intercourses of society.

BOOK V. TEH KHUNG FŪ.

The fū (符) consisted in the earliest times of two slips of bamboo made with certain marks, so as to fit to each other exactly, and held by the two parties to any agreement or covenant. By the production and comparison of the slips, the parties verified their mutual relation; and the claim of the one and the obligation of the other were sufficiently established. 'Seal' seems the best translation of the character in this title.

By 'virtue' (德) we must understand the characteristics of the Tào. Where those existed in their full proportions in any individual, there was sure to be the evidence or proof of them in the influence which he exerted in all his intercourse with other men; and the illustration of this is the subject of this Book, in all its five paragraphs. That influence is the 'Seal' set on him, proving him to be a true child of the Tào.

The heroes, as I may call them, of the first three paragraphs are all men who had lost their feet, having been reduced to that condition as a punishment, just or unjust, of certain offences; and those of the last two are distinguished by their extraordinary ugliness or disgusting deformity. But neither the loss of their feet nor their deformities trouble the serenity of their own minds, or interfere with the effects of their teaching and character upon others; so superior is their virtue to the deficiencies in their outward appearance.

Various brief descriptions of the Tào are interspersed in the Book. The most remarkable of them are those in par. 1, where it appears as 'that in which there is no element of falsehood,' and as 'the author of all the Changes or Transformations' in the world. The sentences where these occur are thus translated by Mr. Balfour:—'He seeks to know Him in whom is nothing false. He would not be affected by the instability of creation; even if his life were involved in the general destruction, he would yet hold firmly to his faith (in God).' And he observes in a

note, that the first short sentence 'is explained by the commentators as referring to *Kăn 3âi* (眞宰), the term used by the Tâoist school for God.' But we met with that name and synonyms of it in Book II, par. 2, as appellations of the Tâo, coupled with the denial of its personality. *Kăn 3âi*, 'the True Governor or Lord,' may be used as a designation for god or God, but the Tâoist school denies the existence of a Personal Being, to whom we are accustomed to apply that name.

Hui-ze, the sophist and friend of *Kwang-ze*, is introduced in the conclusion as disputing with him the propriety of his representing the Master of the Tâo as being still 'a man;' and is beaten down by him with a repetition of his assertions, and a reference to some of Hui-ze's well-known peculiarities. What would *Kwang-ze* have said, if his opponent had affirmed that his instances were all imaginary, and that no man had ever appeared who could appeal to his possession of such a 'seal' to his virtues and influence as he described?

Lû Fang-wǎng compares with the tenor of this Book what we find in Mencius, VII, i, 21, about the nature of the superior man. The analogy between them, however, is very faint and incomplete.

BOOK VI. TÂ 3UNG SHIH.

So I translate the title of this Book, taking 3ung as a verb, and 3ung Shih as = 'The Master who is Honoured.' Some critics take 3ung in the sense of 'Originator,' in which it is employed in the Tâo Teh King, lxx, 2. Whichever rendering be adopted, there is no doubt that the title is intended to be a designation of the Tâo; and no one of our author's Books is more important for the understanding of his system of thought.

The key to it is found in the first of its fifteen paragraphs. There are in man two elements;—the Heavenly or Tâoistic, and the human. The disciple of the Tâo, recognising them both, cultivates what he knows as a man

so as to become entirely conformed to the action of the Tâo, and submissive in all the most painful experiences in his lot, which is entirely ordered by it. A seal will be set on the wisdom of this course hereafter, when he has completed the period of his existence on earth, and returns to the state of non-existence, from which the Tâo called him to be born as a man. In the meantime he may attain to be the True man possessing the True knowledge.

Our author then proceeds to give his readers in five paragraphs his idea of the True Man. Mr. Balfour says that this name is to be understood 'in the esoteric sense, the partaking of the essence of divinity,' and he translates it by 'the Divine Man.' But we have no right to introduce here the terms 'divine' and 'divinity.' Nan-hwâi (VII, 5 b) gives a short definition of the name which is more to the point:—'What we call "the True Man" is one whose nature is in agreement with the Tâo (所謂真人者性合于道也;)' and the commentator adds in a note, 'Such men as Fû-hsî, Hwang-Ti, and Lâo Tan.' The Khang-hsî dictionary commences its account of the character 眞 or 'True' by a definition of the True Man taken from the Shwo Wăn as a 仙人, 'a recluse of the mountain, whose bodily form has been changed, and who ascends to heaven;' but when that earliest dictionary was made, Tâoism had entered into a new phase, different from what it had in the time of our author. The most prominent characteristic of the True Man is that he is free from all exercise of thought and purpose, a being entirely passive in the hands of the Tâo. In par. 3 seven men are mentioned, good and worthy men, but inferior to the True.

Having said what he had to say of the True Man, Kwang-ze comes in the seventh paragraph to speak directly of the Tâo itself, and describes it with many wonderful predicates which exalt it above our idea of God;—a concept and not a personality. He concludes by mentioning a number of ancient personages who had got the Tâo, and by it wrought wonders, beginning with a Shih-wei, who preceded Fû-hsî, and ending with Fû Yüeh, the minister of

Wù-ting, in the fourteenth century B.C., and who finally became a star in the eastern portion of the zodiac. Phăng 3û is also mentioned as living, through his possession of the Táo, from the twenty-third century B.C. to the seventh or later. The sun and moon and the constellation of the Great Bear are also mentioned as its possessors, and the fabulous Being called the Mother of the Western King. The whole passage is perplexing to the reader to the last degree.

The remaining paragraphs are mostly occupied with instances of learning the Táo, and of its effects in making men superior to the infirmities of age and the most terrible deformities of person and calamities of penury; as 'Tranquillity' under all that might seem most calculated to disturb it. Very strange is the attempt at the conclusion of par. 8 apparently to trace the genesis of the knowledge of the Táo. Confucius is introduced repeatedly as the expounder of Táoism, and made to praise it as the *ne plus ultra* of human attainment.

BOOK VII. YING TÎ WANG.

The first of the three characters in this title renders the translation of it somewhat perplexing. Ying has different meanings according as it is read in the first tone or in the third. In the first tone it is the symbol of what is right, or should be; in the third tone of answering or responding to. I prefer to take it here in the first tone. As Kwo Hsiang says, 'One who is free from mind or purpose of his own, and loves men to become transformed of themselves, is fit to be a Ruler or a King,' and as 3hui K'wan, another early commentator, says, 'He whose teaching is that which is without words, and makes men in the world act as if they were oxen or horses, is fit to be a Ruler or a King.' This then is the object of the Book—to describe that government which exhibits the Táo equally in the rulers and the ruled, the world of men all happy and good without purpose or effort.

It consists of seven paragraphs. The first shows us the model ruler in him of the line of Thái, whom I have not

succeeded in identifying. The second shows us men under such a rule, uncontrolled and safe like the bird that flies high beyond the reach of the archer, and the mouse secure in its deep hole from its pursuers. The teacher in this portion is *K'ieh-yü*, known in the Confucian school as 'the madman of *K'ü*,' and he delivers his lesson in opposition to the heresy of a *Z'äh-kung Shih*, or 'Noon Beginning.' In the third paragraph the speakers are 'a nameless man,' and a *Thien Kän*, or 'Heaven Root.' In the fourth paragraph *Lão-ze* himself appears upon the stage, and lectures a *Yang Ze-kü*, the *Yang K'ü* of Mencius. He concludes by saying that 'where the intelligent kings took their stand could not be fathomed, and they found their enjoyment in (the realm of) nonentity.'

The fifth paragraph is longer, and tells us of the defeat of a wizard, a physiognomist in *K'äng*, by *Hü-ze*, the master of the philosopher *Lieh-ze*, who is thereby delivered from the glamour which the cheat was throwing round him. I confess to not being able to understand the various processes by which *Hü-ze* foils the wizard and makes him run away. The whole story is told, and at greater length, in the second book of the collection ascribed to *Lieh-ze*, and the curious student may like to look at the translation of that work by Mr. Ernst Faber (*Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen sowohl nach der Seite des Pantheismus als des Sensualismus, oder die Sämmtlichen Werke des Philosophen Licius, 1877*). The effect of the wizard's defeat on *Lieh-ze* was great. He returned in great humility to his house, and did not go out of it for three years. He did the cooking for his wife, and fed the pigs as if he were feeding men. He returned to pure simplicity, and therein continued to the end of his life. But I do not see the connexion between this narrative and the government of the Rulers and Kings.

The sixth paragraph is a homily by our author himself on 'non-action.' It contains a good simile, comparing the mind of the perfect man to a mirror, which reflects faithfully what comes before it, but does not retain any image of it, when the mind is gone.

The last paragraph is an ingenious and interesting allegory relating how the gods of the southern and northern seas brought Chaos to an end by boring holes in him. Thereby they destroyed the primal simplicity, and according to Tâoism did Chaos an injury! On the whole I do not think that this Book, with which the more finished essays of *Kwang-ze* come to an end, is so successful as those that precede it.

BOOK VIII. PHIEN MÂU.

This Book brings us to the Second Part of the writings of our author, embracing in all fifteen Books. Of the most important difference between the Books of the First and the other Parts some account has been given in the Introductory Chapter. We have here to do only with the different character of their titles. Those of the seven preceding Books are so many theses, and are believed to have been prefixed to them by *Kwang-ze* himself; those of this Book and the others that follow are believed to have been prefixed by *Kwo Hsiang*, and consist of two or three characters taken from the beginning, or near the beginning of the several Books, after the fashion of the names of the Books in the Confucian Analects, in the works of Mencius, and in our Hebrew Scriptures. Books VIII to XIII are considered to be supplementary to VII by *Aû-yang Hsiû*.

The title of this eighth Book, *Phien Mâu*, has been rendered by Mr. Balfour, after Dr. Williams, 'Double Thumbs.' But the *Mâu*, which may mean either the Thumb or the Great Toe, must be taken in the latter sense, being distinguished in this paragraph and elsewhere from *Kih*, 'a finger,' and expressly specified also as belonging to the foot. The character *phien*, as used here, is defined in the *Khang-hsi* dictionary as 'anything additional growing out as an appendage or excrescence, a growing out at the side.' This would seem to justify the translation of it by 'double.' But in paragraph 3, while the extra finger increases the number of the fingers, this growth on the foot is represented as diminishing the number of the toes. I must consider

the *phien* therefore as descriptive of an appendage by which the great toe was united to one or all of the other toes, and can think of no better rendering of the title than what I have given. It is told in the 30 *Kwan* (twenty-third year of duke Hsî) that the famous duke Wăn of 3in had *phien hsieh*, that is, that his ribs presented the appearance of forming one bone. So much for the title.

The subject-matter of the Book seems strange to us;—that, according to the *Tâo*, benevolence and righteousness are not natural growths of humanity, but excrescences on it, like the extra finger on the hand, and the membranous web of the toes. The weakness of the *Tâoistic* system begins to appear. *Kwang-ze's* arguments in support of his position must be pronounced very feeble. The ancient *Shun* is introduced as the first who called in the two great virtues to distort and vex the world, keeping society for more than a thousand years in a state of uneasy excitement. Of course he assumes that prior to *Shun*, he does not say for how long a time (and in other places he makes decay to have begun earlier), the world had been in a state of paradisiacal innocence and simplicity, under the guidance of the *Tâo*, untroubled by any consideration of what was right and what was wrong, men passively allowing their nature to have its quiet development, and happy in that condition. All culture of art or music is wrong, and so it is wrong and injurious to be striving to manifest benevolence and to maintain righteousness.

He especially singles out two men, one of the twelfth century B.C., the famous *Po-î*, who died of hunger rather than acknowledge the dynasty of *Kâu*; and one of a more recent age, the robber *Shih*, a great leader of brigands, who brought himself by his deeds to an untimely end; and he sees nothing to choose between them. We must give our judgment for the teaching of Confucianism in preference to that of *Tâoism*, if our author can be regarded as a fair expositor of the latter. He is ingenious in his statements and illustrations, but he was, like his master *Lão-ze*, only a dreamer.

BOOK IX. MÂ THÎ.

‘Horses’ and ‘Hoofs’ are the first two characters of the Text, standing there in the relation of regent and regimen. The account of the teaching of the Book given by Lin Hsî-kung is so concise that I will avail myself of it. He says:—

‘Governing men is like governing horses. They may be governed in such a way as shall be injurious to them, just as Po-lão governed the horse;—contrary to its true nature. His method was not different from that of the (first) potter and carpenter in dealing with clay and wood;—contrary to the nature of those substances. Notwithstanding this, one age after another has celebrated the skill of those parties;—not knowing what it is that constitutes the good and skilful government of men. Such government simply requires that men be made to fulfil their regular constant nature,—the qualities which they all possess in common, with which they are constituted by Heaven, and then be left to themselves. It was this which constituted the age of perfect virtue; but when the sages insisted on the practice of benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and music, then the people began to be without that perfect virtue. Not that they were in themselves different from what they had been, but those practices do not really belong to their regular nature; they arose from their neglecting the characteristics of the Tâo, and abandoning their natural constitution;—it was the case of the skilful artisan cutting and hacking his raw materials in order to form vessels from them. There is no ground for doubting that Po-lão’s management of horses gave them that knowledge with which they went on to play the part of thieves, or that it was the sages’ government of the people which made them devote themselves to the pursuit of gain;—it is impossible to deny the error of those sages.

‘There is but one idea in the Book from the beginning to the end;—it is an amplification of the expression in the preceding Book that “all men have their regular and con-

stant constitution," and is the most easily construed of all *Kwang-ze's* compositions. In consequence, however, of the wonderful touches of his pencil in describing the sympathy between men and other creatures in their primal state, some have imagined that there is a waste and embellishment of language, and doubted whether the Book is really his own, but thought it was written by some one in imitation of his style. I apprehend that no other hand would easily have attained to such a mastery of that style.'

There is no possibility of adjudicating definitely on the suspicion of the genuineness of the Book thus expressed in *Hsi-kung's* concluding remarks. The same suspicion arose in my own mind in the process of translation. My surprise continues that our author did not perceive the absurdity of his notions of the primal state of men, and of his condemnation of the sages.

BOOK X. *KHÜ KHIEH.*

It is observed by the commentator *Kwei Kăn-khüan* that one idea runs through this Book:—that the most sage and wise men have ministered to theft and robbery, and that, if there were an end of sageness and wisdom, the world would be at rest. Between it and the previous Book there is a general agreement in argument and object, but in this the author expresses himself with greater vehemence, and almost goes to excess in his denunciation of the institutions of the sages.

The reader will agree with these accounts of the Book. *Kwang-ze* at times becomes weak in his attempts to establish his points. To my mind the most interesting portions of this Book and the last one are the full statements which we have in them of the happy state of men when the *Tão* maintained its undisputed sway in the world, and the names of many of the early *Tãoistic* sovereigns. How can we suppose that anything would be gained by a return to the condition of primitive innocence and simplicity? The antagonism between *Tãoism* and *Confucianism* comes out in this Book very decidedly.

The title of the Book is taken from two characters in the first clause of the first paragraph.

BOOK XI. 3ÂI YŪ.

The two characters of the title are taken from the first sentence of the Text, but they express the subject of the Book more fully than the other titles in this Part do, and almost entitle it to a place in Part I. It is not easy to translate them, and Mr. Balfour renders them by 'Leniency towards Faults,' probably construing 3Âi as equivalent to our preposition 'in,' which it often is. But K'wang-ze uses both 3Âi and YŪ as verbs, or blends them together, the chief force of the binomial compound being derived from the significance of the 3Âi. 3Âi is defined by 3hun (存), which gives the idea of 'preserving' or 'keeping intact,' and YŪ by Khwan (寬), 'being indulgent' or 'forbearing.' The two characters are afterwards exchanged for other two, wŭ wei (無爲), 'doing nothing,' 'inaction,' a grand characteristic of the Táo.

The following summary of the Book is taken from Hsüan Ying's explanations of our author:—'The two characters 3Âi YŪ express the subject-matter of the Book, and "governing" points out the opposite error as the disease into which men are prone to fall. Let men be, and the tendencies of their nature will be at rest, and there will be no necessity for governing the world. Try to govern it, and the world will be full of trouble; and men will not be able to rest in the tendencies of their nature. These are the subjects of the first two paragraphs.

'In the third paragraph we have the erroneous view of 3hui K'ü that by government it was possible to make men's minds good. He did not know that governing was a disturbing meddling with the minds of men; and how Láo-ze set forth the evil of such government, going on till it be irretrievable. This long paragraph vigorously attacks the injury done by governing.

'In the fourth paragraph, when Hwang-Ti questions

Kwang *K'ăng-jze*, the latter sets aside his inquiry about the government of the world, and tells him about the government of himself; and in the fifth, when Yün *Kiang* asks Hung Mung about governing men, the latter tells him about the nourishing of the heart. These two great paragraphs set forth clearly the subtlest points in the policy of Let-a-be. Truly it is not an empty name.

'In the two last paragraphs, Kwang in his own words and way sets forth, now by affirmation, and now by negation, the meaning of all that precedes.'

This summary of the Book will assist the reader in understanding it. For other remarks that will be helpful, I must refer him to the notes appended to the Text. The Book is not easy to understand or to translate; and a remark found in the *K'ia-k'ing* edition of 'the Ten Philosophers,' by Lû Hsiû-fû, who died in 1279, was welcome to me, 'If you cannot understand one or two sentences of Kwang-jze, it does not matter.'

BOOK XII. THIEN TĪ.

The first two characters of the Book are adopted as its name;—Thien Tĭ, 'Heaven and Earth.' These are employed, not so much as the two greatest material forms in the universe, but as the Great Powers whose influences extend to all below and upon them. Silently and effectively, with entire spontaneity, their influence goes forth, and a rule and pattern is thus given to those on whom the business of the government of the world devolves. The one character 'Heaven' is employed throughout the Book as the denomination of this purposeless spontaneity which yet is so powerful.

Lû Shû-*zh* says:—'This Book also sets forth clearly how the rulers of the world ought simply to act in accordance with the spontaneity of the virtue of Heaven; abjuring sageness and putting away knowledge; and doing nothing:—in this way the Táo or proper Method of Government will be attained to. As to the coercive methods of Mo Tĭ

and Hui-ze, they only serve to distress those who follow them.'

This object of the Book appears, more or less distinctly, in most of the illustrative paragraphs; though, as has been pointed out in the notes upon it, several of them must be considered to be spurious. Paragraphs 6, 7, and 11 are thus called in question, and, as most readers will feel, with reason. From 13 to the end, the paragraphs are held to be one long paragraph where *Kwang-ze* introduces his own reflections in an unusual style; but the genuineness of the whole, so far as I have observed, has not been called in question.

BOOK XIII. THIEN TÂO.

'Thien Tâo,' the first two characters of the first paragraph, and prefixed to the Book as the name of it, are best translated by 'The Way of Heaven,' meaning the noiseless spontaneity, which characterises all the operations of nature, proceeding silently, yet 'perfecting all things.' As the rulers of the world attain to this same way in their government, and the sages among men attain to it in their teachings, both government and doctrine arrive at a corresponding perfection. 'The joy of Heaven' and 'the joy of Men' are both realised. There ought to be no purpose or will in the universe. 'Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and non-action; this is the perfection of the Tâo and its characteristics.'

Our author dwells especially on doing-nothing or non-action as the subject-matter of the Book. But as the world is full of doing, he endeavours to make a distinction between the Ruling Powers and those subordinate to and employed by them, to whom doing or action and purpose, though still without the thought of self, are necessary; and by this distinction he seems to me to give up the peculiarity of his system, so that some of the critics, especially *Aû-yang Hsiû*, are obliged to confess that these portions of the Book are unlike the writing of *Kwang-ze*. Still the antagonism of Tâoism to Confucianism is very apparent

throughout. Of the illustrative paragraphs, the seventh, relating the churlish behaviour of Láo-ze to Confucius, and the way in which he subsequently argues with him and snubs him, is very amusing. The eighth paragraph, relating the interview between Láo and Shih-kháng *Khi*, is very strange. The allusions in it to certain incidents and peculiarities in Láo's domestic life make us wish that we had fuller accounts of his history; and the way in which he rates his disciple shows him as a master of the language of abuse.

The concluding paragraph about duke Hwan of *Khi* is interesting, but I can only dimly perceive its bearing on the argument of the Book.

BOOK XIV. THIEN YÜN.

The contrast between the movement of the heavens (天運), and the resting of the earth (地處), requires the translation of the characters of the title by 'The Revolution of Heaven.' But that idea does not enter largely into the subject-matter of the Book. 'The whole,' says Hsüan Ying, 'consists of eight paragraphs, the first three of which show that under the sky there is nothing which is not dominated by the Táo, with which the Tis and the Kings have only to act in accordance; while the last five set forth how the Táo is not to be found in the material forms and changes of things, but in a spirit-like energy working imperceptibly, developing and controlling all phenomena.'

I have endeavoured in the notes on the former three paragraphs to make their meaning less obscure and unconnected than it is on a first perusal. The five illustrative paragraphs are, we may assume, all of them factitious, and can hardly be received as genuine productions of *Kwang-ze*. In the sixth paragraph, or at least a part of it, Lin Hsi-zung acknowledges the hand of the forger, and not less unworthy of credence are in my opinion the rest of it and much of the other four paragraphs. If they may be

taken as from the hand of our author himself, he was too much devoted to his own system to hold the balance of judgment evenly between Láo and Khung.

BOOK XV. KHO Í.

I can think of no better translation for 刻意, the two first characters of the Book, and which appear as its title, than our 'Ingrained Ideas;' notions, that is, held as firmly as if they were cut into the substance of the mind. They do not belong to the whole Book, however, but only to the first member of the first paragraph. That paragraph describes six classes of men, only the last of which are the right followers of the Táo;—the Sages, from the Táoistic point of view, who again are in the last sentence of the last paragraph identified with 'the True Men' described at length in the sixth Book. The fifth member of this first paragraph is interesting as showing how there was a class of Táoists who cultivated the system with a view to obtain longevity by their practices in the management of the breath; yet our author does not accord to them his full approbation, while at the same time the higher Táoism appears in the last paragraph, as promoting longevity without the management of the breath. *K'ü* Po-hsiü, in his commentary on *K'wang-ze*, which was published in 1210, gives Po-í and Shü-k'hi as instances of the first class spoken of here; Confucius and Mencius, of the second; Í Yin and Fú Yüeh, of the third; *K'áo Fú* and Hsü Yü, as instances of the fourth. Of the fifth class he gives no example, but that of Phăng 3ü mentioned in it.

That which distinguishes the genuine sage, the True Man of Táoism, is his pure simplicity in pursuing the Way, as it is seen in the operation of Heaven and Earth, and nourishing his spirit accordingly, till there ensues an ethereal amalgamation between his Way and the orderly operation of Heaven. This subject is pursued to the end of the Book. The most remarkable predicate of the spirit so trained is that in the third paragraph,—that 'Its name is the

same as Tî or God ;' on which none of the critics has been able to throw any satisfactory light. Balfour's version is:—'Its name is called "One with God ;"' Giles's, 'Its name is then "Of God,"' the 'then' being in consequence of his view that the subject is 'man's spiritual existence before he is born into the world of mortals.' My own view of the meaning appears in my version.

Lin Hsi-kung, however, calls the genuineness of the whole Book into question, and thinks it may have proceeded from the same hand as Book XIII. They have certainly one peculiarity in common ;—many references to sayings which cannot be traced, but are introduced by the formula of quotation, 'Therefore, it is said.'

BOOK XVI. SHAN HSING.

'Rectifying or Correcting the Nature' is the meaning of the title, and expresses sufficiently well the subject-matter of the Book. It was written to expose the 'vulgar' learning of the time as contrary to the principles of the true Tâoism, that learning being, according to Lû Shû-kih, 'the teachings of Hui-ze and Kung-sun Lung.' It is to be wished that we had fuller accounts of these. But see in Book XXXIII.

Many of the critics are fond of comparing the Book with the 21st chapter of the 7th Book of Mencius, part I,—where that philosopher sets forth 'Man's own nature as the most important thing to him, and the source of his true enjoyment,' which no one can read without admiration. But we have more sympathy with Mencius's fundamental views about our human nature, than with those of Kwang-ze and his Tâoism. Lin Hsi-kung is rather inclined to doubt the genuineness of the Book. Though he admires its composition, and admits the close and compact sequence of its sentences, there is yet something about it that does not smack of Kwang-ze's style. Rather there seems to me to underlie it the antagonism of Lâo and Kwang to the learning of the Confucian school. The only characteristic

of our author which I miss, is the illustrative stories of which he is generally so profuse. In this the Book agrees with the preceding.

BOOK XVII. *K'HIÛ SHUI.*

K'hiÛ Shui, or 'Autumn Waters,' the first two characters of the first paragraph of this Book, are adopted as its title. Its subject, in that paragraph, however, is not so much the waters of autumn, as the greatness of the T'ao in its spontaneity, when it has obtained complete dominion over man. No illustration of the T'ao is so great a favourite with L'ao-ze as water, but he loved to set it forth in its quiet, onward movement, always seeking the lowest place, and always exercising a beneficent influence. But water is here before *K'wang-ze* in its mightiest volume,—the inundated Ho and the all but boundless magnitude of the ocean ; and as he takes occasion from those phenomena to deliver his lessons, I translate the title by 'The Floods of Autumn.'

To adopt the account of the Book given by L'ü Sh'ü-kih :—'This Book,' he says, 'shows how its spontaneity is the greatest characteristic of the T'ao, and the chief thing inculcated in it is that we must not allow the human element to extinguish in our constitution the Heavenly.'

'First, using the illustrations of the Ho and the Sea, our author gives us to see the Five T'is and the Kings of the Three dynasties as only exhibiting the T'ao in a small degree, while its great development is not to be found in outward form and appliances so that it cannot be described in words, and it is difficult to find its point of commencement, which indeed appears to be impracticable, while still by doing nothing the human may be united with the Heavenly, and men may bring back their True condition. By means of the conversations between the guardian spirit of the Ho and Zo (the god) of the Sea this subject is exhaustively treated.

'Next (in paragraph 8), the *khwei*, the millepede, and other subjects illustrate how the mind is spirit-like in its spontaneity and doing nothing. The case of Confucius (in par. 9) shows the same spontaneity, transforming violence.

Kung-sun Lung (in par. 10), refusing to comply with that spontaneity, and seeking victory by his sophistical reasonings, shows his wisdom to be only like the folly of the frog in the well. The remaining three paragraphs bring before us *Kwang-ze* by the spontaneity of his *Tâo*, now superior to the allurements of rank ; then, like the phoenix flying aloft, as enjoying himself in perfect ease ; and finally, as like the fishes, in the happiness of his self-possession.' Such is a brief outline of this interesting chapter. Many of the critics would expunge the ninth and tenth paragraphs as unworthy of *Kwang-ze*, the former as misrepresenting Confucius, the latter as extolling himself. I think they may both be allowed to stand as from his pencil.

BOOK XVIII. *KIH LO*.

The title of this Book, *Kih Lo*, or 'Perfect Enjoyment,' may also be received as describing the subject-matter of it. But the author does not tell us distinctly what he means by 'Perfect Enjoyment.' It seems to involve two elements,—freedom from trouble and distress, and freedom from the fear of death. What men seek for as their chief good would only be to him burdens. He does not indeed altogether condemn them, but his own quest is the better and more excellent way. His own enjoyment is to be obtained by means of doing nothing ; that is, by the *Tâo* ; of which passionless and purposeless action is a chief characteristic ; and is at the same time the most effective action, as is illustrated in the operation of heaven and earth.

Such is the substance of the first paragraph. The second is interesting as showing how his principle controlled *Kwang-ze* on the death of his wife. Paragraph 3 shows us two professors of *Tâoism* delivered by it from the fear of their own death. Paragraph 4 brings our author before us talking to a skull, and then the skull's appearance to him in a dream and telling him of the happiness of the state after death. Paragraph 5 is occupied with Confucius and his favourite disciple Yen Hui. It stands by itself, unconnected with the rest of the Book, and its

genuineness is denied by some commentators. The last paragraph, found in an enlarged form in the Books ascribed to Lieh-ze, has as little to do as the fifth with the general theme of the Book, and is a strange anticipation in China of the transrotation or transformation system of Buddhism.

Indeed, after reading this Book, we cease to wonder that Táoism and Buddhism should in many practices come so near each other.

BOOK XIX. TÂ SHĀNG.

I have been inclined to translate the title of this Book by 'The Fuller Understanding of Life,' with reference to what is said in the second Book on 'The Nourishment of the Lord of Life.' There the Life before the mind of the writer is that of the Body; here he extends his view also to the Life of the Spirit. The one subject is not kept, however, with sufficient distinctness apart from the other, and the profusion of illustrations, taken, most of them, from the works of Lieh-ze, is perplexing.

To use the words of Lû Shû-kih:—'This Book shows how he who would skilfully nourish his life, must maintain his spirit complete, and become one with Heaven. These two ideas preside in it throughout. In par. 2, the words of the Warden Yin show that the spirit kept complete is beyond the reach of harm. In 3, the illustration of the hunchback shows how the will must be maintained free from all confusion. In 4, that of the ferryman shows that to the completeness of the spirit there is required the disregard of life or death. In 5 and 6, the words of Thien Khâi-kih convey a warning against injuring the life by the indulgence of sensual desires. In 7, the sight of a sprite by duke Hwan unsettles his spirit. In 8, the gamecock is trained so as to preserve the spirit unagitated. In 9, we see the man in the water of the cataract resting calmly in his appointed lot. In 10, we have the maker of the bell-stand completing his work as he did in accordance with the mind of Heaven. All these instances show how the

spirit is nourished. The reckless charioteering of Tung Yê in par. 11, not stopping when the strength of his horses was exhausted, and the false pretext of Sun Hsiû, clear as at noon-day, are instances of a different kind; while in the skilful Shui, hardly needing the application of his mind, and fully enjoying himself in all things, his movements testify of his harmony with Heaven, and his spiritual completeness.'

BOOK XX. SHAN MÛ.

It requires a little effort to perceive that Shan Mû, the title of this Book, does not belong to it as a whole, but only to the first of its nine paragraphs. That speaks of a large tree which our author once saw on a mountain. The other paragraphs have nothing to do with mountain trees, large or small. As the last Book might be considered to be supplementary to 'the Nourishment of Life,' discussed in Book III, so this is taken as having the same relation to Book IV, which treats of 'Man in the World, associated with other men.' It shows by its various narratives, some of which are full of interest, how by a strict observance of the principles and lessons of the Táo a man may preserve his life and be happy, may do the right thing and enjoy himself and obtain the approbation of others in the various circumstances in which he may be placed. The themes both of Books I and IV blend together in it. Paragraph 8 has more the character of an apologue than most of Kwang-ze's stories.

BOOK XXI. THIEN 3ZE-FANG.

Thien 3ze-fang is merely the name of one of the men who appear in the first paragraph. That he was a historical character is learned from the 'Plans of the Warring States,' XIV, art. 6, where we find him at the court of the marquis Wăn of Wei (B. C. 424-387), acting as counsellor to that ruler. Thien was his surname; 3ze-fang his designa-

tion, and Wû-k'ai his name. He has nothing to do with any of the paragraphs but the first.

It is not easy to reduce all the narratives or stories in the Book to one category. The fifth, seventh, and eighth, indeed, are generally rejected as spurious, or unworthy of our author; and the sixth and ninth are trivial, though the ninth bears all the marks of his graphic style. Paragraphs 3 and 4 are both long and important. A common idea in them and in 1, 2, and 10 seems to be that the presence and power of the Tâo cannot be communicated by words, and are independent of outward condition and circumstances.

BOOK XXII. KIH PEI YÜ.

With this Book the Second Part of *Kwang-ze's* Essays or Treatises ends. 'All the Books in it,' says Lû Shû-k'ih, 'show the opposition of Tâoism to the pursuit of knowledge as enjoined in the Confucian and other schools; and this Book may be regarded as the deepest, most vehement, and clearest of them all.' The concluding sentences of the last paragraph and Lâo-ze's advice to Confucius in par. 5, to 'sternly repress his knowledge,' may be referred to as illustrating the correctness of Lû's remark.

Book seventeenth is commonly considered to be the most eloquent of *Kwang-ze's* Treatises, but this twenty-second Book is not inferior to it in eloquence, and it is more characteristic of his method of argument. The way in which he runs riot in the names with which he personifies the attributes of the Tâo, is a remarkable instance of the subtle manner in which he often brings out his ideas; and in no other Book does he set forth more emphatically what his own idea of the Tâo was, though the student often fails to be certain that he has exactly caught the meaning.

The title, let it be observed, belongs only to the first paragraph. The *Kih* in it must be taken in the sense of 'knowledge,' and not of 'wisdom.'

BOOK XXIII. KǎNG-SANG KĤŪ.

It is not at all certain that there ever was such a personage as Kǎng-sang KĤŪ, who gives its name to the Book. In his brief memoir of Kwang-ze, Sze-mâ KĤien spells, as we should say, the first character of the surname differently, and for the Kǎng (庚), employs Khang (亢), adding his own opinion, that there was nothing in reality corresponding to the account given of the characters in this and some other Books. They would be therefore the inventions of Kwang-ze, devised by him to serve his purpose in setting forth the teaching of Láo-ze. It may have been so, but the value of the Book would hardly be thereby affected.

Lû Shû-kih gives the following very brief account of the contents. Borrowing the language of Mencius concerning Yen Hui and two other disciples of Confucius as compared with the sage, he says, 'Kǎng-sang KĤŪ had all the members of Láo-ze, but in small proportions. To outward appearance he was above such as abjure sagehood and put knowledge away, but still he was unable to transform Nan-yung KĤŪ, whom therefore he sent to Láo-ze; and he announced to him the doctrine of the Tâo that everything was done by doing nothing.'

The reader will see that this is a very incomplete summary of the contents of the Book. We find in it the Tâoistic ideal of the 'Perfect Man,' and the discipline both of body and mind through the depths of the system by means of which it is possible for a disciple to become such.

BOOK XXIV. HSÜ WŪ-KWEI.

This Book is named from the first three characters in it, the surname and name of Hsü WŪ-kwei, who plays the most important part in the first two paragraphs, and does not further appear. He comes before us as a well-known recluse of Wei, who visits the court to offer his counsels to the marquis of the state. But whether there ever was such

a man, or whether he was only a creation of *K'wang-ze*, we cannot, so far as I know, tell.

Scattered throughout the Book are the lessons so common with our author against sagehood and knowledge, and on the quality of doing nothing and thereby securing the doing of everything. The concluding chapter is one of the finest descriptions in the whole Work of the Táo and of the Táoistic idea of Heaven. 'There are in the Book,' says Lú Fang, 'many dark and mysterious expressions. It is not to be read hastily; but the more it is studied, the more flavour will there be found in it.'

BOOK XXV. 3EH-YANG.

This Book is named from the first two characters in it,— '3eh-yang,' which again are the designation of a gentleman of Lú, called Phǎng Yang, who comes before us in *K'ú*, seeking for an introduction to the king of that state, with the view, we may suppose, of giving him good counsel. Whether he ever got the introduction which he desired we do not know. The mention of him only serves to bring in three other individuals, all belonging to *K'ú*, and the characters of two of them; but we hear no more of 3eh-yang. The second and third paragraphs are, probably, sequels to the first, but his name does not appear.

The paragraphs from 4 to 9 have more or less interest in themselves; but it is not easy to trace in them any sequence of thought. The tenth and eleventh are more important. The former deals with 'the Talk of the Hamlets and Villages,' the common sentiments of men, which, correct and just in themselves, are not to be accepted as a sufficient expression of the Táo; the latter sets forth how the name Táo itself is only a metaphorical term, used for the purpose of description; as if the Táo were a thing, and not capable, therefore, from its material derivation of giving adequate expression to our highest notion of what it is.

'The Book,' says Lú Shû-kih, 'illustrates how the Great Táo cannot be described by any name; that men ought to

stop where they do not really know, and not try to find it in any phenomenon, or in any event or thing. They must forget both speech and silence, and then they may approximate to the idea of the Great Tâo.'

BOOK XXVI. WÂI WÛ.

The first two characters of the first paragraph are again adopted as the title of the Book,—Wâi Wû, 'External Things;' and the lesson supposed to be taught in it is that expressed in the first sentence, that the influence of external things on character and condition cannot be determined beforehand. It may be good, it may be evil. Mr. Balfour has translated the two characters by 'External Advantages.' Hû Wăn-ying interprets them of 'External Disadvantages.' The things may in fact be either of these. What seems useless may be productive of the greatest services; and what men deem most advantageous may turn out to be most hurtful to them.

What really belongs to man is the Tâo. That is his own, sufficient for his happiness, and cannot be taken from him, if he prize it and cultivate it. But if he neglect it, and yield to external influences unfavourable to it, he may become bad, and suffer all that is most hateful to him and injurious.

Readers must judge for themselves of the way in which the subject is illustrated in the various paragraphs. Some of the stories are pertinent enough; others are wide of the mark. The second, third, and fourth paragraphs are generally held to be spurious, 'poor in composition, and not at all to the point.' If my note on the 'six faculties of perception' in par. 9 be correct, we must admit in it a Buddhistic hand, modifying the conceptions of Kwang-ze after he had passed away.

BOOK XXVII. YÜ YEN.

Yü Yen, 'Metaphorical Words,' stand at the commencement of the Book, and have been adopted as its name.

They might be employed to denote its first paragraph, but are not applicable to the Book as a whole. Nor let the reader expect to find even here any disquisition on the nature of the metaphor as a figure of speech. Translated literally, 'Yü Yen' are 'Lodged Words,' that is, Ideas that receive their meaning or character from their environment, the narrative or description in which they are deposited.

Kwang-ze wished, I suppose, to give some description of the style in which he himself wrote:—now metaphorical, now abounding in quotations, and throughout moulded by his Taoistic views. This last seems to be the meaning of his *Kih Yen*,—literally, 'Cup, or Goblet, Words,' that is, words, common as the water constantly supplied in the cup, but all moulded by the Taoist principle, the element of and from Heaven blended in man's constitution and that should direct and guide his conduct. The best help in the interpretation of the paragraph is derived from a study of the difficult second Book, as suggested in the notes.

Of the five paragraphs that follow the first, the second relates to the change of views, which, it is said, took place in Confucius; the third, to the change of feeling in *Žǎng-ze* in his poverty and prosperity; the fourth, to changes of character produced in his disciple by the teachings of Tung-kwo *Žze-khi*; the fifth, to the changes in the appearance of the shadow produced by the ever-changing substance; and the sixth, to the change of spirit and manner produced in Yang *Kü* by the stern lesson of *Lão-ze*.

Various other lessons, more or less appropriate and important, are interspersed.

Some critics argue that this Book must have originally been one with the thirty-second, which was made into two by the insertion between its Parts of the four spurious intervening Books, but this is uncertain and unlikely.

BOOK XXVIII. ZANG WANG.

Zang Wang, explaining the characters as I have done,

fairly indicates the subject-matter of the Book. Not that we have a king in every illustration, but the personages adduced are always men of worth, who decline the throne, or gift, or distinction of whatever nature, proffered to them, and feel that they have something better to live for.

A persuasion, however, is widely spread, that this Book and the three that follow are all spurious. The first critic of note to challenge their genuineness was Sû Shih (better known as Sû Tung-pho, A.D. 1036-1101); and now, some of the best editors, such as Lin Hsî-kung, do not admit them into their texts, while others who are not bold enough to exclude them altogether, do not think it worth their while to discuss them seriously. Hû Wăn-ying, for instance, says, 'Their style is poor and mean, and they are, without doubt, forgeries. I will not therefore trouble myself with comments of praise or blame upon them. The reader may accept or reject them at his pleasure.'

But something may be said for them. Sze-mâ *K'ien* seems to have been acquainted with them all. In his short biographical notice of *K'wang-ze*, he says, 'He made the Old Fisherman, the Robber *Kih*, and the Cutting Open Satchels, to defame and calumniate the disciples of Confucius.' *K'ien* does not indeed mention our present Book along with XXX and XXXI, but it is less open to objection on the ground he mentions than they are. I think if it had stood alone, it would not have been condemned.

BOOK XXIX. T'AO *K'ih*.

It has been seen above that Sze-mâ *K'ien* expressly ascribes the Book called 'the Robber *Kih*' to *K'wang-ze*. *K'ien* refers also in another place to *Kih*, adducing the facts of his history in contrast with those about Confucius' favourite disciple Yen Hui as inexplicable on the supposition of a just and wise Providence. We must conclude therefore that the Book existed in *K'ien*'s time, and that he had read it. On the other hand it has been shown that Confucius could not have been on terms

of friendship with Liû-hsiâ Kî, and all that is related of his brother the robber wants substantiation. That such a man ever existed appears to me very doubtful. Are we to put down the whole of the first paragraph then as a *jeu d'esprit* on the part of Kwang-ze, intended to throw ridicule on Confucius and what our author considered his pedantic ways? It certainly does so, and we are amused to hear the sage outcrowded by the robber.

In the other two paragraphs we have good instances of Kwang-ze's 'metaphorical expressions,' his coinage of names for his personages, more or less ingeniously indicating their characters; but in such cases the element of time or chronology does not enter; and it is the anachronism of the first paragraph which constitutes its chief difficulty.

The name of 'Robber Kih' may be said to be a coinage; and that a famous robber was popularly indicated by the name appears from its use by Mencius (III, ii, ch. 10, 3), to explain which the commentators have invented the story of a robber so-called in the time of Hwang-Ti, in the twenty-seventh century B.C.! Was there really such a legend? and did Kwang-ze take advantage of it to apply the name to a notorious and disreputable brother of Liû-hsiâ Kî? Still there remain the anachronisms in the paragraph which have been pointed out. On the whole we must come to a conclusion rather unfavourable to the genuineness of the Book. But it must have been forged at a very early time, and we have no idea by whom.

BOOK XXX. YÜEH KIEN.

We need not suppose that anything ever occurred in Kwang-ze's experience such as is described here. The whole narrative is metaphorical; and that he himself is made to play the part in it which he describes, only shows how the style of writing in which he indulged was ingrained into the texture of his mind. We do not know that there ever was a ruler of Kào who indulged in the love of the

sword-fight, and kept about him a crowd of vulgar bravoës such as the story describes. We may be assured that our author never wore the bravo's dress or girt on him the bravo's sword. The whole is a metaphorical representation of the way in which a besotted ruler might be brought to a feeling of his degradation, and recalled to a sense of his duty and the way in which he might fulfil it. The narrative is full of interest and force. I do not feel any great difficulty in accepting it as the genuine composition of *Kwang-ze*. Who but himself could have composed it? Was it a good-humoured caricature of him by an able Confucian writer to repay him for the ridicule he was fond of casting on the sage?

BOOK XXXI. YÜ-FŮ.

'The Old Fisherman' is the fourth of the Books in the collection of the writings of *Kwang-ze* to which, since the time of Sû Shih, the epithet of 'spurious' has been attached by many. My own opinion, however, has been already intimated that the suspicions of the genuineness of those Books have been entertained on insufficient grounds; and so far as 'the Old Fisherman' is concerned, I am glad that it has come down to us, spurious or genuine. There may be a certain coarseness in 'the Robber Kih,' which makes us despise Confucius or laugh at him; but the satire in this Book is delicate, and we do not like the sage the less when he walks up the bank from the stream where he has been lectured by the fisherman. The pictures of him and his disciples in the forest, reading and singing on the Apricot Terrace, and of the old man slowly impelling his skiff to the land and then as quietly impelling it away till it is lost among the reeds, are delicious; there is nothing finer of its kind in the volume. What hand but that of *Kwang-ze*, so light in its touch and yet so strong, both incisive and decisive, could have delineated them?

BOOK XXXII. LIEH YÜ-KHÂU.

Lieh Yü-khâu, the surname and name of Lieh-ze, with which the first paragraph commences, have become current as the name of the Book, though they have nothing to do with any but that one paragraph, which is found also in the second Book of the writings ascribed to Lieh-ze. There are some variations in the two Texts, but they are so slight that we cannot look on them as proofs that the two passages are narratives of independent origin.

Various difficulties surround the questions of the existence of Lieh-ze, and of the work which bears his name. They will be found distinctly and dispassionately stated and discussed in the 146th chapter of the Catalogue of the *K'ien-lung* Imperial Library. The writers seem to me to make it out that there was such a man, but they do not make it clear when he lived, or how his writings assumed their present form. There is a statement of Liú Hsiang that he lived in the time of duke Mû of *K'ang* (B.C. 627-606); but in that case he must have been earlier than Láo-ze himself, whom he very frequently quotes. The writers think that Liú's 'Mû of *K'ang*' should be Mû of Lú (B.C. 409-377), which would make him not much anterior to Mencius and *K'wang-ze*; but this is merely an ingenious conjecture. As to the composition of his chapters, they are evidently not at first hand from Lieh, but by some one of his disciples; whether they were current in *K'wang-ze*'s days, and he made use of various passages from them, or those passages were *K'wang-ze*'s originally, and taken from him by the followers of Lieh-ze and added to what fragments they had of their master's teaching;—these are points which must be left undetermined.

Whether the narrative about Lieh be from *K'wang-ze* or not, its bearing on his character is not readily apprehended; but, as we study it, we seem to understand that his master Wû-šan condemned him as not having fully attained to the *Táo*, but owing his influence with others

mainly to the manifestation of his merely human qualities. And this is the lesson which our author keeps before him, more or less distinctly, in all his paragraphs. As Lû Shû-kih says:—

‘This Book also sets forth Doing Nothing as the essential condition of the Tâo. Lieh-ze, frightened at the respect shown to him by the soup-vendors, and yet by his human doings drawing men to him, disowns the rule of the heavenly; Hwan of K’ang, thinking himself different from other men, does not know that Heaven recompenses men according to their employment of the heavenly in them; the resting of the sages in their proper rest shows how the ancients pursued the heavenly and not the human; the one who learned to slay the Dragon, but afterwards did not exercise his skill, begins with the human, but afterwards goes on to the heavenly; in those who do not rest in the heavenly, and perish by the inward war, we see how the small men do not know the secret of the Great Repose; Zhào Shang, glorying in the carriages which he had acquired, is still farther removed from the heavenly; when Yen Ho shows that the sage, in imparting his instructions, did not follow the example of Heaven in diffusing its benefits, we learn that it is only the Doing Nothing of the True Man which is in agreement with Heaven; the difficulty of knowing the mind of man, and the various methods required to test it, show the readiness with which, when not under the rule of Heaven, it seems to go after what is right, and the greater readiness with which it again revolts from it; in Khao-fû, the Correct, we have one indifferent to the distinctions of rank, and from him we advance to the man who understands the great condition appointed for him, and is a follower of Heaven; then comes he who plays the thief under the chin of the Black Dragon, running the greatest risks on a mere peradventure of success, a resolute opponent of Heaven; and finally we have Kwang-ze despising the ornaments of the sacrificial ox, looking in the same way at the worms beneath and the kites overhead, and regarding himself as quite independent

of them, thus giving us an example of the embodiment of the spiritual, and of harmony with Heaven.'

So does this ingenious commentator endeavour to exhibit the one idea in the Book, and show the unity of its different paragraphs.

BOOK XXXIII. THIEN HSIÂ.

The Thien Hsiâ with which this Book commences is in regimen, and cannot be translated, so as to give an adequate idea of the scope of the Book, or even of the first paragraph to which it belongs. The phrase itself means literally 'under heaven or the sky,' and is used as a denomination of 'the kingdom,' and, even more widely, of 'the world' or 'all men.' 'Historical Phases of Tâoist Teaching' would be nearly descriptive of the subject-matter of the Book; but may be objected to on two grounds:—first, that a chronological method is not observed, and next, that the concluding paragraph can hardly be said to relate to Tâoism at all, but to the sophistical teachers, which abounded in the age of *Kwang-ze*.

Par. 1 sketches with a light hand the nature of Tâoism and the forms which it assumed from the earliest times to the era of Confucius, as imperfectly represented by him and his school.

Par. 2 introduces us to the system of Mo Ti and his school as an erroneous form of Tâoism, and departing, as it continued, farther and farther from the old model.

Par. 3 deals with a modification of Mohism, advocated by scholars who are hardly heard of elsewhere.

Par. 4 treats of a further modification of this modified Mohism, held by scholars 'whose Tâo was not the true Tâo, and whose "right" was really "wrong."'

Par. 5 goes back to the era of *Lão-ze*, and mentions him and Kwan Yin, as the men who gave to the system of Tâo a grand development.

Par. 6 sets forth *Kwang-ze* as following in their steps and going beyond them, the brightest luminary of the system.

Par. 7 leaves Táoism, and brings up Hui Shih and other sophists.

Whether the Book should be received as from *K'wang-ze* himself or from some early editor of his writings is 'a vexed question.' If it did come from his pencil, he certainly had a good opinion of himself. It is hard for a foreign student at this distant time to be called on for an opinion on the one side or the other.

THE WRITINGS OF KWANG-3ZE.

BOOK I.

PART I. SECTION I.

Hsiào-yâo Yû, or 'Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease¹.'

1. In the Northern Ocean there is a fish, the name of which is Khwăn²,—I do not know how many lî in size. It changes into a bird with the name of Phăng, the back of which is (also)—I do not know how many lî in extent. When this bird rouses itself and flies, its wings are like clouds all round the sky. When the sea is moved (so as to bear it along), it prepares to remove to the Southern Ocean. The Southern Ocean is the Pool of Heaven.

¹ See notice on pp. 127, 128, on the Title and Subject-matter of the Book.

² The khwăn and the phăng are both fabulous creatures, far transcending in size the dimensions ascribed by the wildest fancy of the West to the kraken and the roc. Kwang-ze represents them as so huge by way of contrast to the small creatures which he is intending to introduce ;—to show that size has nothing to do with the Tâo, and the perfect enjoyment which the possession of it affords. The passage is a good specimen of the Yü Yen (寓言), metaphorical or parabolical narratives or stories, which are the chief characteristic of our author's writings ; but the reader must keep in mind that the idea or lesson in its 'lodging' is generally of a Tâoistic nature.

There is the (book called) *K'hi Hsieh*¹,—a record of marvels. We have in it these words:—‘When the phăng is removing to the Southern Ocean it flaps (its wings) on the water for 3000 li. Then it ascends on a whirlwind 90,000 li, and it rests only at the end of six months.’ (But similar to this is the movement of the breezes which we call) the horses of the fields, of the dust (which quivers in the sunbeams), and of living things as they are blown against one another by the air². Is its azure the proper colour of the sky? Or is it occasioned by its distance and illimitable extent? If one were looking down (from above), the very same appearance would just meet his view.

2. And moreover, (to speak of) the accumulation of water;—if it be not great, it will not have strength to support a large boat. Upset a cup of water in a cavity, and a straw will float on it as if it were a boat. Place a cup in it, and it will stick fast;—the water is shallow and the boat is large. (So it is with) the accumulation of wind; if it be not great, it will not have strength to support great wings. Therefore (the phăng ascended to) the height of 90,000 li, and there was such a mass of wind beneath it; thenceforth the accumulation of wind was sufficient. As it seemed to bear the blue sky on its back, and there was nothing to obstruct or arrest its course, it could pursue its way to the South.

¹ There may have been a book with this title, to which *Kwang-3ze* appeals, as if feeling that what he had said needed to be substantiated.

² This seems to be interjected as an afterthought, suggesting to the reader that the phăng, soaring along at such a height, was only an exaggerated form of the common phenomena with which he was familiar.

A cicada and a little dove laughed at it, saying, 'We make an effort and fly towards an elm or sapanwood tree; and sometimes before we reach it, we can do no more but drop to the ground. Of what use is it for this (creature) to rise 90,000 lî, and make for the South?' He who goes to the grassy suburbs¹, returning to the third meal (of the day), will have his belly as full as when he set out; he who goes to a distance of 100 lî will have to pound his grain where he stops for the night; he who goes a thousand lî, will have to carry with him provisions for three months. What should these two small creatures know about the matter? The knowledge of that which is small does not reach to that which is great; (the experience of) a few years does not reach to that of many. How do we know that it is so? The mushroom of a morning does not know (what takes place between) the beginning and end of a month; the short-lived cicada does not know (what takes place between) the spring and autumn. These are instances of a short term of life. In the south of *K'û*² there is the (tree) called Ming-ling³, whose spring is 500 years, and its autumn the same; in high antiquity there was that called *Tâ-k'ûn*⁴,

¹ In Chinese, Mang 3hang; but this is not the name of any particular place. The phrase denotes the grassy suburbs (from their green colour), not far from any city or town.

² The great state of the South, having its capital Ying in the present Hû-pei, and afterwards the chief competitor with *K'ûn* for the sovereignty of the kingdom.

³ Taken by some as the name of a tortoise.

⁴ This and the Ming-ling tree, as well as the mushroom mentioned above, together with the *khwăn* and *phăng*, are all mentioned in the fifth Book of the writings of Lieh-3ze, referred to in the next paragraph.

whose spring was 8000 years, and its autumn the same. And Phăng 3û¹ is the one man renowned to the present day for his length of life :—if all men were (to wish) to match him, would they not be miserable ?

3. In the questions put by Thang² to Kî we have similar statements :—‘ In the bare and barren north there is the dark and vast ocean,—the Pool of Heaven. In it there is a fish, several thousand li in breadth, while no one knows its length. Its name is the khwăn. There is (also) a bird named the phăng; its back is like the Thái mountain, while its wings are like clouds all round the sky. On a whirlwind it mounts upwards as on the whorls of a goat’s horn for 90,000 li, till, far removed from the cloudy vapours, it bears on its back the blue sky, and then it shapes its course for the South, and proceeds to the ocean there.’ A quail by the side of a marsh laughed at it, and said, ‘ Where is it going to ? I spring up with a bound, and come down again when I have reached but a few fathoms, and then fly about among the brushwood and bushes; and

¹ Or ‘ the patriarch Phăng.’ Confucius compared himself to him (*Analects*, VII, 1);—‘ our old Phăng;’ and Kû Hsî thinks he was a worthy officer of the Shang dynasty. Whoever he was, the legends about him are a mass of Táoistic fables. At the end of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1123) he was more than 767 years old, and still in unabated vigour. We read of his losing 49 wives and 54 sons; and that he still left two sons, Wû and Î, who died in Fû-kien, and gave their names to the Wû-î, or Bû-î hills, from which we get our Bohea tea! See Mayers’ ‘ *Chinese Reader’s Manual*,’ p. 175.

² The founder of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766–1754). In Lieh-ze his interlocutor is called Hsiâ Ko, and 3ze-kî.

this is the perfection of flying. Where is that creature going to?' This shows the difference between the small and the great.

Thus it is that men, whose wisdom is sufficient for the duties of some one office, or whose conduct will secure harmony in some one district, or whose virtue is befitting a ruler so that they could efficiently govern some one state, are sure to look on themselves in this manner (like the quail), and yet Yung-ze¹ of Sung¹ would have smiled and laughed at them. (This Yung-ze), though the whole world should have praised him, would not for that have stimulated himself to greater endeavour, and though the whole world should have condemned him, would not have exercised any more repression of his course; so fixed was he in the difference between the internal (judgment of himself) and the external (judgment of others), so distinctly had he marked out the bounding limit of glory and disgrace. Here, however, he stopped. His place in the world indeed had become indifferent to him, but still he had not planted himself firmly (in the right position).

There was Lieh-ze², who rode on the wind and pursued his way, with an admirable indifference (to

¹ We can hardly tell who this Yung-ze was. Sung was a duchy, comprehending portions of the present provinces of Honan, An-hui, and Kiang-sû.

² See note on the title of Book XXXII. Whether there ever was a personage called Lieh-ze or Lieh Yü-khâu, and what is the real character of the writings that go under his name, are questions that cannot be more than thus alluded to in a note. He is often introduced by Kwang-ze, and many narratives are common to their books. Here he comes before us, not as a thinker and writer, but as a semi-supernatural being, who has only not yet attained to the highest consummations of the Tâo.

all external things), returning, however, after fifteen days, (to his place). In regard to the things that (are supposed to) contribute to happiness, he was free from all endeavours to obtain them; but though he had not to walk, there was still something for which he had to wait. But suppose one who mounts on (the ether of) heaven and earth in its normal operation, and drives along the six elemental energies of the changing (seasons), thus enjoying himself in the illimitable,—what has he to wait for¹? Therefore it is said, ‘The Perfect man has no (thought of) self; the Spirit-like man, none of merit; the Sagely-minded man, none of fame¹.’

4. Yâo², proposing to resign the throne to Hsü Yü³, said, ‘When the sun and moon have come forth, if the torches have not been put out, would it not be difficult for them to give light? When the seasonal rains are coming down, if we still keep watering the ground, will not our toil be labour lost for all the good it will do? Do you, Master, stand forth (as sovereign), and the kingdom will (at once) be well governed. If I still (continue to) preside over it, I must look on myself as vainly occupying the place;—I beg to resign the throne to you.’ Hsü

¹ The description of a master of the Tâo, exalted by it, unless the predicates about him be nothing but the ravings of a wild extravagance, above mere mortal man. In the conclusion, however, he is presented under three different phrases, which the reader will do well to keep in mind.

² The great sovereign with whom the documents of the Shü K'ing commence:—B. C. 2357–2257.

³ A counsellor of Yâo, who is once mentioned by Sze-mâ K'ien in his account of Po-î,—in the first Book of his Biographies (列傳). Hsü Yü is here the instance of ‘the Sagely man,’ with whom the desire of a name or fame has no influence.

Yü said, 'You, Sir, govern the kingdom, and the kingdom is well governed. If I in these circumstances take your place, shall I not be doing so for the sake of the name? But the name is but the guest of the reality;—shall I be playing the part of the guest? The tailor-bird makes its nest in the deep forest, but only uses a single branch; the mole¹ drinks from the Ho, but only takes what fills its belly. Return and rest in being ruler,—I will have nothing to do with the throne. Though the cook were not attending to his kitchen, the representative of the dead and the officer of prayer would not leave their cups and stands to take his place.'

5. *K'ien Wû*² asked *Lien Shû*³, saying, 'I heard *K'ieh-yü*³ talking words which were great, but had nothing corresponding to them (in reality);—once gone, they could not be brought back. I was frightened by them;—they were like the Milky Way⁴ which cannot be traced to its beginning or end. They had no connexion with one another, and were not akin to the experiences of men.' 'What were his words?' asked *Lien Shû*, and the other replied, (He said) that 'Far away on the hill of *Kû-shih*⁵ there dwelt a Spirit-like man whose flesh and skin

¹ Some say the tapir.

² Known to us only through *K'wang-ze*.

³ 'The madman of *K'û*' of the *Analects*, XVIII, 5, who eschews intercourse with Confucius. See *Hwang-fû Mi*'s account of him, under the surname and name of *Lû Thung*, in his *Notices of Eminent Tâoists*, I, 25.

⁴ Literally, 'the Ho and the Han;,' but the name of those rivers combined was used to denote 'the Milky Way.'

⁵ See the *Khang-hsi* Thesaurus under the character 射. All which is said about the hill is that it was 'in the North Sea.'

were (smooth) as ice and (white) as snow; that his manner was elegant and delicate as that of a virgin; that he did not eat any of the five grains, but inhaled the wind and drank the dew; that he mounted on the clouds, drove along the flying dragons, rambling and enjoying himself beyond the four seas; that by the concentration of his spirit-like powers he could save men from disease and pestilence, and secure every year a plentiful harvest.' These words appeared to me wild and incoherent and I did not believe them. 'So it is,' said Lien Shû. 'The blind have no perception of the beauty of elegant figures, nor the deaf of the sound of bells and drums. But is it only the bodily senses of which deafness and blindness can be predicated? There is also a similar defect in the intelligence; and of this your words supply an illustration in yourself. That man, with those attributes, though all things were one mass of confusion, and he heard in that condition the whole world crying out to him to be rectified, would not have to address himself laboriously to the task, as if it were his business to rectify the world. Nothing could hurt that man; the greatest floods, reaching to the sky, could not drown him, nor would he feel the fervour of the greatest heats melting metals and stones till they flowed, and scorching all the ground and hills. From the dust and chaff of himself, he could still mould and fashion Yâos and Shuns¹;—how should he be willing to occupy himself with things²?'

¹ Shun was the successor of Yâo in the ancient kingdom.

² All this description is to give us an idea of the 'Spirit-like man.' We have in it the results of the Tâo in its fullest embodiment.

6. A man of Sung, who dealt in the ceremonial caps (of Yin)¹, went with them to Yüeh², the people of which cut off their hair and tattooed their bodies, so that they had no use for them. Yáo ruled the people of the kingdom, and maintained a perfect government within the four seas. Having gone to see the four (Perfect) Ones³ on the distant hill of Kû-shih, when (he returned to his capital) on the south of the Făn water⁴, his throne appeared no more to his deep-sunk oblivious eyes⁵.

7. Hui-ze⁶ told K'wang-ze, saying, 'The king of Wei⁷ sent me some seeds of a large calabash, which I sowed. The fruit, when fully grown, could contain five piculs (of anything). I used it to contain water,

¹ See the Lî K'î, IX, iii, 3.

² A state, part of the present province of K'ieh-kiang.

³ Said to have been Hsü Yü mentioned above, with Nieh K'üeh, Wang Í, and Phí-î, who will by and by come before us.

⁴ A river in Shan-hsí, on which was the capital of Yáo ;—a tributary of the Ho.

⁵ This paragraph is intended to give us an idea of 'the Perfect man,' who has no thought of himself. The description, however, is brief and tame, compared with the accounts of Hsü Yü and of 'the Spirit-like man.'

⁶ Or Hui Shih, the chief minister of 'king Hui of Liang (or Wei), (B. C. 370-333),' with an interview between whom and Mencius the works of that philosopher commence. He was a friend of K'wang-ze, and an eccentric thinker; and in Book XXXIII there is a long account of several of his views. I do not think that the conversations about 'the great calabash' and 'the great tree' really took place; K'wang-ze probably invented them, to illustrate his point that size had nothing to do with the Táo, and that things which seemed useless were not really so when rightly used.

⁷ Called also Liang from the name of its capital. Wei was one of the three states (subsequently kingdoms), into which the great fief of Yin was divided about B. C. 400.

but it was so heavy that I could not lift it by myself. I cut it in two to make the parts into drinking vessels; but the dried shells were too wide and unstable and would not hold (the liquor); nothing but large useless things! Because of their uselessness I knocked them to pieces.' Kwang-ze replied, 'You were indeed stupid, my master, in the use of what was large. There was a man of Sung who was skilful at making a salve which kept the hands from getting chapped; and (his family) for generations had made the bleaching of cocoon-silk their business. A stranger heard of it, and proposed to buy the art of the preparation for a hundred ounces of silver. The kindred all came together, and considered the proposal. "We have," said they, "been bleaching cocoon-silk for generations, and have only gained a little money. Now in one morning we can sell to this man our art for a hundred ounces;—let him have it." The stranger accordingly got it and went away with it to give counsel to the king of Wû¹, who was then engaged in hostilities with Yüeh. The king gave him the command of his fleet, and in the winter he had an engagement with that of Yüeh, on which he inflicted a great defeat², and was invested with a portion of territory taken from Yüeh. The keeping the hands from getting chapped was the same in both cases; but in the one case it led to the investiture (of the possessor of the salve), and

¹ A great and ancient state on the sea-board, north of Yüeh. The name remains in the district of Wû-kiang in the prefecture of Sû-kâu.

² The salve gave the troops of Wû a great advantage in a war on the Kiang, especially in winter.

in the other it had only enabled its owners to continue their bleaching. The difference of result was owing to the different use made of the art. Now you, Sir, had calabashes large enough to hold five piculs;—why did you not think of making large bottle-gourds of them, by means of which you could have floated over rivers and lakes, instead of giving yourself the sorrow of finding that they were useless for holding anything. Your mind, my master, would seem to have been closed against all intelligence !

Hui-ze said to Kwang-ze, 'I have a large tree, which men call the *Ailantus*¹. Its trunk swells out to a large size, but is not fit for a carpenter to apply his line to it; its smaller branches are knotted and crooked, so that the disk and square cannot be used on them. Though planted on the wayside, a builder would not turn his head to look at it. Now your words, Sir, are great, but of no use;—all unite in putting them away from them.' Kwang-ze replied, 'Have you never seen a wild cat or a weasel? There it lies, crouching and low, till the wanderer approaches; east and west it leaps about, avoiding neither what is high nor what is low, till it is caught in a trap, or dies in a net. Again there is the Yak², so large that it is like a cloud hanging in the sky. It is large indeed, but it cannot catch mice. You, Sir, have a large tree and are troubled because it is of no use;—why do you not plant it in a tract where there is nothing else, or in a wide and barren wild?

¹ The *Ailantus glandulosa*, common in the north of China, called 'the fetid tree,' from the odour of its leaves.

² The *bos grunniens* of Thibet, the long tail of which is in great demand for making standards and chowries.

There you might saunter idly by its side, or in the enjoyment of untroubled ease sleep beneath it. Neither bill nor axe would shorten its existence; there would be nothing to injure it. What is there in its uselessness to cause you distress ?'

BOOK II.

PART I. SECTION II.

Khî Wû Lun, or 'The Adjustment of Controversies¹.'

1. Nan-kwo *3ze-khî*² was seated, leaning forward on his stool. He was looking up to heaven and breathed gently, seeming to be in a trance, and to have lost all consciousness of any companion. (His disciple), Yen *Khǎng 3ze-yû*³, who was in attendance and standing before him, said, 'What is this? Can the body be made to become thus like a withered tree, and the mind to become like slaked lime? His appearance as he leans forward on the stool to-day is such as I never saw him have before in the same position.' *3ze-khî* said, 'Yen, you do well to ask such a question, I had just now lost myself⁴; but how should you understand it? You

¹ See pp. 128-130.

² Nan-kwo, 'the southern suburb,' had probably been the quarter where *3ze-khî* had resided, and is used as his surname. He is introduced several times by *Kwang-3ze* in his writings:—Books IV, 7; XXVII, 4, and perhaps elsewhere.

³ We have the surname of this disciple, Yen (顏); his name, Yen (偃); his honorary or posthumous epithet (*Khǎng*); and his ordinary appellation, *3ze-yû*. The use of the epithet shows that he and his master had lived before our author.

⁴ 'He had lost himself;' that is, he had become unconscious of all around him, and even of himself, as if he were about to enter

may have heard the notes¹ of Man, but have not heard those of Earth; you may have heard the notes of Earth, but have not heard those of Heaven.'

3ze-yû said, 'I venture to ask from you a description of all these.' The reply was, 'When the breath of the Great Mass (of nature) comes strongly, it is called Wind. Sometimes it does not come so; but when it does, then from a myriad apertures there issues its excited noise;—have you not heard it in a prolonged gale? Take the projecting bluff of a mountain forest;—in the great trees, a hundred spans round, the apertures and cavities are like the nostrils, or the mouth, or the ears; now square, now round like a cup or a mortar; here like a wet footprint, and there like a large puddle. (The sounds issuing from them are like) those of fretted water, of the arrowy whizz, of the stern command, of the inhaling of the breath, of the shout, of the gruff note, of the deep wail, of the sad and piping note. The first notes are slight, and those that follow deeper, but in harmony with them. Gentle winds produce a small response; violent winds a great one. When the fierce gusts have passed away, all the apertures

into the state of 'an Immortal,' a mild form of the Buddhistic samâdhi. But his attitude and appearance were intended by Kwang-3ze to indicate what should be the mental condition in reference to the inquiry pursued in the Book;—a condition, it appears to me, of agnosticism. See the account of Lâo-3ze in a similar trance in Book XXI, par. 4.

¹ The Chinese term here (lâi) denotes a reed or pipe, with three holes, by a combination of which there was formed the rudimentary or reed organ. Our author uses it for the sounds or notes heard in nature, various as the various opinions of men in their discussions about things.

are empty (and still);—have you not seen this in the bending and quivering of the branches and leaves ?’

3ze-yû said, ‘The notes of Earth then are simply those which come from its myriad apertures; and the notes of Man may just be compared to those which (are brought from the tubes of) bamboo;—allow me to ask about the notes of Heaven¹.’ 3ze-khi replied, ‘When (the wind) blows, (the sounds from) the myriad apertures are different, and (its cessation) makes them stop of themselves. Both of these things arise from (the wind and the apertures) themselves:—should there be any other agency that excites them ?’

2. Great knowledge is wide and comprehensive; small knowledge is partial and restricted. Great speech is exact and complete; small speech is (merely) so much talk². When we sleep, the soul communicates with (what is external to us); when we awake, the body is set free. Our intercourse with others then leads to various activity, and daily there is the striving of mind with mind. There are hesitations; deep difficulties; reservations; small apprehensions causing restless distress, and great

¹ The sounds of Earth have been described fully and graphically. Of the sounds of Man very little is said, but they form the subject of the next paragraph. Nothing is said in answer to the disciple’s inquiry about the notes of Heaven. It is intimated, however, that there is no necessity to introduce any foreign Influence or Power like Heaven in connexion with the notes of Earth. The term Heaven, indeed, is about to pass with our author into a mere synonym of Tâo, the natural ‘course’ of the phenomena of men and things.

² Words are the ‘sounds’ of Man; and knowledge is the ‘wind’ by which they are excited.

apprehensions producing endless fears. Where their utterances are like arrows from a bow, we have those who feel it their charge to pronounce what is right and what is wrong ; where they are given out like the conditions of a covenant, we have those who maintain their views, determined to overcome. (The weakness of their arguments), like the decay (of things) in autumn and winter, shows the failing (of the minds of some) from day to day ; or it is like their water which, once voided, cannot be gathered up again. Then their ideas seem as if fast bound with cords, showing that the mind is become like an old and dry moat, and that it is nigh to death, and cannot be restored to vigour and brightness.

Joy and anger, sadness and pleasure, anticipation and regret, fickleness and fixedness, vehemence and indolence, eagerness and tardiness ;—(all these moods), like music from an empty tube, or mushrooms from the warm moisture, day and night succeed to one another and come before us, and we do not know whence they sprout. Let us stop ! Let us stop ! Can we expect to find out suddenly how they are produced ?

If there were not (the views of) another, I should not have mine ; if there were not I (with my views), his would be uncalled for :—this is nearly a true statement of the case, but we do not know what it is that makes it be so. It might seem as if there would be a true Governor¹ concerned in it, but we do not find

¹ 'A true Governor' would be a good enough translation for 'the true God.' But Kwang-3ze did not admit any supernatural Power or Being as working in man. His true Governor was the Táo ; and this will be increasingly evident as we proceed with the study of his Books.

any trace (of his presence and acting). That such an One could act so I believe; but we do not see His form. He has affections, but He has no form.

Given the body, with its hundred parts, its nine openings, and its six viscera, all complete in their places, which do I love the most? Do you love them all equally? or do you love some more than others? Is it not the case that they all perform the part of your servants and waiting women? All of them being such, are they not incompetent to rule one another? or do they take it in turns to be now ruler and now servants? There must be a true Ruler (among them)¹ whether by searching you can find out His character or not, there is neither advantage nor hurt, so far as the truth of His operation is concerned. When once we have received the bodily form complete, its parts do not fail to perform their functions till the end comes. In conflict with things or in harmony with them, they pursue their course to the end, with the speed of a galloping horse which cannot be stopped;—is it not sad? To be constantly toiling all one's lifetime, without seeing the fruit of one's labour, and to be weary and worn out with his labour, without knowing where he is going to:—is it not a deplorable case? Men may say, 'But it is not death;' yet of what advantage is this? When the body is decomposed, the mind will be the same along with it:—must not the case be pronounced very deplorable²? Is the life

¹ The name 'Ruler' is different from 'Governor' above; but they both indicate the same concept in the author's mind.

² The proper reply to this would be that the mind is not dissolved with the body; and K'wang-ze's real opinion, as we shall find, was that life and death were but phases in the phenomenal

of man indeed enveloped in such darkness? Is it I alone to whom it appears so? And does it not appear to be so to other men?

3. If we were to follow the judgments of the pre-determined mind, who would be left alone and without a teacher¹? Not only would it be so with those who know the sequences (of knowledge and feeling) and make their own selection among them, but it would be so as well with the stupid and unthinking. For one who has not this determined mind, to have his affirmations and negations is like the case described in the saying, 'He went to Yüeh to-day, and arrived at it yesterday².' It would be making what was not a fact to be a fact. But even the spirit-like Yü³ could not have known how to do this, and how should one like me be able to do it?

But speech is not like the blowing (of the wind); the speaker has (a meaning in) his words. If, however, what he says, be indeterminate (as from a mind not made up), does he then really speak or not? He thinks that his words are different from the chirpings of fledgelings; but is there any distinction between them or not? But how can the Táo be so obscured, that there should be 'a True' and 'a False' in it? How can speech be so obscured that there should be 'the Right' and 'the Wrong' about them? Where shall the Táo go to that it will not

development. But the course of his argument suggests to us the question here, 'Is life worth living?'

¹ This 'teacher' is 'the Táo.'

² Expressing the absurdity of the case. This is one of the sayings of Hui-ze;—see Book XXXIII, par. 7.

³ The successor and counsellor of Shun, who coped with and remedied the flood of Yáo.

be found? Where shall speech be found that it will be inappropriate? Táo becomes obscured through the small comprehension (of the mind), and speech comes to be obscure through the vain-gloriousness (of the speaker). So it is that we have the contentions between the Literati¹ and the Mohists², the one side affirming what the other denies, and vice versâ. If we would decide on their several affirmations and denials, no plan is like bringing the (proper) light (of the mind)³ to bear on them.

All subjects may be looked at from (two points of view),—from that and from this. If I look at a thing from another's point of view, I do not see it; only as I know it myself, do I know it. Hence it is said, 'That view comes from this; and this view is a consequence of that: '—which is the theory that that view and this—(the opposite views)—produce each the other⁴. Although it be so, there is affirmed now life and now death; now death and now life; now the admissibility of a thing and now its inadmissibility; now its inadmissibility and now its admissibility. (The disputants) now affirm and now deny; now deny and now affirm. Therefore the sagely man does not pursue this method, but views things in the light of (his) Heaven⁵ (-ly nature), and hence forms his judgment of what is right.

¹ The followers of Confucius.

² The disciples of Mih-ze, or Mih Tî, the heresiarch, whom Mencius attacked so fiercely;—see Mencius, V, 1, 5, et al. His era must be assigned between Confucius and Mencius.

³ That is, the perfect mind, the principle of the Táo.

⁴ As taught by Hui-ze;—see XXXIII, 7; but it is doubtful if the quotation from Hui's teaching be complete.

⁵ Equivalent to the Táo. See on the use in Láo-ze and Kwang-ze of the term 'Heaven,' in the Introduction, pp. 16-18.

This view is the same as that, and that view is the same as this. But that view involves both a right and a wrong; and this view involves also a right and a wrong:—are there indeed, or are there not the two views, that and this? They have not found their point of correspondency which is called the pivot of the Tâo. As soon as one finds this pivot, he stands in the centre of the ring (of thought), where he can respond without end to the changing views;—without end to those affirming, and without end to those denying. Therefore I said, ‘There is nothing like the proper light (of the mind).’

4. By means of a finger (of my own) to illustrate that the finger (of another) is not a finger is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not so by means of what is (acknowledged to be) not a finger; and by means of (what I call) a horse to illustrate that (what another calls) a horse is not so, is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not a horse, by means of what is (acknowledged to be) not a horse¹. (All things in) heaven and earth may be (dealt with as) a finger; (each of) their myriads may be (dealt with as) a horse. Does a thing seem so to me? (I say that) it is so. Does it seem not so to me? (I say that) it is not so. A path is formed by (constant)

¹ The language of our author here is understood to have reference to the views of Kung-sun Lung, a contemporary of Hui-ze, and a sophist like him. One of his treatises or arguments had the title of ‘The White Horse,’ and another that of ‘Pointing to Things.’ If these had been preserved, we might have seen more clearly the appropriateness of the text here. But the illustration of the monkeys and their actions shows us the scope of the whole paragraph to be that controversialists, whose views are substantially the same, may yet differ, and that with heat, in words.

treading on the ground. A thing is called by its name through the (constant) application of the name to it. How is it so? It is so because it is so. How is it not so? It is not so, because it is not so. Everything has its inherent character and its proper capability. There is nothing which has not these. Therefore, this being so, if we take a stalk of grain¹ and a (large) pillar, a loathsome (leper) and (a beauty like) Hsî Shih², things large and things insecure, things crafty and things strange;—they may in the light of the Táo all be reduced to the same category (of opinion about them).

It was separation that led to completion; from completion ensued dissolution. But all things, without regard to their completion and dissolution, may again be comprehended in their unity;—it is only the far reaching in thought who know how to comprehend them in this unity. This being so, let us give up our devotion to our own views, and occupy ourselves with the ordinary views. These ordinary views are grounded on the use of things. (The study of that) use leads to the comprehensive judgment, and that judgment secures the success (of the inquiry). That success gained, we are near (to the object of our search), and there we stop. When we stop, and yet we do not know how it is so, we have what is called the Táo.

When we toil our spirits and intelligence, obstin-

¹ The character in the text means both 'a stalk of grain' and 'a horizontal beam.' Each meaning has its advocates here.

² A famous beauty, a courtesan presented by the king of Yüeh to his enemy, the king of Wû, and who hastened on his progress to ruin and death, she herself perishing at the same time.

ately determined (to establish our own view), and do not know the agreement (which underlies it and the views of others), we have what is called 'In the morning three.' What is meant by that 'In the morning three?' A keeper of monkeys, in giving them out their acorns, (once) said, 'In the morning I will give you three (measures) and in the evening four.' This made them all angry, and he said, 'Very well. In the morning I will give you four and in the evening three.' His two proposals were substantially the same, but the result of the one was to make the creatures angry, and of the other to make them pleased:—an illustration of the point I am insisting on. Therefore the sagely man brings together a dispute in its affirmations and denials, and rests in the equal fashioning of Heaven¹. Both sides of the question are admissible.

5. Among the men of old their knowledge reached the extreme point. What was that extreme point? Some held that at first there was not anything. This is the extreme point, the utmost point to which nothing can be added². A second class held that there was something, but without any responsive recognition³ of it (on the part of men).

A third class held that there was such recognition, but there had not begun to be any expression of different opinions about it.

¹ Literally, 'the Heaven-Mould or Moulder,'—another name for the T'ao, by which all things are fashioned.

² See the same passage in Book XXIII, par. 10:

³ The ordinary reading here is fäng (封), 'a boundary' or 'distinctive limit.' Lin Hsî-kung adopts the reading 對, 'a response,' and I have followed him.

It was through the definite expression of different opinions about it that there ensued injury to (the doctrine of) the Táo. It was this injury to the (doctrine of the) Táo which led to the formation of (partial) preferences. Was it indeed after such preferences were formed that the injury came? or did the injury precede the rise of such preferences? If the injury arose after their formation, *K'áo's* method of playing on the lute was natural. If the injury arose before their formation, there would have been no such playing on the lute as *K'áo's*¹.

K'áo Wăn's playing on the lute, *Shih Kwang's* indicating time with his staff, and *Hui-ze's* (giving his views), while leaning against a dryandra tree (were all extraordinary). The knowledge of the three men (in their several arts) was nearly perfect, and therefore they practised them to the end of their lives. They loved them because they were different from those of others. They loved them and wished to make them known to others. But as they could not be made clear, though they tried to make them so, they ended with the obscure (discussions) about 'the hard' and 'the white.' And their sons², moreover, with all the threads of their fathers' compositions, yet to the end of their lives accomplished nothing. If they, proceeding in this way, could be said to have succeeded, then am I also successful;

¹ *K'áo Wăn* and *Shih Kwang* were both musicians of the state of *Šin*. *Shih*, which appears as *Kwang's* surname, was his denomination as 'music-master.' It is difficult to understand the reason why *Kwang-ze* introduces these men and their ways, or how it helps his argument.

² Perhaps we should read here 'son,' with special reference to the son of *Hui-ze*.

if they cannot be pronounced successful, neither I nor any other can succeed.

Therefore the scintillations of light from the midst of confusion and perplexity are indeed valued by the sagely man ; but not to use one's own views and to take his position on the ordinary views is what is called using the (proper) light.

6. But here now are some other sayings¹ :—I do not know whether they are of the same character as those which I have already given, or of a different character. Whether they be of the same character or not when looked at along with them, they have a character of their own, which cannot be distinguished from the others. But though this be the case, let me try to explain myself.

There was a beginning. There was a beginning before that beginning². There was a beginning previous to that beginning before there was the beginning.

There was existence ; there had been no existence. There was no existence before the beginning of that no existence². There was no existence previous to the no existence before there was the beginning of the no existence. If suddenly there was non-existence, we do not know whether it was really anything existing, or really not existing. Now I have said what I have said, but I do not know whether what I have said be really anything to the point or not.

¹ Referring, I think, to those below commencing ' There was a beginning.'

² That is, looking at things from the standpoint of an original non-existence, and discarding all considerations of space and time.

Under heaven there is nothing greater than the tip of an autumn down, and the Thâi mountain is small. There is no one more long-lived than a child which dies prematurely, and Phăng 3û did not live out his time. Heaven, Earth, and I were produced together, and all things and I are one. Since they are one, can there be speech about them? But since they are spoken of as one, must there not be room for speech? One and Speech are two; two and one are three. Going on from this (in our enumeration), the most skilful reckoner cannot reach (the end of the necessary numbers), and how much less can ordinary people do so! Therefore from non-existence we proceed to existence till we arrive at three; proceeding from existence to existence, to how many should we reach? Let us abjure such procedure, and simply rest here¹.

7. The Tào at first met with no responsive recognition. Speech at first had no constant forms of expression. Because of this there came the demarcations (of different views). Let me describe those demarcations :—they are the Left and the Right²; the Relations and their Obligations³; Classifications⁴

¹ On this concluding clause, 3iào Hung says :—‘ Avoiding such procedure, there will be no affirmations and denials (no contraries). The phrase 因是已 occurs in the Book several times, and interpreters have missed its meaning from not observing that 是已 serve merely as a final particle, and often have the 因 added to them, without affecting its meaning.’ See also Wang Yin on the usages of 因 in the 皇清經解, ch. 1208, art. 6.

² That is, direct opposites.

³ Literally, ‘ righteousneses; ’ the proper way of dealing with the relations.

⁴ Literally, ‘ separations.’

and their Distinctions ; Emulations and Contentions. These are what are called 'the Eight Qualities.' Outside the limits of the world of men¹, the sage occupies his thoughts, but does not discuss about anything; inside those limits he occupies his thoughts, but does not pass any judgments. In the *Khun K'hiu*², which embraces the history of the former kings, the sage indicates his judgments, but does not argue (in vindication of them). Thus it is that he separates his characters from one another without appearing to do so, and argues without the form of argument. How does he do so? The sage cherishes his views in his own breast, while men generally state theirs argumentatively, to show them to others. Hence we have the saying, 'Disputation is a proof of not seeing clearly.'

The Great Tâo³ does not admit of being praised. The Great Argument does not require words. Great Benevolence is not (officiously) benevolent. Great Disinterestedness does not vaunt its humility. Great Courage is not seen in stubborn bravery.

The Tâo that is displayed is not the Tâo. Words that are argumentative do not reach the point. Benevolence that is constantly exercised does not accomplish its object. Disinterestedness that vaunts its purity is not genuine. Courage that is most stub-

¹ Literally, 'the six conjunctions,' meaning the four cardinal points of space, with the zenith and nadir ; sometimes a name for the universe of space. Here we must restrict the meaning as I have done.

² 'The Spring and Autumn ;'—Confucius's Annals of Lû, here complimented by *Kwang-3ze*. See in Mencius, IV, ii, 21.

³ Compare the Tâo Teh K'ing, ch. 25, et al.

born is ineffectual. These five seem to be round (and complete), but they tend to become square (and immovable)¹. Therefore the knowledge that stops at what it does not know is the greatest. Who knows the argument that needs no words, and the Way that is not to be trodden²?

He who is able to know this has what is called 'The Heavenly Treasure-house'³. He may pour into it without its being filled; he may pour from it without its being exhausted; and all the while he does not know whence (the supply) comes. This is what is called 'The Store of Light'³.

Therefore of old Yáo asked Shun, saying, 'I wish to smite (the rulers of) Jung, Kwei, and Hsü-áo⁴. Even when standing in my court, I cannot get them out of my mind. How is it so?' Shun replied, 'Those three rulers live (in their little states) as if they were among the mugwort and other brushwood;—how is it that you cannot get them out of your mind? Formerly, ten suns came out together, and all things were illuminated by them;—how much should (your) virtue exceed (all) suns!'

8. Nieh K'üeh⁵ asked Wang Î⁵, saying, 'Do you know, Sir, what all creatures agree in approving and

¹ Compare the use of 方 in the Shû K'ing, I, iii, 11.

² The classic of Láo, in chaps. 1, 2.

³ Names for the Táo.

⁴ Three small states. Is Yáo's wish to smite an instance of the 'quality' of 'emulation' or jealousy?

⁵ Both Taoistic worthies of the time of Yáo, supposed to have been two of the Perfect Ones whom Yáo visited on the distant hill of K'ü-shih (I, par. 6). According to Hwang Mí, Wang Î was the teacher of Nieh K'üeh, and he again of Hsü Yü.

affirming?' 'How should I know it?' was the reply. 'Do you know what it is that you do not know?' asked the other again, and he got the same reply. He asked a third time,—'Then are all creatures thus without knowledge?' and Wang Í answered as before, (adding however), 'Notwithstanding, I will try and explain my meaning. How do you know that when I say "I know it," I really (am showing that) I do not know it, and that when I say "I do not know it," I really am showing that I do know it¹.' And let me ask you some questions:—'If a man sleep in a damp place, he will have a pain in his loins, and half his body will be as if it were dead; but will it be so with an eel? If he be living in a tree, he will be frightened and all in a tremble; but will it be so with a monkey? And does any one of the three know his right place? Men eat animals that have been fed on grain and grass; deer feed on the thick-set grass; centipedes enjoy small snakes; owls and crows delight in mice; but does any one of the four know the right taste? The dog-headed monkey finds its mate in the female gibbon; the elk and the axis deer cohabit; and the eel enjoys itself with other fishes. Máo 3hiang² and Lì Kî² were accounted by men to be most beautiful, but when fishes saw them, they dived deep in the water from them; when birds, they flew from them aloft; and

¹ Compare par. 1 of Book XXII.

² Two famous beauties;—the former, a contemporary of Hsî Shih (par. 4, note 2), and like her also, of the state of Yüeh; the latter, the daughter of a barbarian chief among the Western Jung. She was captured by duke Hsien of 3in, in B. C. 672. He subsequently made her his wife,—to the great injury of his family and state.

when deer saw them, they separated and fled away¹. But did any of these four know which in the world is the right female attraction? As I look at the matter, the first principles of benevolence and righteousness and the paths of approval and disapproval are inextricably mixed and confused together:—how is it possible that I should know how to discriminate among them?’

Nieh *Khüeh* said (further), ‘Since you, Sir, do not know what is advantageous and what is hurtful, is the Perfect man also in the same way without the knowledge of them?’ Wang Î replied, ‘The Perfect man is spirit-like. Great lakes might be boiling about him, and he would not feel their heat; the Ho and the Han might be frozen up, and he would not feel the cold; the hurrying thunderbolts might split the mountains, and the wind shake the ocean, without being able to make him afraid. Being such, he mounts on the clouds of the air, rides on the sun and moon, and rambles at ease beyond the four seas. Neither death nor life makes any change in him, and how much less should the considerations of advantage and injury do so²!’

9. *Khü* 3hiào-3ze³ asked *Khang-wû* 3ze³, saying,

¹ Not thinking them beautiful, as men did, but frightened and repelled by them.

² Compare Book I, pars. 3 and 5.

³ We know nothing of the former of these men, but what is mentioned here; the other appears also in Book XXV, 6, q. v. If ‘the master’ that immediately follows be Confucius they must have been contemporary with him. The *Khiû* in *Khang-wû*’s reply would seem to make it certain ‘the master’ was Confucius, but the oldest critics, and some modern ones as well, think that *Khang-wû*’s name was also *Khiû*. But this view is attended with more

‘I heard the Master (speaking of such language as the following):—“The sagely man does not occupy himself with worldly affairs. He does not put himself in the way of what is profitable, nor try to avoid what is hurtful; he has no pleasure in seeking (for anything from any one); he does not care to be found in (any established) Way; he speaks without speaking; he does not speak when he speaks; thus finding his enjoyment outside the dust and dirt (of the world).” The Master considered all this to be a shoreless flow of mere words, and I consider it to describe the course of the Mysterious Way.—What do you, Sir, think of it?’ *Khang-wû 3ze* replied, ‘The hearing of such words would have perplexed even Hwang-Tî, and how should *K’hiû* be competent to understand them? And you, moreover, are too hasty in forming your estimate (of their meaning). You see the egg, and (immediately) look out for the cock (that is to be hatched from it); you see the bow, and (immediately) look out for the dove (that is to be brought down by it) being roasted. I will try to explain the thing to you in a rough way; do you in the same way listen to me.

‘How could any one stand by the side of the sun and moon, and hold under his arm all space and all time? (Such language only means that the sagely man) keeps his mouth shut, and puts aside questions that are uncertain and dark; making his inferior capacities unite with him in honouring (the One Lord). Men in general bustle about and toil; the

difficulties than the other. By the clause interjected in the translation after the first ‘Master,’ I have avoided the incongruity of ascribing the long description of Tâoism to Confucius.

sagely man seems stupid and to know nothing¹. He blends ten thousand years together in the one (conception of time); the myriad things all pursue their spontaneous course, and they are all before him as doing so.

‘How do I know that the love of life is not a delusion? and that the dislike of death is not like a young person’s losing his way, and not knowing that he is (really) going home? *Lî Kî*² was a daughter of the border Warden of *Âi*. When (the ruler of) the state of *Ûin* first got possession of her, she wept till the tears wetted all the front of her dress. But when she came to the place of the king³, shared with him his luxurious couch, and ate his grain-and-grass-fed meat, then she regretted that she had wept. How do I know that the dead do not repent of their former craving for life?

‘Those who dream of (the pleasures of) drinking may in the morning wail and weep; those who dream of wailing and weeping may in the morning be going out to hunt. When they were dreaming they did not know it was a dream; in their dream they may even have tried to interpret it⁴; but when they awoke they knew that it was a dream. And

¹ Compare *Lão-ze*’s account of himself in his *Work*, ch. 20.

² See note 2 on page 191. The lady is there said to have been the daughter of a barbarian chief; here she appears as the child of the border Warden of *Âi*. But her maiden surname of *Kî* (姬) shows her father must have been a scion of the royal family of *Kâu*. Had he forsaken his wardenship, and joined one of the *Tî* tribes, which had adopted him as its chief?

³ *Ûin* was only a marquise. How does *Kwang-ze* speak of its ruler as ‘a king?’

⁴ This could not be; a man does not come to himself in his dream, and in that state try to interpret it.

there is the great awaking, after which we shall know that this life was a great dream¹. All the while, the stupid think they are awake, and with nice discrimination insist on their knowledge; now playing the part of rulers, and now of grooms. Bigoted was that *K'hiû*! He and you are both dreaming. I who say that you are dreaming am dreaming myself. These words seem very strange; but if after ten thousand ages we once meet with a great sage who knows how to explain them, it will be as if we met him (unexpectedly) some morning or evening.

10. 'Since you made me enter into this discussion with you, if you have got the better of me and not I of you, are you indeed right, and I indeed wrong? If I have got the better of you and not you of me, am I indeed right and you indeed wrong? Is the one of us right and the other wrong? are we both right or both wrong? Since we cannot come to a mutual and common understanding, men will certainly continue in darkness on the subject.

'Whom shall I employ to adjudicate in the matter? If I employ one who agrees with you, how can he, agreeing with you, do so correctly? And the same may be said, if I employ one who agrees with me. It will be the same if I employ one who differs from us both or one who agrees with us both. In this way I and you and those others would all not be able to come to a mutual understanding; and shall we then wait for that (great sage)? (We need not do so.) To wait on others to learn how conflicting opinions are changed is simply like not so

¹ Compare XVIII, par. 4.

waiting at all. The harmonising of them is to be found in the invisible operation of Heaven, and by following this on into the unlimited past. It is by this method that we can complete our years (without our minds being disturbed)¹.

‘What is meant by harmonising (conflicting opinions) in the invisible operation of Heaven? There is the affirmation and the denial of it; and there is the assertion of an opinion and the rejection of it. If the affirmation be according to the reality of the fact, it is certainly different from the denial of it:—there can be no dispute about that. If the assertion of an opinion be correct, it is certainly different from its rejection:—neither can there be any dispute about that. Let us forget the lapse of time; let us forget the conflict of opinions. Let us make our appeal to the Infinite, and take up our position there².’

II. The Penumbra asked the Shadow³, saying, ‘Formerly you were walking on, and now you have stopped; formerly you were sitting, and now you have risen up:—how is it that you are so without stability?’ The Shadow replied, ‘I wait for the movements of something else to do what I do, and that something else on which I wait waits further

¹ See this passage again in Book XXVII, par. 1, where the phrase which I have called here ‘the invisible operation of Heaven,’ is said to be the same as ‘the Heavenly Mould or Moulder,’ that is, the Heavenly Fashioner, one of the Tàoistic names for the Tào.

² That is, all things being traced up to the unity of the Tào, we have found the pivot to which all conflicting opinions, all affirmations, all denials, all positions and negatives converge, and bring to bear on them the proper light of the mind. Compare paragraph 3.

³ A story to the same effect as this here, with some textual variations, occurs in Book XXVII, immediately after par. 1 referred to above.

on another to do as it does¹. My waiting,—is it for the scales of a snake, or the wings of a cicada²? How should I know why I do one thing, or do not do another³?

‘Formerly, I, *Kwang Kâu*, dreamt that I was a butterfly, a butterfly flying about, feeling that it was enjoying itself. I did not know that it was *Kâu*. Suddenly I awoke, and was myself again, the veritable *Kâu*. I did not know whether it had formerly been *Kâu* dreaming that he was a butterfly, or it was now a butterfly dreaming that it was *Kâu*. But between *Kâu* and a butterfly there must be a difference⁴. This is a case of what is called the Transformation of Things⁴.’

¹ The mind cannot rest in second causes, and the first cause, if there be one, is inscrutable.

² Even these must wait for the will of the creature; but the case of the shadow is still more remarkable.

³ I have put this interrogatively, as being more graphic, and because of the particle 耶, which is generally, though not necessarily, interrogative.

⁴ Hsüan Ying, in his remarks on these two sentences, brings out the force of the story very successfully:—‘Looking at them in their ordinary appearance, there was necessarily a difference between them, but in the delusion of the dream each of them appeared the other, and they could not distinguish themselves! *Kâu* could be a butterfly, and the butterfly could be *Kâu*;—we may see that in the world all traces of that and this may pass away, as they come under the influence of transformations.’ For the phrase, ‘the transformation of things,’ see in Book XI, par. 5, et al. But the Tâoism here can hardly be distinguished from the Buddhism that holds that all human experience is merely so much *mâya* or illusion.

BOOK III.

PART I. SECTION III.

Yang Shang *K'ü*, or 'Nourishing the Lord of Life'.¹

1. There is a limit to our life, but to knowledge there is no limit. With what is limited to pursue after what is unlimited is a perilous thing; and when, knowing this, we still seek the increase of our knowledge, the peril cannot be averted². There should not be the practice of what is good with any thought of the fame (which it will bring), nor of what is evil with any approximation to the punishment (which it will incur)³:—an accordance with the Central Element (of our nature)⁴ is the regular way to preserve the body, to maintain the life, to nourish our parents, and to complete our term of years.

2. His cook⁵ was cutting up an ox for the ruler Wăn-hui⁵. Whenever he applied his hand, leaned forward with his shoulder, planted his foot, and em-

¹ See pp. 130, 131.

² Under what is said about knowledge here there lies the objection of Tâoists to the Confucian pursuit of knowledge as the means for the right conduct of life, instead of the quiet simplicity and self-suppression of their own system.

³ This is the key to the three paragraphs that follow. But the text of it is not easily construed. The 'doing good' and the 'doing evil' are to be lightly understood.

⁴ A name for the Tâo.

⁵ 'The ruler Wăn-hui' is understood to be 'king Hui of Liang (or Wei),' with the account of an interview between whom and Mencius the works of that philosopher commence.

ployed the pressure of his knee, in the audible ripping off of the skin, and slicing operation of the knife, the sounds were all in regular cadence. Movements and sounds proceeded as in the dance of 'the Mulberry Forest'¹ and the blended notes of 'the King Shâu'. The ruler said, 'Ah! Admirable! That your art should have become so perfect!' (Having finished his operation), the cook laid down his knife, and replied to the remark, 'What your servant loves is the method of the Tào, something in advance of any art. When I first began to cut up an ox, I saw nothing but the (entire) carcass. After three years I ceased to see it as a whole. Now I deal with it in a spirit-like manner, and do not look at it with my eyes. The use of my senses is discarded, and my spirit acts as it wills. Observing the natural lines, (my knife) slips through the great crevices and slides through the great cavities, taking advantage of the facilities thus presented. My art avoids the membranous ligatures, and much more the great bones.

'A good cook changes his knife every year;—(it may have been injured) in cutting; an ordinary cook changes his every month;—(it may have been) broken. Now my knife has been in use for nineteen years; it has cut up several thousand oxen, and yet its edge is as sharp as if it had newly come from the whetstone. There are the interstices of the joints, and the edge of the knife has no (appreciable) thickness; when that which is so thin enters where the interstice is, how easily it moves along! The

¹ Two pieces of music, ascribed to K'äng Thang and Hwang-Ti.

blade has more than room enough. Nevertheless, whenever I come to a complicated joint, and see that there will be some difficulty, I proceed anxiously and with caution, not allowing my eyes to wander from the place, and moving my hand slowly. Then by a very slight movement of the knife, the part is quickly separated, and drops like (a clod of) earth to the ground. Then standing up with the knife in my hand, I look all round, and in a leisurely manner, with an air of satisfaction, wipe it clean, and put it in its sheath.' The ruler Wăn-hui said, 'Excellent! I have heard the words of my cook, and learned from them the nourishment of (our) life.'

3. When Kung-wăn Hsien¹ saw the Master of the Left, he was startled, and said, 'What sort of man is this? How is it he has but one foot? Is it from Heaven? or from Man?' Then he added², 'It must be from Heaven, and not from Man. Heaven's making of this man caused him to have but one foot. In the person of man, each foot has its marrow. By this I know that his peculiarity is from Heaven, and not from Man. A pheasant of the marshes has to take ten steps to pick up a mouthful of food, and thirty steps to get a drink, but it does not seek to be nourished in a coop. Though its spirit would (there) enjoy a royal abundance, it does not think (such confinement) good.'

¹ There was a family in Wei with the double surname Kung-wăn. This would be a scion of it.

² This is Hsien still speaking. We have to understand his reasoning *ad sensum* and not *ad verbum*. The master of the Left had done 'evil,' so as to incur the punishment from which he suffered; and had shown himself less wise than a pheasant.

4. When Láo Tan died¹, *K'hin Shih*² went to condole (with his son), but after crying out three times, he came out. The disciples³ said to him, 'Were you not a friend of the Master?' 'I was,' he replied, and they said, 'Is it proper then to offer your condolences merely as you have done?' He said, 'It is. At first I thought he was the man of men, and now I do not think so. When I entered a little ago and expressed my condolences, there were the old men wailing as if they had lost a son, and the young men wailing as if they had lost their mother. In his attracting and uniting them to himself in such a way there must have been that which made them involuntarily express their words (of condolence), and involuntarily wail, as they were doing. And this was a hiding from himself of his Heaven (-nature), and an excessive indulgence of his (human) feelings;—a forgetting of what he had received (in being born); what the ancients called the punishment due to neglecting the Heaven (-nature)⁴. When the Master came⁵, it was at the proper time; when he went away, it was the simple sequence (of his coming). Quiet acquiescence in what happens at its proper time, and quietly submitting (to its ceasing) afford no occasion for grief or for joy⁶. The ancients described (death) as the loosening of the

¹ Then the account that Láo-ze went westwards, and that nothing is known as to where he died, must be without foundation.

² Nothing more is known of this person.

³ Probably the disciples of Láo-ze.

⁴ Láo had gone to an excess in his 'doing good,' as if he were seeking reputation.

⁵ Into the world.

⁶ See *Kwang-ze's* remarks and demeanour on the death of his wife, in Book XVIII.

cord on which God suspended (the life)¹. What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed; but the fire is transmitted (elsewhere), and we know not that it is over and ended².

¹ This short sentence is remarkable by the use of the character Tî (帝), 'God,' in it, a usage here ascribed to the ancients.

² The concluding sentence might stand as a short paragraph by itself. The 'faggots' are understood to represent the body, and the 'fire' the animating spirit. The body perishes at death as the faggots are consumed by the fire. But the fire may be transmitted to other faggots, and so the spirit may migrate, and be existing elsewhere.

BOOK IV.

PART I. SECTION IV.

Zăn Kien Shih, or 'Man in the World, Associated with other Men¹.'

1. Yen Hui² went to see *Kung-nî*³, and asked leave to take his departure. 'Where are you going to?' asked the Master. 'I will go to Wei⁴' was the reply. 'And with what object?' 'I have heard that the ruler of Wei⁵ is in the vigour of his years, and consults none but himself as to his course. He deals with his state as if it were a light matter, and has no perception of his errors. He thinks lightly of his people's dying; the dead are lying all over the country as if no smaller space could contain them; on the plains⁶ and about the marshes, they are as thick as heaps of fuel. The people know not where to turn to. I have heard you, Master, say, "Leave the state that is well

¹ See pp. 131, 132.

² The favourite disciple of Confucius, styled also *Ze-yüan*.

³ Of course, Confucius;—his designation or married name.

⁴ A feudal state, embracing portions of the present provinces of Ho-nan, Kih-lî, and Shan-tung. There was another state, which we must also call Wei in English, though the Chinese characters of them are different;—one of the fragments of the great state of Jin, more to the west.

⁵ At this time the marquis Yüan, known to us by his posthumous title of duke Ling;—see Book XXV, 9.

⁶ Adopting Lin's reading of 平 instead of the common 平.

governed; go to the state where disorder prevails¹." At the door of a physician there are many who are ill. I wish through what I have heard (from you) to think out some methods (of dealing with Wei), if peradventure the evils of the state may be cured.'

Kung-ni said, 'Alas! The risk is that you will go only to suffer in the punishment (of yourself)! The right method (in such a case) will not admit of any admixture. With such admixture, the one method will become many methods. Their multiplication will embarrass you. That embarrassment will make you anxious. However anxious you may be, you will not save (yourself). The perfect men of old first had (what they wanted to do) in themselves, and afterwards they found (the response to it) in others. If what they wanted in themselves was not fixed, what leisure had they to go and interfere with the proceedings of any tyrannous man?

'Moreover, do you know how virtue is liable to be dissipated, and how wisdom proceeds to display itself? Virtue is dissipated in (the pursuit of) the name for it, and wisdom seeks to display itself in the striving with others. In the pursuit of the name men overthrow one another; wisdom becomes a weapon of contention. Both these things are instruments of evil, and should not be allowed to have free course in one's conduct. Supposing one's virtue to be great and his sincerity firm, if he do not comprehend the spirit of those (whom he wishes to influence); and supposing he is free from the

¹ Compare in the Analects, VIII, xiii, 2, where a different lesson is given; but Confucius may at another time have spoken as Hui says.

disposition to strive for reputation, if he do not comprehend their minds;—when in such a case he forcibly insists on benevolence and righteousness, setting them forth in the strongest and most direct language, before the tyrant, then he, hating (his reprover's) possession of those excellences, will put him down as doing him injury. He who injures others is sure to be injured by them in return. You indeed will hardly escape being injured by the man (to whom you go)!

‘Further, if perchance he takes pleasure in men of worth and hates those of an opposite character, what is the use of your seeking to make yourself out to be different (from such men about him)? Before you have begun to announce (your views), he, as king and ruler, will take advantage of you, and immediately contend with you for victory. Your eyes will be dazed and full of perplexity; you will try to look pleased with him; you will frame your words with care; your demeanour will be conformed to his; you will confirm him in his views. In this way you will be adding fire to fire, and water to water, increasing, as we may express it, the evils (which you deplore). To these signs of deferring to him at the first there will be no end. You will be in danger, seeing he does not believe you, of making your words more strong; and you are sure to die at the hands of such a tyrant.

‘And formerly *Kieh*¹ killed *Kwan Lung-fang*², and *Kâu*³ killed the prince *Pi-kan*⁴. Both of

¹ The tyrant with whom the dynasty of Hsiâ ended.

² A worthy minister of *Kieh*.

³ The tyrant with whom the dynasty of Shang or Yin ended.

⁴ A half-brother of *Kâu*, the tyrant of the Yin dynasty.

these cultivated their persons, bending down in sympathy with the lower people to comfort them suffering (as they did) from their oppressors, and on their account opposing their superiors. On this account, because they so ordered their conduct, their rulers compassed their destruction:—such regard had they for their own fame. (Again), Yáo anciently attacked (the states of) ʒhung-kih¹ and Hsü-áo¹, and Yü attacked the ruler of Hû¹. Those states were left empty, and with no one to continue their population, the people being exterminated. They had engaged in war without ceasing; their craving for whatever they could get was insatiable. And this (ruler of Wei) is, like them, one who craves after fame and greater substance;—have you not heard it? Those sages were not able to overcome the thirst for fame and substance;—how much less will you be able to do so! Nevertheless you must have some ground (for the course which you wish to take); pray try and tell it to me.’

Yen Hui said, ‘May I go, doing so in uprightness and humility, using also every endeavour to be uniform (in my plans of operation)?’ ‘No, indeed!’ was the reply. ‘How can you do so? This man makes a display² of being filled to overflowing (with virtue), and has great self-conceit. His feelings are not to be determined from his countenance. Ordinary men do not (venture to) oppose him, and he proceeds from the way in which he affects them

¹ See in par. 7, Book II, where Hsü-áo is mentioned, though not ʒhung-kih. See the Shû, III, ii.

² I take 陽 here as = 佯;—a meaning given in the Khang-hsi dictionary.

to seek still more the satisfaction of his own mind. He may be described as unaffected by the (small lessons of) virtue brought to bear on him from day to day; and how much less will he be so by your great lessons? He will be obstinate, and refuse to be converted. He may outwardly agree with you, but inwardly there will be no self-condemnation;—how can you (go to him in this way and be successful)?

(Yen Hui) rejoined, 'Well then; while inwardly maintaining my straightforward intention, I will outwardly seem to bend to him. I will deliver (my lessons), and substantiate them by appealing to antiquity. Inwardly maintaining my straightforward intention, I shall be a co-worker with Heaven. When I thus speak of being a co-worker with Heaven, it is because I know that (the sovereign, whom we style) the son of Heaven, and myself, are equally regarded by Heaven as Its sons. And should I then, as if my words were only my own, be seeking to find whether men approved of them, or disapproved of them? In this way men will pronounce me a (sincere and simple¹) boy. This is what is called being a co-worker with Heaven.

'Outwardly bending (to the ruler), I shall be a co-worker with other men. To carry (the memorandum tablet to court)², to kneel, and to bend the body reverentially:—these are the observances of ministers. They all employ them, and should I presume not to do so? Doing what other men do, they would have no occasion to blame me. This

¹ Entirely unsophisticated, governed by the Tâo.

² See the *Lî K'î*, XI, ii, 16, 17.

is what is called being a fellow-worker with other men.

‘Fully declaring my sentiments and substantiating them by appealing to antiquity, I shall be a co-worker with the ancients. Although the words in which I convey my lessons may really be condemnatory (of the ruler), they will be those of antiquity, and not my own. In this way, though straightforward, I shall be free from blame. This is what is called being a co-worker with antiquity. May I go to Wei in this way, and be successful?’ ‘No indeed!’ said *Kung-ni*. ‘How can you do so? You have too many plans of proceeding, and have not spied out (the ruler’s character). Though you firmly adhere to your plans, you may be held free from transgression, but this will be all the result. How can you (in this way) produce the transformation (which you desire)? All this only shows (in you) the mind of a teacher!’

2. Yen Hui said, ‘I can go no farther; I venture to ask the method from you.’ *Kung-ni* replied, ‘It is fasting¹, (as) I will tell you. (But) when you have the method, will you find it easy to practise it? He who thinks it easy will be disapproved of by the bright Heaven.’ Hui said, ‘My family is poor. For months together we have no spirituous drink, nor do we taste the proscribed food or any strong-smelling vegetables²;—can this be regarded as fasting?’ The reply was, ‘It is the fasting appropriate to sacrificing, but it is not the fasting

¹ The term is emphatic, as Confucius goes on to explain.

² Such as onions and garlic, with horse, dog, cow, goose, and pigeon.

of the mind.' 'I venture to ask what that fasting of the mind is,' said Hui, and *K'ung-ni* answered, 'Maintain a perfect unity in every movement of your will. You will not wait for the hearing of your ears about it, but for the hearing of your mind. You will not wait even for the hearing of your mind, but for the hearing of the spirit¹. Let the hearing (of the ears) rest with the ears. Let the mind rest in the verification (of the rightness of what is in the will). But the spirit is free from all pre-occupation and so waits for (the appearance of) things. Where the (proper) course is², there is freedom from all pre-occupation;—such freedom is the fasting of the mind.' Hui said³, 'Before it was possible for me to employ (this method), there I was, the Hui that I am; now, that I can employ it, the Hui that I was has passed away. Can I be said to have obtained this freedom from pre-occupation?' The Master replied, 'Entirely. I tell you that you can enter and be at ease in the enclosure (where he is), and not come into collision with the reputation (which belongs to him). If he listen to your counsels, let him hear your notes; if he will not listen, be silent. Open no (other) door; employ no other medicine; dwell with him (as with a friend) in the same apartment, and as if you had no other option, and you will not be far from success in your object. Not to move a step is easy; to walk without treading on the ground is difficult. In acting after the manner of men, it is easy to fall

¹ The character in the text for 'spirit' here is 氣, 'the breath.'

² The Táo.

³ 'Said;' probably, after having made trial of this fasting.

into hypocrisy; in acting after the manner of Heaven, it is difficult to play the hypocrite. I have heard of flying with wings; I have not heard of flying without them. I have heard of the knowledge of the wise; I have not heard of the knowledge of the unwise. Look at that aperture (left in the wall);—the empty apartment is filled with light through it. Felicitous influences rest (in the mind thus emblemed), as in their proper resting place. Even when they do not so rest, we have what is called (the body) seated and (the mind) galloping abroad. The information that comes through the ears and eyes is comprehended internally, and the knowledge of the mind becomes something external:—(when this is the case), the spiritual intelligences will come, and take up their dwelling with us, and how much more will other men do so! All things thus undergo a transforming influence. This was the hinge on which Yü and Shun moved; it was this which Fû-hsî¹ and Kî-khü² practised all their lives: how much more should other men follow the same rule!’

3. 3ze-káo³, duke of Sheh, being about to proceed on a mission to K’hi, asked Kung-nî, saying, ‘The king is sending me, Kû-liang³, on a mission which

¹ Often spoken of as Fo-hî, the founder of the Chinese kingdom. His place in chronology should be assigned to him more than b.c. 3000 rather than under that date.

² A predecessor of Fû-hsî, a sovereign of the ancient paradisiacal time.

³ The name of Sheh remains in Sheh-hsien, a district of the department Nan-yang, Ho-nan. Its governor, who is the subject of this narrative, was a Shǎn Kû-liang, styled 3ze-káo. He was

is very important. *K'hi* will probably treat me as his commissioner with great respect, but it will not be in a hurry (to attend to the business). Even an ordinary man cannot be readily moved (to action), and how much less the prince of a state! I am very full of apprehension. You, Sir, once said to me that of all things, great or small, there were few which, if not conducted in the proper way¹, could be brought to a happy conclusion; that, if the thing were not successful, there was sure to be the evil of being dealt with after the manner of men²; that, if it were successful, there was sure to be the evil of constant anxiety³; and that, whether it succeeded or not, it was only the virtuous man who could secure its not being followed by evil. In my diet I take what is coarse, and do not seek delicacies,—a man whose cookery does not require him to be using cooling drinks. This morning I received my charge, and in the evening I am drinking iced water;—am I not feeling the internal heat (and discomfort)? Such is my state before I have actually engaged in the affair;—I am already suffering from conflicting anxieties. And if the thing do not succeed, (the king) is sure to deal with me after the manner of men. The evil is twofold; as a minister, I am not able to bear the burden (of the mission). Can

not a duke, but as the counts of *K'hi* had usurped the name of king, they gave high-sounding names to all their ministers and officers.

¹ Or, 'according to the Tâo.'

² As a criminal; punished by his sovereign.

³ Anxiety 'night and day,' or 'cold and hot' fits of trouble;—a peculiar usage of Yin Yang.

you, Sir, tell me something (to help me in the case)?'

Kung-nî replied, 'In all things under heaven there are two great cautionary considerations:—the one is the requirement implanted (in the nature)¹; the other is the conviction of what is right. The love of a son for his parents is the implanted requirement, and can never be separated from his heart; the service of his ruler by a minister is what is right, and from its obligation there is no escaping anywhere between heaven and earth. These are what are called the great cautionary considerations. Therefore a son finds his rest in serving his parents without reference to or choice of place; and this is the height of filial duty. In the same way a subject finds his rest in serving his ruler, without reference to or choice of the business; and this is the fullest discharge of loyalty. When men are simply obeying (the dictates of) their hearts, the considerations of grief and joy are not readily set before them. They know that there is no alternative to their acting as they do, and rest in it as what is appointed; and this is the highest achievement of virtue. He who is in the position of a minister or of a son has indeed to do what he cannot but do. Occupied with the details of the business (in hand), and forgetful of his own person, what leisure has he to think of his pleasure in living or his dislike of death? You, my master, may well proceed on your mission.

'But let me repeat to you what I have heard :—In

¹ The Ming of the text here is that in the first sentence of the *Kung Yung*.

all intercourse (between states), if they are near to each other, there should be mutual friendliness, verified by deeds; if they are far apart, there must be sincere adherence to truth in their messages. Those messages will be transmitted by internuncios. But to convey messages which express the complacency or the dissatisfaction of the two parties is the most difficult thing in the world. If they be those of mutual complacency, there is sure to be an overflow of expressions of satisfaction; if of mutual dissatisfaction, an overflow of expressions of dislike. But all extravagance leads to reckless language, and such language fails to command belief. When this distrust arises, woe to the internuncio! Hence the Rules for Speech¹ say, "Transmit the message exactly as it stands; do not transmit it with any overflow of language; so is (the internuncio) likely to keep himself whole."

4. 'Moreover, skilful wrestlers begin with open trials of strength, but always end with masked attempts (to gain the victory); as their excitement grows excessive, they display much wonderful dexterity. Parties drinking according to the rules at first observe good order, but always end with disorder; as their excitement grows excessive, their fun becomes uproarious². In all things it is so. People are at first sincere, but always end with becoming rude; at the commencement things are treated as trivial,

¹ Probably a Collection of Directions current at the time; and which led to the name of Yang Hsiung's Treatise with the same name in our first century.

² See the Shih, II, vii, 6.

but as the end draws near, they assume great proportions. Words are (like) the waves acted on by the wind; the real point of the matters (discussed by them) is lost. The wind and waves are easily set in motion; the success of the matter of which the real point is lost is easily put in peril. Hence quarrels are occasioned by nothing so much as by artful words and one-sided speeches. The breath comes angrily, as when a beast, driven to death, wildly bellows forth its rage. On this animosities arise on both sides. Hasty examination (of the case) eagerly proceeds, and revengeful thoughts arise in their minds;—they do not know how. Since they do not know how such thoughts arise, who knows how they will end? Hence the Rules for Speech¹ say, “Let not an internuncius depart from his instructions. Let him not urge on a settlement. If he go beyond the regular rules, he will complicate matters. Departing from his instructions and urging on a settlement imperils negotiations. A good settlement is proved by its lasting long, and a bad settlement cannot be altered;—ought he not to be careful?”

‘Further still, let your mind find its enjoyment in the circumstances of your position; nourish the central course which you pursue, by a reference to your unavoidable obligations. This is the highest object for you to pursue; what else can you do to fulfil the charge (of your father and ruler)². The best thing you can do is to be prepared to sacrifice your life; and this is the most difficult thing to do.’

¹ See above, on preceding page.

² Not meaning the king of *K'û*; but the *T'ao*, whose will was to be found in his nature and the conditions of his lot.

5. Yen Ho¹, being about to undertake the office of Teacher of the eldest son of duke Ling of Wei, consulted *K'ü Po-yü*². 'Here,' said he, 'is this (young) man, whose natural disposition is as bad as it could be. If I allow him to proceed in a bad way, it will be at the peril of our state; if I insist on his proceeding in a right way, it will be at the peril of my own person. His wisdom is just sufficient to know the errors of other men, but he does not know how he errs himself. What am I to do in such a case?' *K'ü Po-yü* replied, 'Good indeed is your question! Be on your guard; be careful; see that you keep yourself correct! Your best plan will be, with your person to seek association with him, and with your mind to try to be in harmony with him; and yet there are dangers connected with both of these things. While seeking to keep near to him, do not enter into his pursuits; while cultivating a harmony of mind with him, do not show how superior you are to him. If in your personal association you enter into his pursuits, you will fall with him and be ruined, you will tumble down with a crash. If in maintaining a harmony with his mind, you show how different you are from him, he will think you do so for the reputation and the name, and regard you as a creature of evil omen³. If you find him to be a mere boy, be you with him as another boy; if you find him one of those who will not have their ground marked out in the ordinary way, do you humour

¹ A member of the Yen family of Lû. We shall meet with him again in Books XIX, XXVIII, and XXXII.

² A minister of Wei; a friend and favourite of Confucius.

³ Compare in the *K'ung Yung*, ii, ch. 24.

him in this characteristic¹; if you find him to be free from lofty airs, show yourself to be the same;—(ever) leading him on so as to keep him free from faults.

‘Do you not know (the fate of) the praying mantis? It angrily stretches out its arms, to arrest the progress of the carriage, unconscious of its inability for such a task, but showing how much it thinks of its own powers. Be on your guard; be careful. If you cherish a boastful confidence in your own excellence, and place yourself in collision with him, you are likely to incur the fate (of the mantis).

‘Do you not know how those who keep tigers proceed? They do not dare to supply them with living creatures, because of the rage which their killing of them will excite. They do not (even) dare to give them their food whole, because of the rage which their rending of it will excite. They watch till their hunger is appeased, (dealing with them) from their knowledge of their natural ferocity. Tigers are different from men, but they fawn on those who feed them, and do so in accordance with their nature. When any of these are killed by them, it is because they have gone against that nature.

‘Those again who are fond of horses preserve their dung in baskets, and their urine in jars. If mosquitoes and gadflies light on them, and the grooms brush them suddenly away, the horses break their bits, injure (the ornaments on) their heads, and smash those on their breasts. The more care that is taken of them, the more does their fond-

¹ Equivalent to ‘Do not cross him in his peculiarities.’

ness (for their attendants) disappear. Ought not caution to be exercised (in the management of them)?'

6. A (master) mechanic, called Shih, on his way to *K'hi*, came to *K'hi-yüan*¹, where he saw an oak-tree, which was used as the altar for the spirits of the land. It was so large that an ox standing behind it could not be seen. It measured a hundred spans round, and rose up eighty cubits on the hill before it threw out any branches, after which there were ten or so, from each of which a boat could be hollowed out. People came to see it in crowds as in a market place, but the mechanic did not look round at it, but held on his way without stopping. One of his workmen, however, looked long and admiringly at it, and then ran on to his master, and said to him, 'Since I followed you with my axe and bill, I have never seen such a beautiful mass of timber as this. Why would you, Sir, not look round at it, but went on without stopping?' 'Have done,' said Mr. Shih, 'and do not speak about it. It is quite useless. A boat made from its wood would sink; a coffin or shell would quickly rot; an article of furniture would soon go to pieces; a door would be covered with the exuding sap; a pillar would be riddled by insects; the material of it is good for nothing, and hence it is that it has attained to so great an age².'

¹ The name of a place; of a road; of a bend in the road; of a hill. All these accounts of the name are found in different editions of our author, showing that the locality had not been identified.

² No one has thought it worth cutting down.

When Mr. Shih was returning, the altar-oak appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'What other tree will you compare with me? Will you compare me to one of your ornamental trees? There are hawthorns, pear-trees, orange-trees, pummelo-trees, gourds and other low fruit-bearing plants. When their fruits are ripe, they are knocked down from them, and thrown among the dirt¹. The large branches are broken, and the smaller are torn away. So it is that their productive ability makes their lives bitter to them; they do not complete their natural term of existence, but come to a premature end in the middle of their time, bringing on themselves the destructive treatment which they ordinarily receive. It is so with all things. I have sought to discover how it was that I was so useless;—I had long done so, till (the effort) nearly caused my death; and now I have learned it:—it has been of the greatest use to me. Suppose that I had possessed useful properties, should I have become of the great size that I am? And moreover you and I are both things;—how should one thing thus pass its judgment on another? how is it that you a useless man know all this about me a useless tree?' When Mr. Shih awoke, he kept thinking about his dream, but the workman said, 'Being so taken with its uselessness, how is it that it yet acts here as the altar for the spirits of the land?' 'Be still,' was the master's reply, 'and do not say a word. It simply happened to grow here; and thus those who do not know it do not speak ill of it as an evil thing. If it were not used as the altar, would it be in danger of

¹ This is the indignity intended.

being cut down? Moreover, the reason of its being preserved is different from that of the preservation of things generally; is not your explaining it from the sentiment which you have expressed wide of the mark?’

7. Nan-po 3ze-*khi*¹ in rambling about the Heights of Shang², saw a large and extraordinary tree. The teams of a thousand chariots might be sheltered under it, and its shade would cover them all! 3ze-*khi* said, ‘What a tree is this! It must contain an extraordinary amount of timber! When he looked up, however, at its smaller branches, they were so twisted and crooked that they could not be made into rafters and beams; when he looked down to its root, its stem was divided into so many rounded portions that neither coffin nor shell could be made from them. He licked one of its leaves, and his mouth felt torn and wounded. The smell of it would make a man frantic, as if intoxicated, for more than three whole days together. ‘This, indeed,’ said he, ‘is a tree good for nothing, and it is thus that it has attained to such a size. Ah! and spirit-like men acknowledge this worthlessness (and its result)³.’

In Sung there is the district of *King-shih*⁴, in which catalpae, cypresses, and mulberry trees grow well. Those of them which are a span or two or rather more in circumference⁵ are cut down by persons who want to make posts to which to tie their

¹ Probably the Nan-kwo 3ze-*khi* at the beginning of the second Book.

² In the present department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan.

³ A difficult sentence to construe.

⁴ In what part of the duchy we do not know.

⁵ See Mencius, VI, i, 13.

monkeys; those which are three or four spans round are cut down by persons who want beams for their lofty and famous houses; and those of seven or eight spans are cut down by noblemen and rich merchants who want single planks for the sides of their coffins. The trees in consequence do not complete their natural term of life, and come to a premature end in the middle of their growth under the axe and bill;—this is the evil that befalls them from their supplying good timber.

In the same way the *K'ieh*¹ (book) specifies oxen that have white foreheads, pigs that have turned-up snouts, and men that are suffering from piles, and forbids their being sacrificed to the Ho. The wizards know them by these peculiarities and consider them to be inauspicious, but spirit-like men consider them on this account to be very fortunate.

8. There was the deformed object Shû². His chin seemed to hide his navel; his shoulders were higher than the crown of his head; the knot of his hair pointed to the sky; his five viscera were all compressed into the upper part of his body, and his two thigh bones were like ribs. By sharpening needles and washing clothes he was able to make a living. By sifting rice and cleaning it, he was able to support ten individuals. When the government was calling out soldiers, this poor Shû would bare his arms among the others; when it had any great service to be undertaken, because of his constant ailments, none of the work was assigned to him; when it was

¹ Probably the name of an old work on sacrifices. But was there ever a time in China when human sacrifices were offered to the Ho, or on any altar?

² One of *Kwang-ze's* creations.

giving out grain to the sick, he received three *kung*, and ten bundles of firewood. If this poor man, so deformed in body, was still able to support himself, and complete his term of life, how much more may they do so, whose deformity is that of their faculties¹!

9. When Confucius went to *K'û*², *K'ieh-yû*, the madman of *K'û*³, as he was wandering about, passed by his door, and said, 'O Phoenix, O Phoenix, how is your virtue degenerated! The future is not to be waited for; the past is not to be sought again! When good order prevails in the world, the sage tries to accomplish all his service; when disorder prevails, he may preserve his life; at the present time, it is enough if he simply escape being punished. Happiness is lighter than a feather, but no one knows how to support it; calamity is heavier than the earth, and yet no one knows how to avoid it. Give over! give over approaching men with the lessons of your virtue! You are in peril! you are in peril, hurrying on where you have marked out the ground against your advance! I avoid publicity, I avoid publicity, that my path may not be injured. I pursue my course, now going backwards, now crookedly, that my feet may not be hurt⁴.

¹ The deficiency of their faculties—here mental faculties—would assimilate them to the useless trees in the last two paragraphs, whose uselessness only proved useful to them.

² The great state of the south, having its capital in the present Hû-peï.

³ See the Analects, XVIII, v.

⁴ The madman would seem to contrast his own course with that of Confucius; but the meaning is very uncertain, and the text cannot be discussed fully in these short notes. There is a jingle

‘The mountain by its trees weakens itself¹. The grease which ministers to the fire fries itself. The cinnamon tree can be eaten, and therefore it is cut down. The varnish tree is useful, and therefore incisions are made in it. All men know the advantage of being useful, but no one knows the advantage of being useless.’

of rhyme also in the sentence, and some critics find something like this in them :

‘Ye ferns, ye thorny ferns, O injure not my way!
To save my feet, I backward turn, or winding stray!’

¹ Literally, ‘robs itself;’—exhausts its moisture or productive strength.

BOOK V.

PART I. SECTION V.

Teh *Khung Fû*, or 'The Seal of Virtue Complete¹.'

1. In *Lû*² there was a Wang *Thâi*³ who had lost both his feet⁴; while his disciples who followed and went about with him were as numerous as those of *Kung-nî*. *Khang Kî*⁵ asked *Kung-nî* about him, saying, 'Though Wang *Thâi* is a cripple, the disciples who follow him about divide *Lû* equally with you, Master. When he stands, he does not teach them; when he sits, he does not discourse to them. But they go to him empty, and come back full. Is there indeed such a thing as instruction without words⁶? and while the body is imperfect, may the mind be complete? What sort of man is he?'

Kung-nî replied, 'This master is a sage. I have

¹ See pp. 133, 134.

² The native state of Confucius, part of the present Shan-tung.

³ A *Tâoist* of complete virtue; but probably there was not really such a person. Our author fabricates him according to his fashion.

⁴ The character *uh* (兀) does not say that he had lost both his feet, but I suppose that such is the meaning, because of what is said of Toeless below that 'he walked on his heels to see Confucius.' The feet must have been amputated, or mutilated rather (justly or unjustly), as a punishment; but *Kwang-ze* wished to say nothing on that point.

⁵ Perhaps a disciple of Confucius;—not elsewhere mentioned as such.

⁶ See the *Tâu Teh King*, ch. 2.

only been too late in going to him. I will make him my teacher; and how much more should those do so who are not equal to me! Why should only the state of Lû follow him? I will lead on all under heaven with me to do so.' *Khang Kî* rejoined, 'He is a man who has lost his feet, and yet he is known as the venerable Wang¹;—he must be very different from ordinary men. What is the peculiar way in which he employs his mind?' The reply was, 'Death and life are great considerations, but they could work no change in him. Though heaven and earth were to be overturned and fall, they would occasion him no loss. His judgment is fixed regarding that in which there is no element of falsehood²; and, while other things change, he changes not. The transformations of things are to him the developments prescribed for them, and he keeps fast hold of the author of them².'

Khang Kî said, 'What do you mean?' 'When we look at things,' said *Kung-nî*, 'as they differ, we see them to be different, (as for instance) the liver and the gall, or *Khû* and *Yüeh*; when we look at them, as they agree, we see them all to be a unity. So it is with this (Wang Thái). He takes no knowledge of the things for which his ears and eyes are the appropriate organs, but his mind delights itself in the harmony of (all excellent) qualities. He looks at the unity which belongs to things, and does not perceive where they have suffered loss. He looks

¹ Literally, 'the Senior;' often rendered 'Teacher.'

² 'That in which there is no element of falsehood' is the *Táo*, which also is the 'Author' of all the changes that take place in time and space. See the Introductory Note on the title and subject of the Book.

on the loss of his feet as only the loss of so much earth.'

Khang Kî said, 'He is entirely occupied with his (proper) self¹. By his knowledge he has discovered (the nature of) his mind, and to that he holds as what is unchangeable¹; but how is it that men make so much of him?' The reply was, 'Men do not look into running water as a mirror, but into still water;—it is only the still water that can arrest them all, and keep them (in the contemplation of their real selves). Of things which are what they are by the influence of the earth, it is only the pine and cypress which are the best instances;—in winter as in summer brightly green². Of those which were what they were by the influence of Heaven³, the most correct examples were Yáo and Shun; fortunate in (thus) maintaining their own life correct, and so as to correct the lives of others.

'As a verification of the (power of) the original endowment, when it has been preserved, take the result of fearlessness,—how the heroic spirit of a single brave soldier has been thrown into an army of nine hosts⁴. If a man only seeking for fame and able in this way to secure it can produce such an effect, how much more (may we look for a greater

¹ Wang Thái saw all things in the Táo, and the Táo in all things. Comp. Book XI, par. 7, et al.

² Notwithstanding his being a cripple. He forgets that circumstance himself, and all others forget it, constrained and won by his embodiment of the Táo. What follows is an illustration of this, exaggerated indeed, but not so extravagantly as in many other passages.

³ In the Táoistic meaning of the term.

⁴ The royal army consisted of six hosts; that of a great feudal prince of three. 'Nine hosts'=a very great army.

result) from one whose rule is over heaven and earth, and holds all things in his treasury, who simply has his lodging in the six members¹ of his body, whom his ears and eyes serve but as conveying emblematic images of things, who comprehends all his knowledge in a unity, and whose mind never dies! If such a man were to choose a day on which he would ascend far on high, men would (seek to) follow him there. But how should he be willing to occupy himself with other men?'

2. Shăn-thû *Kiá*² was (another) man who had lost his feet. Along with *3ze-khân*³ of *K'ang*³ he studied under the master Po-hwăn *Wû-zăn*⁴. *3ze-khân* said to him (one day), 'If I go out first, do you remain behind; and if you go out first, I will remain behind.' Next day they were again sitting together on the same mat in the hall, when *3ze-khân* spoke the same words to him, adding, 'Now I am about to go out; will you stay behind or not? Moreover, when you see one of official rank (like myself), you do not try to get out of his way;—do you consider yourself equal to one of official rank?' Shăn-thû *Kiá* replied, 'In our Master's school is there indeed such recognition required of official rank? You are one, Sir, whose pleasure is in your official rank, and would therefore take precedence of other men. I

¹ The arms, legs, head, and trunk.

² Another cripple introduced by our author to serve his purpose.

³ Kung-sun *K'hião*; a good and able minister of *K'ang*, an earldom forming part of the present Ho-nan. He was a contemporary of Confucius, who wept when he heard of his death in B.C. 522. He was a scion of the ruling house, which again was a branch of the royal family of *K'âu*.

⁴ A Taoist teacher. See XXI, par. 9; XXXII, par. 1.

have heard that when a mirror is bright, the dust does not rest on it; when dust rests on it the mirror is not bright. When one dwells long with a man of ability and virtue, he comes to be without error. There now is our teacher whom you have chosen to make you greater than you are; and when you still talk in this way, are you not in error?' 3ze-khân rejoined, 'A (shattered) object as you are, you would still strive to make yourself out as good as Yáo! If I may form an estimate of your virtue, might it not be sufficient to lead you to the examination of yourself?' The other said, 'Most criminals, in describing their offences, would make it out that they ought not to have lost (their feet) for them; few would describe them so as to make it appear that they should not have preserved their feet. They are only the virtuous who know that such a calamity was unavoidable, and therefore rest in it as what was appointed for them. When men stand before (an archer like) Í¹ with his bent bow, if they are in the middle of his field, that is the place where they should be hit; and if they be not hit, that also was appointed. There are many with their feet entire who laugh at me because I have lost my feet, which makes me feel vexed and angry. But when I go to our teacher, I throw off that feeling, and return (to a better mood);—he has washed, without my knowing it, the other from me by (his instructions in) what is good. I have attended him now for nineteen years, and have not known that I am without my feet. Now, you, Sir, and I have for the object of our study the

¹ A famous archer of antiquity in the twenty-second century B.C., or perhaps earlier.

(virtue) which is internal, and not an adjunct of the body, and yet you are continually directing your attention to my external body;—are you not wrong in this?’ *Ze-khân* felt uneasy, altered his manner and looks, and said, ‘You need not, Sir, say anything more about it.’

3. In *Lû* there was a cripple, called *Shû-shan* the Toeless¹, who came on his heels to see *Kung-nî*. *Kung-nî* said to him, ‘By your want of circumspection in the past, Sir, you have incurred such a calamity;—of what use is your coming to me now?’ Toeless said, ‘Through my ignorance of my proper business and taking too little care of my body, I came to lose my feet. But now I am come to you, still possessing what is more honourable than my feet, and which therefore I am anxious to preserve entire. There is nothing which Heaven does not cover, and nothing which Earth does not sustain; you, Master, were regarded by me as doing the part of Heaven and Earth;—how could I know that you would receive me in such a way?’ Confucius rejoined, ‘I am but a poor creature. But why, my master, do you not come inside, where I will try to tell you what I have learned?’ When Toeless had gone out, Confucius said, ‘Be stimulated to effort, my disciples. This toeless cripple is still anxious to learn to make up for the evil of his former conduct;—how much more should those be so whose conduct has been unchallenged!’

Mr. Toeless, however, told *Lão Tan* (of the inter-

¹ ‘Toeless’ is a sort of nickname. *Shû-shan* or *Shû hill* was, probably, where he dwelt:—‘Toeless of *Shû hill*.’

view), saying, 'Khung *K'hiû*, I apprehend, has not yet attained to be a Perfect man. What has he to do with keeping a crowd of disciples around him? He is seeking to have the reputation of being an extraordinary and marvellous man, and does not know that the Perfect man considers this to be as handcuffs and fetters to him.' Lâu Tan said, 'Why did you not simply lead him to see the unity of life and death, and that the admissible and inadmissible belong to one category, so freeing him from his fetters? Would this be possible?' Toeless said, 'It is the punishment inflicted on him by Heaven ¹. How can he be freed from it?'

4. Duke Âi of Lû² asked *Kung-nî*, saying, 'There was an ugly man in Wei, called Âi-thâi Tho³. His father-in-law, who lived with him, thought so much of him that he could not be away from him. His wife, when she saw him (ugly as he was), represented to her parents, saying, "I had more than ten times rather be his concubine than the wife of any other man⁴." He was never heard to take the lead in discussion, but always seemed to be of the same opinion with others. He had not the position of a ruler, so as to be able to save men from death. He had no revenues, so as to be able to satisfy men's craving for food. He was ugly enough, moreover, to scare

¹ 'Heaven' here is a synonym of *Tâo*. Perhaps the meaning is 'unavoidable'; it is so in the *Tâoistic* order of things.

² It was in the sixteenth year of duke Âi that Confucius died. Âi was marquis of Lû from B.C. 494 to 468.

³ The account of Âi-thâi Tho is of course *Kwang-ze's* own fabrication. Âi-thâi is understood to be descriptive of his ugliness, and Tho to be his name.

⁴ Perhaps this was spoken by his wife before their marriage.

the whole world. He agreed with men instead of trying to lead them to adopt his views; his knowledge did not go beyond his immediate neighbourhood¹. And yet his father-in-law and his wife were of one mind about him in his presence (as I have said);—he must have been different from other men. I called him, and saw him. Certainly he was ugly enough to scare the whole world. He had not lived with me, however, for many months, when I was drawn to the man; and before he had been with me a full year, I had confidence in him. The state being without a chief minister, I (was minded) to commit the government to him. He responded to my proposal sorrowfully, and looked undecided as if he would fain have declined it. I was ashamed of myself (as inferior to him), but finally gave the government into his hands. In a little time, however, he left me and went away. I was sorry and felt that I had sustained a loss, and as if there were no other to share the pleasures of the kingdom with me. What sort of man was he?’

Kung-ni said, ‘Once when I was sent on a mission to *Khû*, I saw some pigs sucking at their dead mother. After a little they looked with rapid glances, when they all left her, and ran away. They felt that she did not see them, and that she was no longer like themselves. What they had loved in their mother was not her bodily figure, but what had given animation to her figure. When a man dies in battle, they do not at his interment employ the usual appendages

¹ One sees dimly the applicability of this illustration to the case in hand. What made *Âi-thâi Tho* so much esteemed was his mental power, quite independent of his ugly person.

of plumes¹: as to supplying shoes to one who has lost his feet, there is no reason why he should care for them;—in neither case is there the proper reason for their use¹. The members of the royal harem do not pare their nails nor pierce their ears²; when a man is newly married, he remains (for a time) absent from his official duties, and unoccupied with them². That their bodies might be perfect was sufficient to make them thus dealt with;—how much greater results should be expected from men whose mental gifts are perfect! This Âi-thâi Tho was believed by men, though he did not speak a word; and was loved by them, though he did no special service for them. He made men appoint him to the government of their states, afraid only that he would not accept the appointment. He must have been a man whose powers³ were perfect, though his realisation of them³ was not manifested in his person.'

Duke Âi said, 'What is meant by saying that his powers were complete?' Kung-nî replied, 'Death and life, preservation and ruin, failure and success, poverty and wealth, superiority and inferiority, blame and praise, hunger and thirst, cold and heat;—these are the changes of circumstances, the operation of our appointed lot. Day and night they succeed to one another before us, but there is no wisdom

¹ See the *Lî Kî*, VIII, i, 7; but the applicability of these two illustrations is not so clear.

² These two have force as in 'reasoning from the less to the greater.' With the latter of the two compare the mosaical provision in Deuteronomy xxiv. 5.

³ 'Powers' are the capacities of the nature,—the gift of the Táo. 'Virtue' is the realisation or carrying out of those capacities.

able to discover to what they owe their origination. They are not sufficient therefore to disturb the harmony (of the nature), and are not allowed to enter into the treasury of intelligence. To cause this harmony and satisfaction ever to be diffused, while the feeling of pleasure is not lost from the mind; to allow no break to arise in this state day or night, so that it is always spring-time¹ in his relations with external things; in all his experiences to realise in his mind what is appropriate to each season (of the year)²:—these are the characteristics of him whose powers are perfect.'

'And what do you mean by the realisation of these powers not being manifested in the person?' (pursued further the duke). The reply was, 'There is nothing so level as the surface of a pool of still water. It may serve as an example of what I mean. All within its circuit is preserved (in peace), and there comes to it no agitation from without. The virtuous efficacy is the perfect cultivation of the harmony (of the nature). Though the realisation of this be not manifested in the person, things cannot separate themselves (from its influence).'

Some days afterwards duke Âi told this conversation to Min-ze³, saying, 'Formerly it seemed to me the work of the sovereign to stand in court with his face to the south, to rule the kingdom, and to pay good heed to the accounts of the people concerned, lest any should come to a (miserable) death;—this

¹ Specially the season of complacent enjoyment.

² So, in Lin Hsi-kung; but the meaning has to be forced out of the text.

³ The disciple Min Sun or Min Ze-khien.

I considered to be the sum (of his duty). Now that I have heard that description of the Perfect man, I fear that my idea is not the real one, and that, by employing myself too lightly, I may cause the ruin of my state. I and Khung *K'hiu* are not on the footing of ruler and subject, but on that of a virtuous friendship.'

5. A person who had no lips, whose legs were bent so that he could only walk on his toes, and who was (otherwise) deformed ¹, addressed his counsels to duke Ling of Wei, who was so pleased with him, that he looked on a perfectly formed man as having a lean and small neck in comparison with him. Another who had a large goitre like an earthenware jar ¹ addressed his counsels to duke Hwan of *K'hi* ², who was so pleased with him that he looked on a perfectly formed man as having a neck lean and small in comparison with him ³. So it is that when one's virtue is extraordinary, (any deficiency in) his bodily form may be forgotten. When men do not forget what is (easily) forgotten, and forget what is not (easily) forgotten, we have a case of real oblivion. Therefore the sagely man has that in which his mind finds its enjoyment, and (looks on) wisdom as (but) the shoots from an old stump; agreements with others are to him but so much glue; kindnesses are

¹ These two men are undoubtedly inventions of *K'wang-3ze*. They are brought before us, not by surnames and names, but by their several deformities.

² The first of the five presiding chiefs; marquis of *K'hi* from B.C. 685 to 643.

³ Lin Hsi-kung wonders whether the story of the man who was so taken with the charms of a one-eyed courtesan, that he thought other women all had an eye too many, was taken from this!

(but the arts of) intercourse; and great skill is (but as) merchants' wares. The sagely man lays no plans;—of what use would wisdom be to him? He has no cutting and hacking to do;—of what use would glue be to him? He has lost nothing;—of what use would arts of intercourse be to him? He has no goods to dispose of;—what need has he to play the merchant? (The want of) these four things are the nourishment of (his) Heavenly (nature); that nourishment is its Heavenly food. Since he receives this food from Heaven, what need has he for anything of man's (devising)? He has the bodily form of man, but not the passions and desires of (other) men. He has the form of man, and therefore he is a man. Being without the passions and desires of men, their approvings and disapprovings are not to be found in him. How insignificant and small is (the body) by which he belongs to humanity! How grand and great is he in the unique perfection of his Heavenly (nature)!

Hui-ze said to Kwang-ze, 'Can a man indeed be without desires and passions?' The reply was, 'He can.' 'But on what grounds do you call him a man, who is thus without passions and desires?' Kwang-ze said, 'The T'ao¹ gives him his personal appearance (and powers); Heaven² gives him his bodily form; how should we not call him a man?' Hui-ze rejoined, 'Since you call him a man, how

¹ Lû Shû-ñih maintains here that 'the T'ao' and 'Heaven' have the same meaning; nor does he make any distinction between mào (貌), 'the personal appearance,' and hsing (形), 'the figure,' or 'bodily form.'

² Compare in the T'ao Teh King expressions in li, 2, and lv, 5.

can he be without passions and desires?' The reply was, 'You are misunderstanding what I mean by passions and desires. What I mean when I say that he is without these is, that this man does not by his likings and dislikings do any inward harm to his body;—he always pursues his course without effort, and does not (try to) increase his (store of) life.' Hui-3ze rejoined, 'If there were not that increasing of (the amount) of life, how would he get his body¹?' Kwang-3ze said, 'The T'ao gives him his personal appearance (and powers); Heaven gives him his bodily form; and he does not by his likings and dislikings do any internal harm to his body. But now you, Sir, deal with your spirit as if it were something external to you, and subject your vital powers to toil. You sing (your ditties), leaning against a tree; you go to sleep, grasping the stump of a rotten dryandra tree. Heaven selected for you the bodily form (of a man), and you babble about what is strong and what is white².'

¹ Apparently a gross meaning attached by Hui-3ze to Kwang-3ze's words.

² Kwang-3ze beats down his opponent, and contemptuously refers to some of his well-known peculiarities;—as in II, par. 5, XXXIII, par. 7, and elsewhere.

BOOK VI.

PART I. SECTION VI.

Tâ Jung Shih, or 'The Great and Most
Honoured Master¹.'

1. He who knows the part which the Heavenly² (in him) plays, and knows (also) that which the Human² (in him ought to) play, has reached the perfection (of knowledge). He who knows the part which the Heavenly plays (knows) that it is naturally born with him; he who knows the part which the Human ought to play (proceeds) with the knowledge which he possesses to nourish it in the direction of what he does not (yet) know³:—to complete one's natural term of years and not come to an untimely end in the middle of his course is the fulness of knowledge. Although it be so, there is an evil (attending this condition). Such knowledge still awaits the confirmation of it as correct; it does so because it is not yet determined⁴. How do we know that what

¹ See pp. 134-136.

² Both 'Heaven' and 'Man' here are used in the Tâoistic sense;—the meaning which the terms commonly have both with Lâo and Kwang.

³ The middle member of this sentence is said to be the practical outcome of all that is said in the Book; conducting the student of the Tâo to an unquestioning submission to the experiences in his lot, which are beyond his comprehension, and approaching nearly to what we understand by the Christian virtue of Faith.

⁴ That is, there may be the conflict, to the end of life, between

we call the Heavenly (in us) is not the Human? and that what we call the Human is not the Heavenly? There must be the True man¹, and then there is the True knowledge.

2. What is meant by 'the True Man²?' The True men of old did not reject (the views of) the few; they did not seek to accomplish (their ends) like heroes (before others); they did not lay plans to attain those ends³. Being such, though they might make mistakes, they had no occasion for repentance; though they might succeed, they had no self-complacency. Being such, they could ascend the loftiest heights without fear; they could pass through water without being made wet by it; they could go into fire without being burnt; so it was

faith and fact, so graphically exhibited in the Book of Job, and compendiously described in the seventy-third Psalm.

¹ Here we meet with the True Man, a Master of the T'ao. He is the same as the Perfect Man, the Spirit-like Man, and the Sagely Man (see pp. 127, 128), and the designation is sometimes interchanged in the five paragraphs that follow with 'the Sagely Man.' Mr. Balfour says here that this name 'is used in the esoteric sense,—“partaking of the essence of divinity;”' and he accordingly translates 真人 by 'the divine man.' But he might as well translate any one of the other three names in the same way. The Shwo Wăn dictionary defines the name by 仙人, 'a recluse of the mountain, whose bodily form has been changed, and who ascends to heaven;' but when this account was made, T'aoism had entered into a new phase, different from what it had in the time of our author.

² In this description of 'the True Man,' and in what follows, there is what is grotesque and what is exaggerated (see note on the title of the first Book, p. 127). The most prominent characteristic of him was his perfect comprehension of the T'ao and participation of it.

³ 士 has here the sense of 事.

that by their knowledge they ascended to and reached the Tâo¹.

The True men of old did not dream when they slept, had no anxiety when they awoke, and did not care that their food should be pleasant. Their breathing came deep and silently. The breathing of the true man comes (even) from his heels, while men generally breathe (only) from their throats. When men are defeated in argument, their words come from their gullets as if they were vomiting. Where lusts and desires are deep, the springs of the Heavenly are shallow.

The True men of old knew nothing of the love of life or of the hatred of death. Entrance into life occasioned them no joy; the exit from it awakened no resistance. Composedly they went and came. They did not forget what their beginning had been, and they did not inquire into what their end would be. They accepted (their life) and rejoiced in it; they forgot (all fear of death), and returned (to their state before life)¹. Thus there was in them what is called the want of any mind to resist the Tâo, and of all attempts by means of the Human to assist the Heavenly. Such were they who are called the True men.

3. Being such, their minds were free from all thought²; their demeanour was still and unmoved;

¹ Was not this the state of non-existence? We cannot say of Pantâoism. However we may describe that, the Tâo operates in nature, but is not identical with it.

² 心忘 appears in the common editions as 心志, which must have got into the text at a very early time. 'The mind forgetting,' or 'free from all thought and purpose,' appears every-

their foreheads beamed simplicity. Whatever coldness came from them was like that of autumn; whatever warmth came from them was like that of spring. Their joy and anger assimilated to what we see in the four seasons. They did in regard to all things what was suitable, and no one could know how far their action would go. Therefore the sagely man might, in his conduct of war, destroy a state without losing the hearts of the people¹; his benefits and favours might extend to a myriad generations without his being a lover of men. Hence he who tries to share his joys with others is not a sagely man; he who manifests affection is not benevolent; he who observes times and seasons (to regulate his conduct) is not a man of wisdom; he to whom profit and injury are not the same is not a superior man; he who acts for the sake of the name of doing so, and loses his (proper) self is not the (right) scholar; and he who throws away his person in a way which is not the true (way) cannot command the service of others. Such men as Hû Pû-*k'ieh*, Wû Kwang, Po-*i*, Shû-*k'hi*, the count of *K'î*, Hsü-yü, *K'î* Thâ, and Shân-thû Tî, all did service for other men, and sought to secure for them what they desired, not seeking their own pleasure².

where in the Book as a characteristic of the True Man. Not a few critics contend that it was this, and not the Tâo of which it is a quality, that Kwang-3ze intended by the 'Master' in the title.

¹ Such antithetic statements are startling, but they are common with both Lâo-3ze and our author.

² The seven men mentioned here are all adduced, I must suppose, as instances of good and worthy men, but still inferior to the True Man. Of Hû Pû-*k'ieh* all that we are told is that he was 'an ancient worthy.' One account of Wû Kwang is that he was of the time of Hwang-Tî, with ears seven inches long; another, that he

4. The True men of old presented the aspect of judging others aright, but without being partisans; of feeling their own insufficiency, but being without flattery or cringing. Their peculiarities were natural to them, but they were not obstinately attached to them; their humility was evident, but there was nothing of unreality or display about it. Their placidity and satisfaction had the appearance of joy; their every movement seemed to be a necessity to them. Their accumulated attractiveness drew men's looks to them; their blandness fixed men's attachment to their virtue. They seemed to accommodate themselves to the (manners of their age), but with a certain severity; their haughty indifference was beyond its control. Unceasing seemed their endeavours to keep (their mouths) shut; when they looked down, they had forgotten what they wished to say.

They considered punishments to be the substance (of government, and they never incurred it); ceremonies to be its supporting wings (and they always observed them); wisdom (to indicate) the time (for action, and they always selected it); and virtue to be accordance (with others), and they were all-accordant. Considering punishments to be the substance (of government), yet their generosity appeared in the (manner of their) infliction of death. Considering ceremonies to be its supporting wings, they pursued

was of the time of Thang, of the Shang dynasty. Po-î and Shû-khî are known to us from the Analects; and also the count of K'hi, whose name, it is said, was Hsü-yü. I can find nothing about K'î Thâ;—his name in *Siào Hung's* text is 紀他沱. Shân-thû Tî was of the Yin dynasty, a contemporary of Thang. He drowned himself in the Ho. Most of these are referred to in other places.

by means of them their course in the world. Considering wisdom to indicate the time (for action), they felt it necessary to employ it in (the direction of) affairs. Considering virtue to be accordance (with others), they sought to ascend its height along with all who had feet (to climb it). (Such were they), and yet men really thought that they did what they did by earnest effort¹.

5. In this way they were one and the same in all their likings and dislikings. Where they liked, they were the same; where they did not like, they were the same. In the former case where they liked, they were fellow-workers with the Heavenly (in them); in the latter where they disliked, they were co-workers with the Human in them. The one of these elements (in their nature) did not overcome the other. Such were those who are called the True men.

Death and life are ordained, just as we have the constant succession of night and day;—in both cases from Heaven. Men have no power to do anything in reference to them;—such is the constitution of things². There are those who specially regard Heaven³ as their father, and they still love It (distant as It is)³;—how much more should they love

¹ All this paragraph is taken as illustrative of the True man's freedom from thought or purpose in his course.

² See note 3 on par. 1, p. 236.

³ Love is due to a parent, and so such persons should love Heaven. There is in the text here, I think, an unconscious reference to the earliest time, before the views of the earliest Chinese diverged to Theism and Tâoism. We cannot translate the 身 here.

That which stands out (Superior and Alone)¹! Some specially regard their ruler as superior to themselves, and will give their bodies to die for him;—how much more should they do so for That which is their true (Ruler)¹! When the springs are dried up, the fishes collect together on the land. Than that they should moisten one another there by the damp about them, and keep one another wet by their slime, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes². And when men praise Yáo and condemn Kieh, it would be better to forget them both, and seek the renovation of the Táo.

6. There is the great Mass (of nature);—I find the support of my body on it; my life is spent in toil on it; my old age seeks ease on it; at death I find rest in it;—what makes my life a good makes my death also a good³. If you hide away a boat in the ravine of a hill, and hide away the hill in a lake, you will say that (the boat) is secure; but at midnight there shall come a strong man and carry it off on his back, while you in the dark know nothing about it. You may hide away anything, whether small or great, in the most suitable place, and yet it shall disappear from it. But if you could hide the world in the world⁴, so that there was nowhere to which it could be removed, this would be the grand reality of the

¹ The great and most honoured Master,—the Táo.

² This sentence contrasts the cramping effect on the mind of Confucianism with the freedom given by the doctrine of the Táo.

³ The Táo does this. The whole paragraph is an amplification of the view given in the preceding note.

⁴ The Táo cannot be taken away. It is with its possessor, an 'ever-during thing.'

ever-during Thing¹. When the body of man comes from its special mould², there is even then occasion for joy; but this body undergoes a myriad transformations, and does not immediately reach its perfection;—does it not thus afford occasion for joys incalculable? Therefore the sagely man enjoys himself in that from which there is no possibility of separation, and by which all things are preserved. He considers early death or old age, his beginning and his ending, all to be good, and in this other men imitate him;—how much more will they do so in regard to That Itself on which all things depend, and from which every transformation arises!

7. This is the Táo;—there is in It emotion and sincerity, but It does nothing and has no bodily form³. It may be handed down (by the teacher), but may not be received (by his scholars). It may be apprehended (by the mind), but It cannot be seen. It has Its root and ground (of existence) in Itself. Before there were heaven and earth, from of old, there It was, securely existing. From It came the mysterious existences of spirits, from It the mysterious existence of God⁴. It produced heaven; It produced earth. It was before the Thâi-kî⁵, and

¹ See p. 242, note 4.

² Adopting the reading of 範 for 犯, supplied by Hwái-nan Sze.

³ Our author has done with 'the True Man,' and now brings in the Táo itself as his subject. Compare the predicates of It here with Bk. II, par. 2. But there are other, and perhaps higher, things said of it here.

⁴ Men at a very early time came to believe in the existence of their spirits after death, and in the existence of a Supreme Ruler or God. It was to the Táo that those concepts were owing.

⁵ The primal ether out of which all things were fashioned by the interaction of the Yin and Yang. This was something like the

yet could not be considered high¹; It was below all space, and yet could not be considered deep¹. It was produced before heaven and earth, and yet could not be considered to have existed long¹; It was older than the highest antiquity, and yet could not be considered old¹.

Shih-wei got It², and by It adjusted heaven and earth. Fû-hsi got It, and by It penetrated to the mystery of the maternity of the primary matter. The Wei-tâu³ got It, and from all antiquity has made no eccentric movement. The Sun and Moon got It, and from all antiquity have not intermitted (their bright shining). Khan-pei got It, and by It became lord of Khwăn-lun⁴. Făng-t⁵ got It, and by It enjoyed himself in the Great River. K'ien Wû⁶ got It, and by It dwelt on mount Thâi. Hwang-Ti⁷ got It, and by It ascended the cloudy sky. Kwan-hsü⁸

current idea of protoplasm; but while protoplasm lies down in the lower parts of the earth, the Thâi-k'î was imagined to be in the higher regions of space.

¹ The T'ao is independent both of space and time.

² A prehistoric sovereign.

³ A name for the constellation of the Great Bear.

⁴ Name of the spirit of the Khwăn-lun mountains in Thibet, the fairy-land of T'aoist writers, very much in T'aoism what mount Sumêru is in Buddhism.

⁵ The spirit presiding over the Yellow River;—see Mayers's Manual, pp. 54, 55.

⁶ Appears here as the spirit of mount Thâi, the great eastern mountain; we met with him in I, 5, but simply as one of Kwang-ze's fictitious personages.

⁷ Appears before in Bk. II; the first of Sze-mâ K'ien's 'Five T'is'; no doubt a very early sovereign, to whom many important discoveries and inventions are ascribed; is placed by many at the head of T'aoism itself.

⁸ The second of the 'Five T'is'; a grandson of Hwang-Ti. I do not know what to say of his 'Dark Palace.'

got It, and by It dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yü-khiang¹ got It, and by It was set on the North Pole. Hsi Wang-mû² got It, and by It had her seat in (the palace of) Shão-kwang. No one knows Its beginning; no one knows Its end. Phăng 3û got It, and lived on from the time of the lord of Yü to that of the Five Chiefs³. Fû Yüeh⁴ got It, and by It became chief minister to Wû-ting⁴, (who thus) in a trice became master of the kingdom. (After his death), Fû Yüeh mounted to the eastern portion of the Milky Way, where, riding on Sagittarius and Scorpio, he took his place among the stars.

8. Nan-po 3ze-khwei⁵ asked Nü Yü⁶, saying, 'You are old, Sir, while your complexion is like that of a child;—how is it so?' The reply was, 'I have become acquainted with the Táo.' The other said, 'Can I learn the Táo?' Nü Yü said, 'No. How can you? You, Sir, are not the man to do so. There was Pû-liang Í⁷ who had the abilities of a sagely man, but not the Táo, while I had the Táo, but not the abilities. I wished, however, to teach him, if, peradventure, he might

¹ The Spirit of the Northern regions, with a man's face, and a bird's body, &c.

² A queen of the Genii on mount Khwăn-lun. See Mayers's Manual, pp. 178, 179.

³ Phăng 3û has been before us in Bk. I. Shun is intended by 'the Lord of Yü.' The five Chiefs;—see Mencius, VI, ii, 7.

⁴ See the Shû, IV, viii; but we have nothing there of course about the Milky Way and the stars.—This passage certainly lessens our confidence in Kwang-3ze's statements.

⁵ Perhaps the same as Nan-po 3ze-khi in Bk. IV, par. 7.

⁶ Must have been a great Táoist. Nothing more can be said of him or her.

⁷ Only mentioned here.

become the sagely man indeed. If he should not do so, it was easy (I thought) for one possessing the Tâo of the sagely man to communicate it to another possessing his abilities. Accordingly, I proceeded to do so, but with deliberation¹. After three days, he was able to banish from his mind all worldly (matters). This accomplished, I continued my intercourse with him in the same way; and in seven days he was able to banish from his mind all thought of men and things. This accomplished, and my instructions continued, after nine days, he was able to count his life as foreign to himself. This accomplished, his mind was afterwards clear as the morning; and after this he was able to see his own individuality². That individuality perceived, he was able to banish all thought of Past or Present. Freed from this, he was able to penetrate to (the truth that there is no difference between) life and death;—(how) the destruction of life is not dying, and the communication of other life is not living. (The Tâo) is a thing which accompanies all other things and meets them, which is present when they are overthrown and when they obtain their completion. Its name is Tranquillity amid all Disturbances, meaning that such Disturbances lead to Its Perfection³.

‘And how did you, being alone (without any teacher), learn all this?’ ‘I learned it,’ was the reply, ‘from the son of Fû-mo⁴; he learned it from

¹ So the 守 is explained.

² Standing by himself, as it were face to face with the Tâo.

³ Amid all changes, in life and death, the possessor of the Tâo has peace.

⁴ Meaning writings; literally, ‘the son of the assisting pigment.’

the grandson of Lo-sung; he learned it from Shan-ming; he learned it from Nieh-hsü; he, from Hsü-yî; he, from Wû-âo; he, from Hsüan-ming; he, from 3han-lião; and he learned it from Î-shih.'

9. 3ze-sze¹, 3ze-yü¹, 3ze-lî¹, and 3ze-lâi¹, these four men, were talking together, when some one said, 'Who can suppose the head to be made from nothing, the spine from life, and the rump-bone from death? Who knows how death and birth, living on and disappearing, compose the one body? —I would be friends with him².' The four men looked at one another and laughed, but no one seized with his mind the drift of the questions. All, however, were friends together.

Not long after 3ze-yü fell ill, and 3ze-sze went to inquire for him. 'How great,' said (the sufferer), 'is the Creator³! That He should have made me the deformed object that I am!' He was a crooked hunchback; his five viscera were squeezed into the

We are not to suppose that by this and the other names that follow individuals are intended. Kwang-3ze seems to have wished to give, in his own fashion, some notion of the genesis of the idea of the Tão from the first speculations about the origin of things.

¹ We need not suppose that these are the names of real men. They are brought on the stage by our author to serve his purpose. Hwâi-nan makes the name of the first to have been 3ze-shui (子水).

² Compare the same representation in Bk. XXIII, par. 10. Kû Teh-kih says on it here, 'The head, the spine, the rump-bone mean simply the head and tail, the beginning and end. All things begin from nothing and end in nothing. Their birth and their death are only the creations of our thought, the going and coming of the primary ether. When we have penetrated to the non-reality of life and death, what remains of the body of so many feet?'

³ The 'Creator' or 'Maker' (造物者) is the Tão.

upper part of his body; his chin bent over his navel; his shoulder was higher than his crown; on his crown was an ulcer pointing to the sky; his breath came and went in gasps¹:—yet he was easy in his mind, and made no trouble of his condition. He limped to a well, looked at himself in it, and said, 'Alas that the Creator should have made me the deformed object that I am!' 3ze said, 'Do you dislike your condition?' He replied, 'No, why should I dislike it? If He were to transform my left arm into a cock, I should be watching with it the time of the night; if He were to transform my right arm into a cross-bow, I should then be looking for a hsiào to (bring down and) roast; if He were to transform my rump-bone into a wheel, and my spirit into a horse, I should then be mounting it, and would not change it for another steed. Moreover, when we have got (what we are to do), there is the time (of life) in which to do it; when we lose that (at death), submission (is what is required). When we rest in what the time requires, and manifest that submission, neither joy nor sorrow can find entrance (to the mind)². This would be what the ancients called loosing the cord by which (the life) is suspended. But one hung up cannot loose himself;—he is held fast by his bonds³. And that creatures cannot overcome

¹ Compare this description of 3ze-yü's deformity with that of the poor Shû, in IV, 8.

² Such is the submission to one's lot produced by the teaching of Taoism.

³ Compare the same phraseology in III, par. 4, near the end. In correcting Mr. Balfour's mistranslation of the text, Mr. Giles himself falls into a mistranslation through not observing that the 解

Heaven (the inevitable) is a long-acknowledged fact;—why should I hate my condition?’

10. Before long 3ze-lâi fell ill, and lay gasping at the point of death, while his wife and children stood around him wailing¹. 3ze-lî went to ask for him, and said to them, ‘Hush! Get out of the way! Do not disturb him as he is passing through his change.’ Then, leaning against the door, he said (to the dying man), ‘Great indeed is the Creator! What will He now make you to become? Where will He take you to? Will He make you the liver of a rat, or the arm of an insect²?’ 3ze-lâi replied, ‘Wherever a parent tells a son to go, east, west, south, or north, he simply follows the command. The Yin and Yang are more to a man than his parents are. If they are hastening my death, and I do not quietly submit to them, I shall be obstinate and rebellious. There is the great Mass (of nature);—I find the support of my body in it; my life is spent in toil on it; my old age seeks ease on it; at death I find rest on it:—what has made my life a good will make my death also a good.

‘Here now is a great founder, casting his metal. If the metal were to leap up (in the pot), and say, “I must be made into a (sword like the) Mo-yeh³,”

is passive, having the 懸 that precedes as its subject (observe the force of the 也 after 解 in the best editions), and not active, or governing the 懸 that follows.

¹ Compare the account of the scene at Lâo-3ze’s death, in III, par. 4.

² Here comes in the belief in transformation.

³ The name of a famous sword, made for Ho-lü, the king of

the great founder would be sure to regard it as uncanny. So, again, when a form is being fashioned in the mould of the womb, if it were to say, "I must become a man; I must become a man," the Creator would be sure to regard it as uncanny. When we once understand that heaven and earth are a great melting-pot, and the Creator a great founder, where can we have to go to that shall not be right for us? We are born as from a quiet sleep, and we die to a calm awaking.'

II. 3ze-sang Hù¹, Măng 3ze-fan¹, and 3ze-khin Kang¹, these three men, were friends together. (One of them said), 'Who can associate together without any (thought of) such association, or act together without any (evidence of) such co-operation? Who can mount up into the sky and enjoy himself amidst the mists, disporting beyond the utmost limits (of things)², and forgetting all others as if this were living, and would have no end?' The three men looked at one another and laughed, not perceiving the drift of the questions; and they continued to associate together as friends.

Suddenly, after a time³, 3ze-sang Hù died. Before he was buried, Confucius heard of the event, and

Wû (B. C. 514-494). See the account of the forging of it in the **東周列國志**, ch. 74. The mention of it would seem to indicate that 3ze-lâi and the other three men were of the time of Confucius.

¹ These three men were undoubtedly of the time of Confucius, and some would identify them with the 3ze-sang Po-3ze of Ana. VI, 1, Măng Kih-fan of VI, 13, and the Lâo of IX, vi, 4. This is very unlikely. They were Taoists.

² Or, 'without end.'

³ Or, 'Some time went by silently, and.'

sent 3ze-kung to go and see if he could render any assistance. One of the survivors had composed a ditty, and the other was playing on his lute. Then they sang together in unison,

‘Ah! come, Sang Hû! ah! come, Sang Hû!

Your being true you’ve got again,

While we, as men, still here remain

Ohone¹!’

3ze-kung hastened forward to them, and said, ‘I venture to ask whether it be according to the rules to be singing thus in the presence of the corpse?’ The two men looked at each other, and laughed, saying, ‘What does this man know about the idea that underlies (our) rules?’ 3ze-kung returned to Confucius, and reported to him, saying, ‘What sort of men are those? They had made none of the usual preparations², and treated the body as a thing foreign to them. They were singing in the presence of the corpse, and there was no change in their countenances. I cannot describe them;—what sort of men are they?’ Confucius replied, ‘Those men occupy and enjoy themselves in what is outside the (common) ways (of the world), while I occupy and enjoy myself in what lies within those ways. There is no common ground for those of such different ways; and when I sent you to condole with those men, I was acting stupidly. They, moreover, make man to be the fellow of the

¹ In accordance with the ancient and modern practice in China of calling the dead back. But these were doing so in a song to the lute.

² Or, ‘they do not regulate their doings (in the usual way).’

Creator, and seek their enjoyment in the formless condition of heaven and earth. They consider life to be an appendage attached, an excrescence annexed to them, and death to be a separation of the appendage and a dispersion of the contents of the excrescence. With these views, how should they know wherein death and life are to be found, or what is first and what is last? They borrow different substances, and pretend that the common form of the body is composed of them¹. They dismiss the thought of (its inward constituents like) the liver and gall, and (its outward constituents), the ears and eyes. Again and again they end and they begin, having no knowledge of first principles. They occupy themselves ignorantly and vaguely with what (they say) lies outside the dust and dirt (of the world), and seek their enjoyment in the business of doing nothing. How should they confusedly address themselves to the ceremonies practised by the common people, and exhibit themselves as doing so to the ears and eyes of the multitude?’

3ze-kung said, ‘Yes, but why do you, Master, act according to the (common) ways (of the world)?’ The reply was, ‘I am in this under the condemning sentence of Heaven². Nevertheless, I will share

¹ The idea that the body is composed of the elements of earth, wind or air, fire, and water.

² A strange description of himself by the sage. Literally, ‘I am (one of) the people killed and exposed to public view by Heaven;’ referring, perhaps, to the description of a living man as ‘suspended by a string from God.’ Confucius was content to accept his life, and used it in pursuing the path of duty, according to his conception of it, without aiming at the transcendental method of the Táoists. I can attach no other or better meaning to the expression.

with you (what I have attained to).’ 3ze-kung rejoined, ‘I venture to ask the method which you pursue;’ and Confucius said, ‘Fishes breed and grow in the water; man developes in the Táo. Growing in the water, the fishes cleave the pools, and their nourishment is supplied to them. Developing in the Táo, men do nothing, and the enjoyment of their life is secured. Hence it is said, “Fishes forget one another in the rivers and lakes; men forget one another in the arts of the Táo.”’

3ze-kung said, ‘I venture to ask about the man who stands aloof from others¹.’ The reply was, ‘He stands aloof from other men, but he is in accord with Heaven! Hence it is said, “The small man of Heaven is the superior man among men; the superior man among men is the small man of Heaven²!”’

12. Yen Hui asked Kung-nî, saying, ‘When the mother of Măng-sun 3hâi³ died, in all his wailing for her he did not shed a tear; in the core of his heart he felt no distress; during all the mourning rites, he exhibited no sorrow. Without these three things, he (was considered to have) discharged his mourning well;—is it that in the state of Lû one who has not the reality may yet get the reputation of having it? I think the matter very strange.’ Kung-nî

¹ Misled by the text of Hsüang Ying, Mr. Balfour here reads 畸 instead of 畸.

² Here, however, he aptly compares with the language of Christ in Matthew vii. 28.—Kwang-ze seems to make Confucius praise the system of Táoism as better than his own!

³ Must have been a member of the Măng or Măng-sun family of Lû, to a branch of which Mencius belonged.

said, 'That Mǎng-sun carried out (his views) to the utmost. He was advanced in knowledge; but (in this case) it was not possible for him to appear to be negligent (in his ceremonial observances)¹, but he succeeded in being really so to himself. Mǎng-sun does not know either what purposes life serves, or what death serves; he does not know which should be first sought, and which last². If he is to be transformed into something else, he will simply await the transformation which he does not yet know. This is all he does. And moreover, when one is about to undergo his change, how does he know that it has not taken place? And when he is not about to undergo his change, how does he know that it has taken place³? Take the case of me and you:—are we in a dream from which we have not begun to awake⁴?

'Moreover, Mǎng-sun presented in his body the appearance of being agitated, but in his mind he was conscious of no loss. The death was to him like the issuing from one's dwelling at dawn, and no (more terrible) reality. He was more awake than others were. When they wailed, he also wailed, having in himself the reason why he did so. And we all have our individuality which makes us what we are as compared together; but how do we know that we

¹ The people set such store by the mourning rites, that Mǎng-sun felt he must present the appearance of observing them. This would seem to show that Tāoism arose after the earlier views of the Chinese.

² I adopt here, with many of the critics, the reading of 孰 instead of the more common 就.

³ This is to me very obscure.

⁴ Are such dreams possible? See what I have said on II, par. 9.

determine in any case correctly that individuality? Moreover you dream that you are a bird, and seem to be soaring to the sky; or that you are a fish, and seem to be diving in the deep. But you do not know whether we that are now speaking are awake or in a dream¹. It is not the meeting with what is pleasurable that produces the smile; it is not the smile suddenly produced that produces the arrangement (of the person). When one rests in what has been arranged, and puts away all thought of the transformation, he is in unity with the mysterious Heaven.'

13. Î-ŕ 3ze² having gone to see Hsü Yû, the latter said to him, 'What benefit have you received from Yáo?' The reply was, 'Yáo says to me, You must yourself labour at benevolence and righteousness, and be able to tell clearly which is right and which wrong (in conflicting statements).' Hsü Yû rejoined, 'Why then have you come to me? Since Yáo has put on you the brand of his benevolence and righteousness, and cut off your nose with his right and wrong³, how will you be able to wander in the way of aimless enjoyment, of unregulated contemplation, and the ever-changing forms (of dispute)?' Î-ŕ 3ze said, 'That may be; but I should

¹ This also is obscure; but Confucius is again made to praise the Táoistic system.

² Î-ŕ is said by Lî Î to have been 'a worthy scholar;' but Î-ŕ is an old name for the swallow, and there is a legend of a being of this name appearing to king Mû, and then flying away as a swallow;—see the Khang-hsî Thesaurus under 而. The personage is entirely fabulous.

³ Dismembered or disfigured you.

like to skirt along its hedges.' 'But,' said the other, 'it cannot be. Eyes without pupils can see nothing of the beauty of the eyebrows, eyes, and other features; the blind have nothing to do with the green, yellow, and variegated colours of the sacrificial robes.' Î-r 3ze rejoined, 'Yet, when Wû-kwang¹ lost his beauty, Kû-liang¹ his strength, and Hwang-Tî his wisdom, they all (recovered them)² under the moulding (of your system);—how do you know that the Maker will not obliterate the marks of my branding, and supply my dismemberment, so that, again perfect in my form, I may follow you as my teacher?' Hsü Yû said, 'Ah! that cannot yet be known. I will tell you the rudiments. O my Master! O my Master! He gives to all things their blended qualities, and does not count it any righteousness; His favours reach to all generations, and He does not count it any benevolence; He is more ancient than the highest antiquity, and does not count Himself old; He overspreads heaven and supports the earth; He carves and fashions all bodily forms, and does not consider it any act of skill;—this is He in whom I find my enjoyment.'

14. Yen Hui said, 'I am making progress.' Kung-nî replied, 'What do you mean?' 'I have ceased to think of benevolence and righteousness,' was the reply. 'Very well; but that is not enough.'

Another day, Hui again saw Kung-nî, and said, 'I am making progress.' 'What do you mean?'

¹ Names of parties, of whom we know nothing. It is implied, we must suppose, that they had suffered as is said by their own inadvertence.

² We must suppose that they had done so.

'I have lost all thought of ceremonies and music.'
'Very well, but that is not enough.'

A third day, Hui again saw (the Master), and said, 'I am making progress.' 'What do you mean?' 'I sit and forget everything¹.' Kung-ni changed countenance, and said, 'What do you mean by saying that you sit and forget (everything)?' Yen Hui replied, 'My connexion with the body and its parts is dissolved; my perceptive organs are discarded. Thus leaving my material form, and bidding farewell to my knowledge, I am become one with the Great Pervader². This I call sitting and forgetting all things.' Kung-ni said, 'One (with that Pervader), you are free from all likings; so transformed, you are become impermanent. You have, indeed, become superior to me! I must ask leave to follow in your steps³.'

15. 3ze-yü⁴ and 3ze-sang⁴ were friends. (Once), when it had rained continuously for ten days, 3ze-yü said, 'I fear that 3ze-sang may be in distress.' So he wrapped up some rice, and went to give it to him to eat. When he came to 3ze-sang's door, there issued from it sounds between singing and wailing;

¹ 'I sit and forget;'—generally thus supplemented (無所不忘). Hui proceeds to set forth the meaning he himself attached to the phrase.

² Another denomination, I think, of the Táo. The 大通 is also explained as meaning, 'the great void in which there is no obstruction (太虛之無碍).'

³ Here is another testimony, adduced by our author, of Confucius's appreciation of Táoism; to which the sage would, no doubt, have taken exception.

⁴ Two of the men in pars. 9, 10.

a lute was struck, and there came the words, 'O Father! O Mother! O Heaven! O Men!' The voice could not sustain itself, and the line was hurriedly pronounced. 3ze-yü entered and said, 'Why are you singing, Sir, this line of poetry in such a way?' The other replied, 'I was thinking, and thinking in vain, how it was that I was brought to such extremity. Would my parents have wished me to be so poor? Heaven overspreads all without any partial feeling, and so does Earth sustain all;—would Heaven and Earth make me so poor with any unkindly feeling? I was trying to find out who had done it, and I could not do so. But here I am in this extremity!—it is what was appointed for me¹!'

¹ Here is the highest issue of Tâoism;—unquestioning submission to what is beyond our knowledge and control.

BOOK VII.

PART I. SECTION VII.

Ying Tî Wang¹, or 'The Normal Course for Rulers and Kings¹.'

I. Nieh *K'üeh*² put four questions to Wang Î², not one of which did he know (how to answer). On this Nieh *K'üeh* leaped up, and in great delight walked away and informed Phû-tze³ of it, who said to him, 'Do you (only) now know it?' He of the line of Yü⁴ was not equal to him of the line of Thái⁵. He of Yü still kept in himself (the idea of) benevolence by which to constrain (the submission of) men; and he did win men, but he had not begun to proceed by what did not belong to him as a man. He of the line of Thái would sleep tranquilly, and awake in contented simplicity. He would consider himself now (merely) as a horse, and now (merely) as an ox⁶. His knowledge was real and untroubled

¹ See pp. 136-138.

² See p. 190, note 5.

³ An ancient Tãoist, of the time of Shun. So, Hwang-fû Mî, who adds that Shun served him as his master when he was eight years old. I suppose the name indicates that his clothes were made of rushes.

⁴ Shun. See p. 245, note 3.

⁵ An ancient sovereign, earlier, no doubt, than Fû-hsî; but nothing is known of him.

⁶ He thought nothing about his being, as a man, superior to the lower creatures. Shun in governing employed his acquired knowledge; Thái had not begun to do so.

by doubts; and his virtue was very true :—he had not begun to proceed by what belonged to him as a man.

2. *Kien Wû*¹ went to see the mad (recluse), *K'ieh-yü*², who said to him, 'What did *Zäh-kung Shih*³ tell you?' The reply was, 'He told me that when rulers gave forth their regulations according to their own views and enacted righteous measures, no one would venture not to obey them, and all would be transformed.' *K'ieh-yü* said, 'That is but the hypocrisy of virtue. For the right ordering of the world it would be like trying to wade through the sea and dig through the Ho, or employing a musquito to carry a mountain on its back. And when a sage is governing, does he govern men's outward actions? He is (himself) correct, and so (his government) goes on ;—this is the simple and certain way by which he secures the success of his affairs. Think of the bird which flies high, to avoid being hurt by the dart on the string of the archer, and the little mouse which makes its hole deep under *Shän-k'ü*⁴ to avoid the danger of being smoked or dug out ;—are (rulers) less knowing than these two little creatures?'

3. *Thien Kăn*⁵, rambling on the south of (mount) *Yin*⁶, came to the neighbourhood of the *Lião-water*.

¹ See p. 170, note 2.

² See p. 170, note 3.

³ A name ;—'a worthy,' it is said.

⁴ Name of some hill, or height.

⁵ A name ('Root of the sky'), but probably mythical. There is a star so called.

⁶ Probably the name of a mountain, though this meaning of *Yin* is not given in the dictionary.

Happening there to meet with the man whose name is not known¹, he put a question to him, saying, 'I beg to ask what should be done² in order to (carry on) the government of the world.' The nameless man said, 'Go away; you are a rude borderer. Why do you put to me a question for which you are unprepared³? I would simply play the part of the Maker of (all) things⁴. When wearied, I would mount on the bird of the light and empty air, proceed beyond the six cardinal points, and wander in the region of non-entity, to dwell in the wilderness of desert space. What method have you, moreover, for the government of the world that you (thus) agitate my mind?' (Thien Kăn), however, again asked the question, and the nameless man said, 'Let your mind find its enjoyment in pure simplicity; blend yourself with (the primary) ether in idle indifference; allow all things to take their natural course; and admit no personal or selfish consideration:—do this and the world will be governed.'

4. Yang 3ze-kü⁵, having an interview with Láo Tan, said to him, 'Here is a man, alert and vigorous

¹ Or, 'a nameless man.' We cannot tell whether Kwang-3ze had any particular Being, so named, in view or not.

² The objectionable point in the question is the supposition that 'doing' was necessary in the case.

³ Or, 'I am unprepared.' But as Thien Kăn repeats the question, it seems better to supply the second pronoun. He had thought on the subject.

⁴ See the same phraseology in VI, par. 11. What follows is merely our author's way of describing the non-action of the Táo.

⁵ The Yang K'ü, whom Mencius attacked so fiercely. He was, perhaps, a contemporary and disciple of Láo-3ze.

in responding to all matters¹, clear-sighted and widely intelligent, and an unwearied student of the Táo;—can he be compared to one of the intelligent kings?' The reply was, 'Such a man is to one of the intelligent kings but as the bustling underling of a court who toils his body and distresses his mind with his various contrivances². And moreover, it is the beauty of the skins of the tiger and leopard which makes men hunt them; the agility of the monkey, or (the sagacity of) the dog that catches the yak, which make men lead them in strings; but can one similarly endowed be compared to the intelligent kings?'

Yang 3ze-kü looked discomposed and said, 'I venture to ask you what the government of the intelligent kings is.' Láo Tan replied, 'In the governing of the intelligent kings, their services overspread all under the sky, but they did not seem to consider it as proceeding from themselves; their transforming influence reached to all things, but the people did not refer it to them with hope. No one could tell the name of their agency, but they made men and things be joyful in themselves. Where they took their stand could not be fathomed, and they found their enjoyment in (the realm of) nonentity.'

5. In Kǎng there was a mysterious wizard³ called

¹ The 嚮 may be taken as = 向, in which case we must understand a 道 as its object; or as = 響, 'an echo,' indicating the quickness of the man's response to things.

² Compare the language of Láo Tan, in Bk. XII, par. 8, near the beginning.

³ 巫 is generally feminine, meaning 'a witch.' We must take

Ki-hsien, He knew all about the deaths and births of men, their preservation and ruin, their misery and happiness, and whether their lives would be long or short, foretelling the year, the month, the decade and the day like a spirit. When the people of K'ang saw him, they all ran out of his way. Lieh-ze went to see him, and was fascinated¹ by him. Returning, he told Hû-ze of his interview, and said, 'I considered your doctrine, my master, to be perfect, but I have found another which is superior to it.' Hû-ze² replied, 'I have communicated to you but the outward letter of my doctrine, and have not communicated its reality and spirit; and do you think that you are in possession of it? However many hens there be, if there be not the cock among them, how should they lay (real) eggs³? When you confront the world with your doctrine, you are sure to show in your countenance (all that is in your mind)⁴, and so enable (this) man to succeed in interpreting your physiognomy. Try and come to me with him, that I may show myself to him.'

On the morrow, accordingly, Lieh-ze came with the man and saw Hû-ze. When they went out, the

it here as masculine (= 覡). The general meaning of the character is 'magical,' the antics of such performers to bring down the spirits.

¹ Literally, 'intoxicated.'

² The teacher in T'aoism of Lieh-ze, called also Hû K'üi, with the name Lin (林). See the remarks on the whole paragraph in the Introductory Notice of the Book.

³ 'The hens' signify the letter of the doctrine; 'the cock,' its spirit; 'the eggs,' a real knowledge of it.

⁴ 信 is here in the first tone, and read as 伸, meaning 'to stretch,' 'to set forth.'

wizard said, 'Alas! your master is a dead man. He will not live;—not for ten days more! I saw something strange about him;—I saw the ashes (of his life) all slaked with water!' When Lieh-ze re-entered, he wept till the front of his jacket was wet with his tears, and told Hû-ze what the man had said. Hû-ze said, 'I showed myself to him with the forms of (vegetation beneath) the earth. There were the sprouts indeed, but without (any appearance of) growth or regularity:—he seemed to see me with the springs of my (vital) power closed up. Try and come to me with him again.'

Next day, accordingly, Lieh-ze brought the man again and saw Hû-ze. When they went out, the man said, 'It is a fortunate thing for your master that he met with me. He will get better; he has all the signs of living! I saw the balance (of the springs of life) that had been stopped (inclining in his favour).' Lieh-ze went in, and reported these words to his master, who said, 'I showed myself to him after the pattern of the earth (beneath the) sky. Neither semblance nor reality entered (into my exhibition), but the springs (of life) were issuing from beneath my feet;—he seemed to see me with the springs of vigorous action in full play. Try and come with him again.'

Next day Lieh-ze came with the man again, and again saw Hû-ze with him. When they went out, the wizard said, 'Your master is never the same. I cannot understand his physiognomy. Let him try to steady himself, and I will again view him.' Lieh-ze went in and reported this to Hû-ze, who said, 'This time I showed myself to him after the pattern of the grand harmony (of the two elemental

forces), with the superiority inclining to neither. He seemed to see me with the springs of (vital) power in equal balance. Where the water wheels about from (the movements of) a dugong¹, there is an abyss; where it does so from the arresting (of its course), there is an abyss; where it does so, and the water keeps flowing on, there is an abyss. There are nine abysses with their several names, and I have only exhibited three of them. Try and come with him again.'

Next day they came, and they again saw Hû-ze. But before he had settled himself in his position, the wizard lost himself and ran away. 'Pursue him,' said Hû-ze, and Lieh-ze did so, but could not come up with him. He returned, and told Hû-ze, saying, 'There is an end of him; he is lost; I could not find him.' Hû-ze rejoined, 'I was showing him myself after the pattern of what was before I began to come from my author. I confronted him with pure vacancy, and an easy indifference. He did not know what I meant to represent. Now he thought it was the idea of exhausted strength, and now that of an onward flow, and therefore he ran away.'

After this, Lieh-ze considered that he had not yet begun to learn (his master's doctrine). He returned to his house, and for three years did not go out. He did the cooking for his wife. He fed the pigs as if he were feeding men. He took no part

¹ One of the dugong. It has various names in Chinese, one being 人魚, 'the Man-Fish,' from a fancied resemblance of its head and face to a human being;—the origin perhaps of the idea of the mermaid.

or interest in occurring affairs. He put away the carving and sculpture about him, and returned to pure simplicity. Like a clod of earth he stood there in his bodily presence. Amid all distractions he was (silent) and shut up in himself. And in this way he continued to the end of his life.

6. Non-action (makes its exemplifier) the lord of all fame; non-action (serves him as) the treasury of all plans; non-action (fits him for) the burden of all offices; non-action (makes him) the lord of all wisdom¹. The range of his action is inexhaustible, but there is nowhere any trace of his presence. He fulfils all that he has received from Heaven², but he does not see that he was the recipient of anything. A pure vacancy (of all purpose) is what characterises him. When the perfect man employs his mind, it is a mirror. It conducts nothing and anticipates nothing; it responds to (what is before it), but does not retain it. Thus he is able to deal successfully with all things, and injures none.

7. The Ruler³ of the Southern Ocean was Shû⁴, the

¹ The four members of this sentence occasion the translator no small trouble. They are constructed on the same lines, and seem to me to be indicative and not imperative. Lin Hsi-kung observes that all the explanations that had been offered of them were inappropriate. My own version is substantially in accordance with his interpretations. The chief difficulty is with the first member, which seems anti-Tâoistic; but our author is not speaking of the purpose of any actor, but of the result of his non-action. 尸 is to be taken in the sense of 主, 'lord,' 'exercising lordship.' The 其 in the third sentence indicates a person or persons in the author's mind in what precedes.

² = the Heavenly or self-determining nature.

³ Perhaps 'god' would be a better translation.

⁴ Meaning 'Heedless.'

Ruler of the Northern Ocean was Hû¹, and the Ruler of the Centre was Chaos. Shû and Hû were continually meeting in the land of Chaos, who treated them very well. They consulted together how they might repay his kindness, and said, 'Men all have seven orifices for the purpose of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing, while this (poor) Ruler alone has not one. Let us try and make them for him.' Accordingly they dug one orifice in him every day; and at the end of seven days Chaos died².

¹ Meaning 'Sudden.'

² The little allegory is ingenious and amusing. 'It indicates,' says Lin, 'how action (the opposite of non-inaction) injures the first condition of things.' More especially it is in harmony with the Tâoistic opposition to the use of knowledge in government. One critic says that an 'alas!' might well follow the concluding 'died.' But surely it was better that Chaos should give place to another state. 'Heedless' and 'Sudden' did not do a bad work.

BOOK VIII.

PART II. SECTION I.

Phien Mâu, or 'Webbed Toes'¹

1. A ligament uniting the big toe with the other toes and an extra finger may be natural² growths, but they are more than is good for use. Excrescences on the person and hanging tumours are growths from the body, but they are unnatural additions to it. There are many arts of benevolence and righteousness, and the exercise of them is distributed among the five viscera³; but this is not the correct method according to the characteristics of the Tâo. Thus it is that the addition to the foot is but the attachment to it of so much useless flesh, and the addition to the hand is but the planting on it of a useless finger. (So it is that) the connecting (the virtues) with the five viscera renders, by excess or restraint, the action of benevolence and righteousness bad, and leads to many arts as in the employment of (great) powers of hearing or of vision.

2. Therefore an extraordinary power of vision

¹ See pp. 138, 139.

² 'Come out from the nature,' but 'nature' must be taken here as in the translation. The character is not Tâo.

³ The five viscera are the heart, the liver, the stomach, the lungs, and the kidneys. To the liver are assigned the element 'wood,' and the virtue of benevolence; to the lungs, the element 'metal,' and the virtue of righteousness.

leads to the confusion of the five colours¹ and an excessive use of ornament. (Its possessor), in the resplendence of his green and yellow, white and black, black and green, will not stop till he has become a *Lî K'û*². An extraordinary power of hearing leads to a confusion of the five notes³, and an excessive use of the six musical accords⁴. (Its possessor), in bringing out the tones from the instruments of metal, stone, silk, and bamboo, aided by the *Hwang-kung*⁴ and *Tâ-lü*⁴ (tubes), will not stop till he has become a *Shih Khwang*⁵. (So), excessive benevolence eagerly brings out virtues and restrains its (proper) nature, that (its possessor) may acquire a famous reputation, and cause all the organs and drums in the world to celebrate an unattainable condition; and he will not stop till he has become a *3ǎng* (*Shǎn*)⁶ or a *Shih* (*3hiû*)⁷. An ex-

¹ Black, red, azure (green, blue, or black), white, and yellow.

² The same as the *Lî Lâu* of Mencius (IV, i, 1),—of the time of *Hwang-Tî*. It is not easy to construe the text here, and in the analogous sentences below. *Hsüan Ying*, having read on to the 煌煌 as the uninterrupted predicate of the sharp seer, says, 'Is not this a proof of the extraordinary gift?' What follows would be, 'But it was exemplified in *Lî K'û*.' The meaning that is given in the version was the first that occurred to myself.

³ The five notes of the Chinese musical scale.

⁴ There are twelve of these musical notes, determined by the twelve regulating tubes; six, represented here by *Hwang-kung*, the name of the first tube, giving the sharp notes; and six, represented by *Tâ-lü*, giving the flat notes.

⁵ See in II, par. 5.

⁶ The famous *3ǎng-3ze*, or *3ǎng Shǎn*, one of Confucius's ablest disciples.

⁷ An officer of Wei in the sixth century B. C. He belonged to a family of historiographers, and hence the surname *Shih* (史). Confucius mentions him in the most honourable terms in the

traordinary faculty in debating leads to the piling up of arguments like a builder with his bricks, or a net-maker with his string. (Its possessor) cunningly contrives his sentences and enjoys himself in discussing what hardness is and what whiteness is, where views agree and where they differ, and pressing on, though weary, with short steps, with (a multitude of) useless words to make good his opinion; nor will he stop till he has become a Yang (*K'ü*)¹ or Mo (*Ti*)¹. But in all these cases the parties, with their redundant and divergent methods, do not proceed by that which is the correct path for all under the sky. That which is the perfectly correct path is not to lose the real character of the nature with which we are endowed. Hence the union (of parts) should not be considered redundancy, nor their divergence superfluity; what is long should not be considered too long, nor what is short too short: A duck's legs, for instance, are short, but if we try to lengthen them, it occasions pain; and a crane's legs are long, but if we try to cut off a portion of them, it produces grief. Where a part is by nature long, we are not to amputate, or where it is by nature short, we are not to lengthen it. There is no occasion to try to remove any trouble that it may cause.

3. The presumption is that benevolence and righteousness are not constituents of humanity; for to how much anxiety does the exercise of them give rise! Moreover when another toe is united to the

Analect XV, vi, by the name Shih Yü. 'Righteousness' was his great attribute.

¹ The two heresiarchs so much denounced by Mencius. Both have appeared in previous Books.

great toe, to divide the membrane makes you weep; and when there is an extra finger, to gnaw it off makes you cry out. In the one case there is a member too many, and in the other a member too few; but the anxiety and pain which they cause is the same. The benevolent men of the present age look at the evils of the world, as with eyes full of dust, and are filled with sorrow by them, while those who are not benevolent, having violently altered the character of their proper nature, greedily pursue after riches and honours. The presumption therefore is that benevolence and righteousness are contrary to the nature of man:—how full of trouble and contention has the world been ever since the three dynasties¹ began!

And moreover, in employing the hook and line, the compass and square, to give things their correct form you must cut away portions of what naturally belongs to them; in employing strings and fastenings, glue and varnish to make things firm, you must violently interfere with their qualities. The bendings and stoppings in ceremonies and music, and the factitious expression in the countenance of benevolence and righteousness, in order to comfort the minds of men:—these all show a failure in observing the regular principles (of the human constitution). All men are furnished with such regular principles; and according to them what is bent is not made so by the hook, nor what is straight by the line, nor what is round by the compass, nor what is square by the carpenter's square. Nor is adhesion effected by

¹ Those of Hsiâ, Shang, and K'âu;—from the twenty-third century B. C. to our author's own time.

the use of glue and varnish, nor are things bound together by means of strings and bands. Thus it is that all in the world are produced what they are by a certain guidance, while they do not know how they are produced so; and they equally attain their several ends while they do not know how it is that they do so. Anciently it was so, and it is so now; and this constitution of things should not be made of none effect. Why then should benevolence and righteousness be employed as connecting (links), or as glue and varnish, strings and bands, and the enjoyment arising from the Táo and its characteristics be attributed to them?—it is a deception practised upon the world. Where the deception is small, there will be a change in the direction (of the objects pursued); where it is great, there will be a change of the nature itself. How do I know that it is so? Since he of the line of Yü called in his benevolence and righteousness to distort and vex the world, the world has not ceased to hurry about to execute their commands;—has not this been by means of benevolence and righteousness to change (men's views) of their nature?

4. I will therefore try and discuss this matter. From the commencement of the three dynasties downwards, nowhere has there been a man who has not under (the influence of external) things altered (the course of) his nature. Small men for the sake of gain have sacrificed their persons; scholars for the sake of fame have done so; great officers, for the sake of their families; and sagely men, for the sake of the kingdom. These several classes, with different occupations, and different repu-

tations, have agreed in doing injury to their nature and sacrificing their persons. Take the case of a male and female slave¹;—they have to feed the sheep together, but they both lose their sheep. Ask the one what he was doing, and you will find that he was holding his bamboo tablets and reading. Ask the other, and you will find that she was amusing herself with some game². They were differently occupied, but they equally lose their sheep. (So), Po-i³ died at the foot of Shâu-yang⁴ to maintain his fame, and the robber K'ih⁵ died on the top of Tung-ling⁶ in his eagerness for gain. Their deaths were occasioned by different causes, but they equally shortened their lives and did violence to their nature;—why must we approve of Po-i, and condemn the robber K'ih? In cases of such sacrifice all over the world, when one makes it for the sake of benevolence and righteousness, the common people style him 'a superior man,' but when another does it for the sake of goods and riches, they style him 'a small man.' The action of sacrificing is the same, and yet we have 'the superior man' and 'the small man!' In the matter of destroying his life, and doing injury to his nature, the robber K'ih simply did the same as Po-i;—why must we make the distinction of 'superior man' and 'small man' between them?

¹ See the Khang-hsî dictionary under the character 臧.

² Playing at some game with dice.

³ See VI, par. 3.

⁴ A mountain in the present Shan-hsî, probably in the department of Phû-lâu.

⁵ A strange character, but not historical, represented as a brother of Liû-hsiâ Hui. See Bk. XXIX.

⁶ 'The Eastern Height,'= the Thâi mountain in the present Shan-tung.

5. Moreover, those who devote their nature to (the pursuit) of benevolence and righteousness, though they should attain to be like ǰǎng (Shǎn) and Shih (ǰhiû), I do not pronounce to be good; those who devote it to (the study of) the five flavours, though they attain to be like Shû¹, I do not pronounce to be good; those who devote it to the (discrimination of the) five notes, though they attain to be like Shih Khwang, I do not pronounce to be quick of hearing; those who devote it to the (appreciation of the) five colours, though they attain to be like Li K'û, I do not pronounce to be clear of vision. When I pronounce men to be good, I am not speaking of their benevolence and righteousness;—the goodness is simply (their possession of) the qualities (of the Tâo). When I pronounce them to be good, I am not speaking of what are called benevolence and righteousness; but simply of their allowing the nature with which they are endowed to have its free course. When I pronounce men to be quick of hearing, I do not mean that they hearken to anything else, but that they hearken to themselves; when I pronounce them to be clear of vision, I do not mean that they look to anything else, but that they look to themselves. Now those who do not see themselves but see other things, who do not get possession of themselves but get possession of other things, get possession of what belongs to others, and not of what is their own; and they reach forth to what attracts others, and not to that in themselves which should attract them. But

¹ Different from Yih-ya, the famous cook of duke Hwan of K'hi. This is said to have been of the time of Hwang-Ti. But there are different readings of the name.

thus reaching forth to what attracts others and not to what should attract them in themselves, be they like the robber *K'ih* or like *Po-i*, they equally err in the way of excess or of perversity. What I am ashamed of is erring in the characteristics of the *T'ao*, and therefore, in the higher sphere, I do not dare to insist on the practice of benevolence and righteousness, and, in the lower, I do not dare to allow myself either in the exercise of excess or perversity.

BOOK IX.

PART II. SECTION II.

Mâ Thî, or 'Horses's Hoofs'¹.

1. Horses can with their hoofs tread on the hoarfrost and snow, and with their hair withstand the wind and cold; they feed on the grass and drink water; they prance with their legs and leap:—this is the true nature of horses. Though there were made for them grand towers² and large dormitories, they would prefer not to use them. But when Po-lão³ (arose and) said, 'I know well how to manage horses,' (men proceeded)⁴ to singe and mark them, to clip their hair, to pare their hoofs, to halter their heads, to bridle them and hobble them, and to confine them in stables and corrals. (When subjected to this treatment), two or three in every ten of them died. (Men proceeded further) to subject them to hunger and thirst, to gallop them and race them,

¹ See pp. 140, 141.

² Literally, 'righteous towers;' but 義 is very variously applied, and there are other readings. Compare the name of ling thâi, given by the people to the tower built by king Wăn; Shih, III, i, 8.

³ A mythical being, the first tamer of horses. The name is given to a star, where he is supposed to have his seat as superintendent of the horses of heaven. It became a designation of Sun Yang, a famous charioteer of the later period of the Kâu dynasty, but it could not be he whom Kwang-ze had in view.

⁴ Po-lão set the example of dealing with horses as now described; but the supplement which I have introduced seems to bring out better our author's meaning.

and to make them go together in regular order. In front were the evils of the bit and ornamented breastbands, and behind were the terrors of the whip and switch. (When so treated), more than half of them died.

The (first) potter said, 'I know well how to deal with clay;' and (men proceeded) to mould it into circles as exact as if made by the compass, and into squares as exact as if formed by the measuring square. The (first) carpenter said, 'I know well how to deal with wood;' and (men proceeded) to make it bent as if by the application of the hook, and straight as if by the application of the plumb-line. But is it the nature of clay and wood to require the application of the compass and square, of the hook and line? And yet age after age men have praised Po-lão, saying, 'He knew well how to manage horses,' and also the (first) potter and carpenter, saying, 'They knew well how to deal with clay and wood.' This is just the error committed by the governors of the world.

2. According to my idea, those who know well to govern mankind would not act so. The people had their regular and constant nature¹:—they wove and made themselves clothes; they tilled the ground and got food². This was their common faculty. They were all one in this, and did not form themselves into separate classes; so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies³. Therefore in the

¹ Compare the same language in the previous Book, par. 3.

² But the weaver's or agriculturist's art has no more title to be called primitive than the potter's or carpenter's.

³ A difficult expression; but the translation, probably, gives its

age of perfect virtue men walked along with slow and grave step, and with their looks steadily directed forwards. At that time, on the hills there were no foot-paths, nor excavated passages; on the lakes there were no boats nor dams; all creatures lived in companies; and the places of their settlement were made close to one another. Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds; the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long. In this condition the birds and beasts might be led about without feeling the constraint; the nest of the magpie might be climbed to, and peeped into. Yes, in the age of perfect virtue, men lived in common with birds and beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family;—how could they know among themselves the distinctions of superior men and small men? Equally without knowledge, they did not leave (the path of) their natural virtue; equally free from desires, they were in the state of pure simplicity. In that state of pure simplicity, the nature of the people was what it ought to be. But when the sagely men appeared, limping and wheeling about in (the exercise of) benevolence, pressing along and standing on tiptoe in the doing of righteousness, then men universally began to be perplexed. (Those sages also) went to excess in their performances of music, and in their gesticulations in the practice of ceremonies, and then men began to be separated from one another. If the raw materials

true significance. 'Heaven' here is synonymous with 'the Táo'; but its use shows how readily the minds, even of Láo and Kwang, had recourse to the earliest term by which the Chinese fathers had expressed their recognition of a Supreme and Controlling Power and Government.

had not been cut and hacked, who could have made a sacrificial vase from them? If the natural jade had not been broken and injured, who could have made the handles for the libation-cups from it? If the attributes of the Táo had not been disallowed, how should they have preferred benevolence and righteousness? If the instincts of the nature had not been departed from, how should ceremonies and music have come into use? If the five colours had not been confused, how should the ornamental figures have been formed? If the five notes had not been confused, how should they have supplemented them by the musical accords? The cutting and hacking of the raw materials to form vessels was the crime of the skilful workman; the injury done to the characteristics of the Táo in order to the practice of benevolence and righteousness was the error of the sagely men.

3. Horses, when living in the open country, eat the grass, and drink water; when pleased, they intertwine their necks and rub one another; when enraged, they turn back to back and kick one another;—this is all that they know to do. But if we put the yoke on their necks, with the moon-like frontlet displayed on all their foreheads, then they know to look slily askance, to curve their necks, to rush viciously, trying to get the bit out of their mouths, and to filch the reins (from their driver);—this knowledge of the horse and its ability thus to act the part of a thief is the crime of Po-lão. In the time of (the Tí) Ho-hsü¹, the people occupied

¹ An ancient sovereign; but nothing more definite can be said about him. Most of the critics identify him with Shǎn-năng, the

their dwellings without knowing what they were doing, and walked out without knowing where they were going. They filled their mouths with food and were glad; they slapped their stomachs to express their satisfaction. This was all the ability which they possessed. But when the sagely men appeared, with their bendings and stoppings in ceremonies and music to adjust the persons of all, and hanging up their benevolence and righteousness to excite the endeavours of all to reach them, in order to comfort their minds, then the people began to stump and limp about in their love of knowledge, and strove with one another in their pursuit of gain, so that there was no stopping them:—this was the error of those sagely men.

Father of Husbandry, who occupies the place in chronological tables after Fû-hsî, between him and Hwang-Tî. In the Tables of the Dynastic Histories, published in 1817, he is placed seventh in the list of fifteen reigns, which are placed without any specification of their length between Fû-hsî and Shân-năng. The name is written as 合胥 and 赫胥.

BOOK X.

PART II. SECTION III.

Khü Khieh, or 'Cutting open Satchels¹.'

1. In taking precautions against thieves who cut open satchels, search bags, and break open boxes, people are sure to cord and fasten them well, and to employ strong bonds and clasps; and in this they are ordinarily said to show their wisdom. When a great thief comes, however, he shoulders the box, lifts up the satchel, carries off the bag, and runs away with them, afraid only that the cords, bonds, and clasps may not be secure; and in this case what was called the wisdom (of the owners) proves to be nothing but a collecting of the things for the great thief. Let me try and set this matter forth. Do not those who are vulgarly called wise prove to be collectors for the great thieves? And do not those who are called sages prove to be but guardians in the interest of the great thieves?

How do I know that the case is so? Formerly, in the state of *Khi*, the neighbouring towns could see one another; their cocks and dogs never ceased to answer the crowing and barking of other cocks and dogs (between them). The nets were set (in the water and on the land); and the ploughs and hoes were employed over more than a space of two thousand li square. All within its four boundaries, the

¹ See pp. 141, 142.

establishment of the ancestral temples and of the altars of the land and grain, and the ordering of the hamlets and houses, and of every corner in the districts, large, medium, and small, were in all particulars according to the rules of the sages¹. So it was; but yet one morning, Thien *Khăng-ze*² killed the ruler of *Khi*, and stole his state. And was it only the state that he stole? Along with it he stole also the regulations of the sages and wise men (observed in it). And so, though he got the name of being a thief and a robber, yet he himself continued to live as securely as Yâo and Shun had done. Small states did not dare to find fault with him; great states did not dare to take him off; for twelve generations (his descendants) have possessed the state of *Khi*³. Thus do we not have a case in which not only did (the party) steal the state of *Khi*,

¹ The meaning is plain; but to introduce the various geographical terms would make the translation cumbrous. The concluding 曲 is perplexing.

² This event is mentioned in the Analects, XIV, xxii, where the perpetrator of the murder is called *Khăn Khăng-ze*, and *Khăn Hăng*. Hăng was his name, and *Khăng* the honorary title given to him after his death. The family to which he belonged had originally taken refuge in *Khi* from the state of *Khăn* in B. C. 672. Why and when its chiefs adopted the surname Thien instead of *Khăn* is not well known. The murder took place in 482. Hăng did not immediately usurp the marquisate; but he and his successors disposed of it at their pleasure among the representatives of the old House till 386, when Thien Ho was recognised by the king of *Kâu* as the marquis; and his next successor but one took the title of king.

³ The kingdom of *Khi* came to an end in B. C. 221, the first year of the dynasty of *K'in*, after it had lasted through five reigns. How *Kwang-ze* made out his 'twelve generations' we cannot tell. There may be an interpolation in his text made in the time of *K'in*, or subsequently.

but at the same time the regulations of its sages and wise men, which thereby served to guard the person of him, thief and robber as he was ?

2. Let me try to set forth this subject (still further). Have not there been among those vulgarly styled the wisest, such as have collected (their wealth) for the great chief? and among those styled the most sage such as have guarded it for him? How do I know that it has been so? Formerly, Lung-fāng¹ was beheaded; Pí-kan² had his heart torn out; K'hang Hung³ was ripped open; and 3ze-hsü⁴ was reduced to pulp (in the K'iang). Worthy as those four men were, they did not escape such dreadful deaths. The followers of the robber K'ih⁵ asked him, saying, 'Has the robber also any method or principle (in his proceedings)?' He replied, 'What profession is there which has not its principles? That the robber in his recklessness comes to the conclusion that there are valuable deposits in an apartment shows his sageness; that he is the first to enter it shows his bravery; that he is the last to quit it shows his righteousness; that he knows whether (the robbery) may be attempted or not shows his wisdom; and that he makes an equal

¹ See on Book IV, par. 1.

² See on Book IV, par. 1.

³ A historiographer of K'au, with whom Confucius is said to have studied music. He was weakly and unjustly put to death, as here described by king K'ang, in B. C. 492.

⁴ Wú 3ze-hsü, the hero of revenge, who fled from K'au to Wú, which he long served. He was driven at last to commit suicide, and his body was then put into a leathern wine-sack, and thrown into the K'iang near the present Sû-k'au;—about B. C. 475.

⁵ See on Book VIII, par. 4.

division of the plunder shows his benevolence. Without all these five qualities no one in the world has ever attained to become a great robber.' Looking at the subject in this way, we see that good men do not arise without having the principles of the sages, and that *Kih* could not have pursued his course without the same principles. But the good men in the world are few, and those who are not good are many;—it follows that the sages benefit the world in a few instances and injure it in many. Hence it is that we have the sayings, 'When the lips are gone the teeth are cold¹;' 'The poor wine of *Lû* gave occasion to the siege of *Han-tan*²;' 'When sages are born great robbers arise³.' When the stream is dried, the valley is empty; when the mound is levelled, the deep pool (beside it) is filled up. When the sages have died, the great robbers will not arise; the world would be at peace, and there would be no more troubles. While the sagely men have not died, great robbers will not cease to appear. The more right that is attached to (the views of) the sagely men for the government of the world, the more advantage will accrue to (such men as) the robber *Kih*. If we make for men pecks and bushels

¹ This is an instance of cause and effect naturally happening.

² At a meeting of the princes, presided over by king *Hsüan* of *Khû* (B.C. 369–340), the ruler of *Lû* brought very poor wine for the king, which was presented to him as wine of *Kão*, in consequence of a grudge against that kingdom by his officer of wines. In consequence of this king *Hsüan* ordered siege to be laid to *Han-tan*, the capital of *Kão*. This is an instance of cause and effect occurring irregularly.

³ There seems to be no connexion of cause and effect here; but *Kwang-ze* goes on in his own way to make out that there is such a connexion.

to measure (their wares), even by means of those pecks and bushels should we be teaching them to steal¹; if we make for them weights and steelyards to weigh (their wares), even by means of those weights and steelyards shall we be teaching them to steal. If we make for them tallies and seals to secure their good faith, even by means of those tallies and seals shall we be teaching them to steal. If we make for them benevolence and righteousness to make their doings correct, even by means of benevolence and righteousness shall we be teaching them to steal. How do I know that it is so? Here is one who steals a hook (for his girdle);—he is put to death for it: here is another who steals a state;—he becomes its prince. But it is at the gates of the princes that we find benevolence and righteousness (most strongly) professed;—is not this stealing benevolence and righteousness, sageness and wisdom? Thus they hasten to become great robbers, carry off principedoms, and steal benevolence and righteousness, with all the gains springing from the use of pecks and bushels, weights and steelyards, tallies and seals:—even the rewards of carriages and coronets have no power to influence (to a different course), and the terrors of the axe have no power to restrain in such cases. The giving of so great gain to robbers (like) *K'ih*, and making it impossible to restrain them;—this is the error committed by the sages.

3. In accordance with this it is said, 'Fish should

¹ The verb 'to steal' is here used transitively, and with a hiphil force.

not be taken from (the protection of) the deep waters; the agencies for the profit of a state should not be shown to men¹. But those sages (and their teachings) are the agencies for the profit of the world, and should not be exhibited to it. Therefore if an end were put to sageness and wisdom put away, the great robbers would cease to arise. If jade were put away and pearls broken to bits, the small thieves would not appear. If tallies were burned and seals broken in pieces, the people would become simple and unsophisticated. If pecks were destroyed and steelyards snapped in two, the people would have no wrangling. If the rules of the sages were entirely set aside in the world, a beginning might be made of reasoning with the people. If the six musical accords were reduced to a state of utter confusion, organs and lutes all burned, and the ears of the (musicians like the) blind Khwang² stopped up, all men would begin to possess and employ their (natural) power of hearing. If elegant ornaments were abolished, the five embellishing colours disused, and the eyes of (men like) Li K'ü³ glued up, all men would begin to possess and employ their (natural) power of vision. If the hook and line were destroyed, the compass and square thrown away, and the fingers of men (like) the artful K'zui⁴ smashed, all men would begin to possess and employ their (natural) skill;—as it is said, 'The greatest art is

¹ See the T'ao Teh King, ch. 36. Our author's use of it throws light on its meaning.

² Note 1, p. 186.

³ Note 2, p. 269.

⁴ A skilful maker of arrows of the time of Y'ao,—the Kung-kung of the Sh'ü, II, i, 21; V, xxii, 19.

like stupidity¹. If conduct such as that of 3ǎng (Shǎn)² and Shih (*K'hiû*)³ were discarded, the mouths of Yang (*K'û*)⁴ and Mo (Tî) gagged, and benevolence and righteousness seized and thrown aside, the virtue of all men would begin to display its mysterious excellence. When men possessed and employed their (natural) power of vision, there would be no distortion in the world. When they possessed and employed their (natural) power of hearing, there would be no distractions in the world. When they possessed and employed their (natural) faculty of knowledge, there would be no delusions in the world. When they possessed and employed their (natural) virtue, there would be no depravity in the world. Men like 3ǎng (Shǎn), Shih (*K'hiû*), Yang (*K'û*), Mo (Tî), Shih Khwang (the musician), the artist *K'kui*, and Li *K'û*, all display their qualities outwardly, and set the world in a blaze (of admiration) and confound it;—a method which is of no use!

4. Are you, Sir, unacquainted with the age of perfect virtue? Anciently there were Yung-*k'hang*, Tâ-thing, Po-hwang, Kang-yang, Li-lû, Li-*k'hiû*, Hsien-yüan, Ho-hsü, 3un-lû, *K'û-yung*, Fû-hsî, and Shǎn-nǎng⁵. In their times the people made

¹ The Táo Teh *King*, ch. 45.

² Note 6, p. 269.

³ Note 7, p. 269.

⁴ Note 5, p. 261.

⁵ Of the twelve names mentioned here the reader is probably familiar with those of Fû-hsî and Shǎn-nǎng, the first and second of the Tî in chronology. Hsien-yüan is another name for Hwang-Tî, the third of them. *K'û-yung* was, perhaps, a minister of Hwang-Tî. Ho-hsü has occurred before in Book IV. Of the other seven, five occur among the fifteen sovereigns placed in the 'Compendium

knots on cords in carrying on their affairs. They thought their (simple) food pleasant, and their (plain) clothing beautiful. They were happy in their (simple) manners, and felt at rest in their (poor) dwellings. (The people of) neighbouring states might be able to descry one another; the voices of their cocks and dogs might be heard (all the way) from one to the other; they might not die till they were old; and yet all their life they would have no communication together¹. In those times perfect good order prevailed.

Now-a-days, however, such is the state of things that you shall see the people stretching out their necks, and standing on tiptoe, while they say, 'In such and such a place there is a wise and able man.' Then they carry with them whatever dry provisions they may have left, and hurry towards it, abandoning their parents in their homes, and neglecting the service of their rulers abroad. Their footsteps may be traced in lines from one state to another, and the ruts of their chariot-wheels also for more than a thousand li. This is owing to the error of their superiors in their (inordinate) fondness for knowledge. When those superiors do really love knowledge, but do not follow the (proper) course, the whole world is thrown into great confusion.

How do I know that the case is so? The knowledge shown in the (making of) bows, cross-bows, hand-nets, stringed arrows, and contrivances with springs is great, but the birds are troubled by them

of History' between Fû-hsî and Shăn-năng. The remaining two may be found, I suppose, in the Lû Shih of Lo Pî.

¹ See the eightieth chapter of the Táo Teh King.

above; the knowledge shown in the hooks, baits, various kinds of nets, and bamboo traps is great, but the fishes are disturbed by them in the waters; the knowledge shown in the arrangements for setting nets, and the nets and snares themselves, is great, but the animals are disturbed by them in the marshy grounds. (So), the versatility shown in artful deceptions becoming more and more pernicious, in ingenious discussions as to what is hard and what is white, and in attempts to disperse the dust and reconcile different views, is great, but the common people are perplexed by all the sophistry. Hence there is great disorder continually in the world, and the guilt of it is due to that fondness for knowledge. Thus it is that all men know to seek for the knowledge that they have not attained to; and do not know to seek for that which they already have (in themselves); and that they know to condemn what they do not approve (in others), and do not know to condemn what they have allowed in themselves;—it is this which occasions the great confusion and disorder. It is just as if, above, the brightness of the sun and moon were darkened; as if, beneath, the productive vigour of the hills and streams were dried up; and as if, between, the operation of the four seasons were brought to an end:—in which case there would not be a single weak and wriggling insect, nor any plant that grows up, which would not lose its proper nature. Great indeed is the disorder produced in the world by the love of knowledge. From the time of the three dynasties downwards it has been so. The plain and honest-minded people are neglected, and the plausible representations of restless spirits

received with pleasure; the quiet and unexciting method of non-action is put away, and pleasure taken in ideas garrulously expressed. It is this garrulity of speech which puts the world in disorder.

BOOK XI.

PART II. SECTION IV.

3âi Yû, or 'Letting Be, and Exercising Forbearance'¹

1. I have heard of letting the world be, and exercising forbearance; I have not heard of governing the world. Letting be is from the fear that men, (when interfered with), will carry their nature beyond its normal condition; exercising forbearance is from the fear that men, (when not so dealt with), will alter the characteristics of their nature. When all men do not carry their nature beyond its normal condition, nor alter its characteristics, the good government of the world is secured.

Formerly, Yâo's government of the world made men look joyful; but when they have this joy in their nature, there is a want of its (proper) placidity. The government of the world by Kieh, (on the contrary), made men look distressed; but when their nature shows the symptoms of distress, there is a want of its (proper) contentment. The want of placidity and the want of contentment are contrary to the character (of the nature); and where this obtains, it is impossible that any man or state should anywhere abide long. Are men exceedingly joyful?—the Yang or element of expansion in them is too much developed. Are they exceedingly

¹ See pp. 142, 143.

irritated?—the Yin or opposite element is too much developed. When those elements thus predominate in men, (it is as if¹) the four seasons were not to come (at their proper times), and the harmony of cold and heat were not to be maintained;—would there not result injury to the bodies of men? Men's joy and dissatisfaction are made to arise where they ought not to do so; their movements are all uncertain; they lose the mastery of their thoughts; they stop short midway, and do not finish what they have begun. In this state of things the world begins to have lofty aims, and jealous dislikes, ambitious courses, and fierce animosities, and then we have actions like those of the robber *Kih*, or of *ǰǎng* (*Shǎn*) and *Shih* (*ǰhiû*)². If now the whole world were taken to reward the good it would not suffice, nor would it be possible with it to punish the bad. Thus the world, great as it is, not sufficing for rewards and punishments, from the time of the three dynasties downwards, there has been nothing but bustle and excitement. Always occupied with rewards and punishments, what leisure have men had to rest in the instincts of the nature with which they are endowed?

2. Moreover, delight in the power of vision leads

¹ I supply the 'it is as if,' after the example of the critic *Lû Shû-kih*, who here introduces a 猶 in his commentary (猶四時之氣乖其序云云). What the text seems to state as a fact is only an illustration. Compare the concluding paragraphs in all the Sections and Parts of the fourth Book of the *Lî Kî*.

² Our moral instincts protest against Tâoism which thus places in the same category such sovereigns as *Yáo* and *Kieh*, and such men as the brigand *Kih* and *ǰǎng* and *Shih*.

to excess in the pursuit of (ornamental) colours; delight in the power of hearing, to excess in seeking (the pleasures of) sound; delight in benevolence tends to disorder that virtue (as proper to the nature); delight in righteousness sets the man in opposition to what is right in reason; delight in (the practice of) ceremonies is helpful to artful forms; delight in music leads to voluptuous airs; delight in sageness is helpful to ingenious contrivances; delight in knowledge contributes to fault-finding. If all men were to rest in the instincts of their nature, to keep or to extinguish these eight delights might be a matter of indifference; but if they will not rest in those instincts, then those eight delights begin to be imperfectly and unevenly developed or violently suppressed, and the world is thrown into disorder. But when men begin to honour them, and to long for them, how great is the deception practised on the world! And not only, when (a performance of them) is once over, do they not have done with them, but they prepare themselves (as) with fasting to describe them, they seem to kneel reverentially when they bring them forward, and they go through them with the excitements of music and singing; and then what can be done (to remedy the evil of them)? Therefore the superior man, who feels himself constrained to engage in the administration of the world will find it his best way to do nothing¹. In (that policy of) doing nothing, he can rest in the instincts of the nature with which he is endowed. Hence he who will administer (the government of) the world

¹ Here is the Tâoistic meaning of the title of this Book.

honouring it as he honours his own person, may have that government committed to him, and he who will administer it loving it as he loves his own person, may have it entrusted to him¹. Therefore, if the superior man will keep (the faculties lodged in) his five viscera unemployed, and not display his powers of seeing and hearing, while he is motionless as a representative of the dead, his dragon-like presence will be seen; while he is profoundly silent, the thunder (of his words) will resound; while his movements are (unseen) like those of a spirit, all heavenly influences will follow them; while he is (thus) unconcerned and does nothing, his genial influence will attract and gather all things round him:—what leisure has he to do anything more for the government of the world?

3. *Žhui K'ü*² asked Láo Tan, saying, 'If you do not govern the world, how can you make men's minds good?' The reply was, 'Take care how you meddle with and disturb men's minds. The mind, if pushed about, gets depressed; if helped forward, it gets exalted. Now exalted, now depressed, here it appears as a prisoner, and there as a wrathful fury. (At one time) it becomes pliable and soft, yielding to what is hard and strong; (at another), it is sharp as the sharpest corner, fit to carve or chisel (stone or jade). Now it is hot as a scorching fire, and anon it is cold as ice. It is so swift that while one is bending down and lifting up his head, it shall twice

¹ A quotation, but without any indication that it is so, from the *Táo Teh King*, ch. 13.

² Probably an imaginary personage.

have put forth a soothing hand beyond the four seas. Resting, it is still as a deep abyss; moving, it is like one of the bodies in the sky; in its resolute haughtiness, it refuses to be bound;—such is the mind of man ¹ !'

Anciently, Hwang-Tî was the first to meddle with and disturb the mind of man with his benevolence and righteousness ². After him, Yáo and Shun wore their thighs bare and the hair off the calves of their legs, in their labours to nourish the bodies of the people. They toiled painfully with all the powers in their five viscera at the practice of their benevolence and righteousness; they tasked their blood and breath to make out a code of laws;—and after all they were unsuccessful. On this Yáo sent away Hwan Táu to *Khung* hill, and (the Chiefs of) the Three Miáo to San-wei, and banished the Minister of Works to the Dark Capital; so unequal had they been to cope with the world ³. Then we are carried on to the kings of the Three (dynasties), when the world was in a state of great distraction. Of the lowest type of character there were *Kieh* and *Kih*; of a higher type there were *3ǎng* (Shǎn) and *Shih* (*3hiú*). At the same time there arose the classes of

¹ I must suppose that the words of Láo-3ze stop here, and that what follows is from *Kwang-3ze* himself, down to the end of the paragraph. We cannot have Láo-3ze referring to men later than himself, and quoting from his own Book.

² Hitherto Yáo and Shun have appeared as the first disturbers of the rule of the Táo by their benevolence and righteousness. Here that innovation is carried further back to Hwang-Tî.

³ See these parties, and the way they were dealt with, in the *Shû* King, Part II, Book I, 3. The punishment of them is there ascribed to Shun; but Yáo was still alive, and Shun was acting as his viceroy.

the Literati and the Mohists. Hereupon, complacency in, and hatred of, one another produced mutual suspicions; the stupid and the wise imposed on one another; the good and the bad condemned one another; the boastful and the sincere interchanged their recriminations;—and the world fell into decay. Views as to what was greatly virtuous did not agree, and the nature with its endowments became as if shrivelled by fire or carried away by a flood. All were eager for knowledge, and the people were exhausted with their searchings (after what was good). On this the axe and the saw were brought into play; guilt was determined as by the plumb-line and death inflicted; the hammer and gouge did their work. The world fell into great disorder, and presented the appearance of a jagged mountain ridge. The crime to which all was due was the meddling with and disturbing men's minds. The effect was that men of ability and worth lay concealed at the foot of the crags of mount Thâi, and princes of ten thousand chariots were anxious and terrified in their ancestral temples. In the present age those who have been put to death in various ways lie thick as if pillowed on each other; those who are wearing the cangue press on each other (on the roads); those who are suffering the bastinado can see each other (all over the land). And now the Literati and the Mohists begin to stand, on tiptoe and with bare arms, among the fettered and manacled crowd! Ah! extreme is their shamelessness, and their failure to see the disgrace! Strange that we should be slow to recognise their sageness and wisdom in the bars of the cangue, and their benevolence and righteousness in the rivets of the fetters and handcuffs! How do we know that

3ǎng and Shih are not the whizzing arrows of *Kieh* and *Kih*¹? Therefore it is said, 'Abolish sageness and cast away knowledge, and the world will be brought to a state of great order².'

4. Hwang-Tî had been on the throne for nineteen years³, and his ordinances were in operation all through the kingdom, when he heard that Kwang *Khǎng-ze*⁴ was living on the summit of *Khung-thung*⁵, and went to see him. 'I have heard,' he said, 'that you, Sir, are well acquainted with the perfect *Táo*. I venture to ask you what is the essential thing in it. I wish to take the subtlest influences of heaven and earth, and assist with them the (growth of the) five cereals for the (better) nourishment of the people. I also wish to direct the (operation of the) Yin and Yang, so as to secure the comfort of all living beings. How shall I proceed to accomplish those objects?' Kwang *Khǎng-ze* replied, 'What you wish to ask about is the original substance of all things⁶; what you

¹ Compare this picture of the times after Yáo and Shun with that given by Mencius in III, ii, ch. 9 et al. But the conclusions arrived at as to the causes and cure of their evils by him and our author are very different.

² A quotation, with the regular formula, from the *Táo Teh King*, ch. 19, with some variation of the text.

³ ? in B. C. 2678.

⁴ Another imaginary personage; apparently, a personification of the *Táo*. Some say he was *Láo-ze*,—in one of his early states of existence; others that he was 'a True Man,' the teacher of Hwang-Tî. See Ko Hung's 'Immortals,' I, i.

⁵ Equally imaginary is the mountain *Khung-thung*. Some critics find a place for it in the province of Ho-nan; the majority say it is the highest point in the constellation of the Great Bear.

⁶ The original ether, undivided, out of which all things were formed.

wish to have the direction of is that substance as it was shattered and divided¹. According to your government of the world, the vapours of the clouds, before they were collected, would descend in rain; the herbs and trees would shed their leaves before they became yellow; and the light of the sun and moon would hasten to extinction. Your mind is that of a flatterer with his plausible words;—it is not fit that I should tell you the perfect Tâo.’

Hwang-Tî withdrew, gave up (his government of) the kingdom, built himself a solitary apartment, spread in it a mat of the white mào grass, dwelt in it unoccupied for three months, and then went again to seek an interview with (the recluse). Kwang K’hăng-ze was then lying down with his head to the south. Hwang-Tî, with an air of deferential submission, went forward on his knees, twice bowed low with his face to the ground, and asked him, saying, ‘I have heard that you, Sir, are well acquainted with the perfect Tâo;—I venture to ask how I should rule my body, in order that it may continue for a long time.’ Kwang K’hăng-ze hastily rose, and said, ‘A good question! Come and I will tell you the perfect Tâo. Its essence is (surrounded with) the deepest obscurity; its highest reach is in darkness and silence. There is nothing to be seen; nothing to be heard. When it holds the spirit in its arms in stillness, then the bodily form of itself will become correct. You must be still; you must be pure; not subjecting your body to toil, not agitating your vital force;—then you may live for long. When

¹ The same ether, now in motion, now at rest, divided into the Yin and Yang.

your eyes see nothing, your ears hear nothing, and your mind knows nothing, your spirit will keep your body, and the body will live long. Watch over what is within you, shut up the avenues that connect you with what is external;—much knowledge is pernicious. I (will) proceed with you to the summit of the Grand Brilliance, where we come to the source of the bright and expanding (element); I will enter with you the gate of the Deepest Obscurity, where we come to the source of the dark and repressing (element). There heaven and earth have their controllers; there the Yin and Yang have their Repositories. Watch over and keep your body, and all things will of themselves give it vigour. I maintain the (original) unity (of these elements), and dwell in the harmony of them. In this way I have cultivated myself for one thousand and two hundred years, and my bodily form has undergone no decay¹.

Hwang-Tî twice bowed low with his head to the ground, and said, 'In Kwang *Khăng-ze* we have an example of what is called Heaven².' The other said, 'Come, and I will tell you:—(The perfect Tâo) is something inexhaustible, and yet men all think it has an end; it is something unfathomable, and yet men all think its extreme limit can be reached. He who attains to my Tâo, if he be in a high position, will be one of the August ones, and in a low position, will be a king. He who fails in attaining it, in his highest attainment will see the light, but will

¹ It seems very clear here that the earliest Tâoism taught that the cultivation of the Tâo tended to prolong and preserve the bodily life.

² A remarkable, but not a singular, instance of *Kwang-ze*'s application of the name 'Heaven.'

descend and be of the Earth. At present all things are produced from the Earth and return to the Earth. Therefore I will leave you, and enter the gate of the Unending, to enjoy myself in the fields of the Illimitable. I will blend my light with that of the sun and moon, and will endure while heaven and earth endure. If men agree with my views, I will be unconscious of it; if they keep far apart from them, I will be unconscious of it; they may all die, and I will abide alone¹!

5. Yün K'iang², rambling to the east, having been borne along on a gentle breeze³, suddenly encountered Hung Mung², who was rambling about, slapping his buttocks⁴ and hopping like a bird. Amazed at the sight, Yün K'iang stood reverentially, and said to the other, 'Venerable Sir, who are you? and why are you doing this?' Hung Mung went on slapping his buttocks and hopping like a bird, but replied, 'I am enjoying myself.' Yün K'iang said, 'I

¹ A very difficult sentence, in interpreting which there are great differences among the critics.

² I have preferred to retain Yün K'iang and Hung Mung as if they were the surnames and names of two personages here introduced. Mr. Balfour renders them by 'The Spirit of the Clouds,' and 'Mists of Chaos.' The Spirits of heaven or the sky have still their place in the Sacrificial Canon of China, as 'the Cloud-Master, the Rain-Master, the Baron of the Winds, and the Thunder Master.' Hung Mung, again, is a name for 'the Great Ether,' or, as Dr. Medhurst calls it, 'the Primitive Chaos.'

³ Literally, 'passing by a branch of Fû-yâo;' but we find fû-yâo in Book I, meaning 'a whirlwind.' The term 'branch' has made some critics explain it here as 'the name of a tree,' which is inadmissible. I have translated according to the view of Lû Shû-ñih.

⁴ Or 'stomach,'—according to another reading.

wish to ask you a question.' Hung Mung lifted up his head, looked at the stranger, and said, 'Pooh!' Yün K'iang, however, continued, 'The breath of heaven is out of harmony; the breath of earth is bound up; the six elemental influences¹ do not act in concord; the four seasons do not observe their proper times. Now I wish to blend together the essential qualities of those six influences in order to nourish all living things;—how shall I go about it?' Hung Mung slapped his buttocks, hopped about, and shook his head, saying, 'I do not know; I do not know!'

Yün K'iang could not pursue his question; but three years afterwards, when (again) rambling in the east, as he was passing by the wild of Sung, he happened to meet Hung Mung. Delighted with the rencontre, he hastened to him, and said, 'Have you forgotten me, O Heaven? Have you forgotten me, O Heaven²?' At the same time, he bowed twice with his head to the ground, wishing to receive his instructions. Hung Mung said, 'Wandering listlessly about, I know not what I seek; carried on by a wild impulse, I know not where I am going. I wander about in the strange manner (which you have seen), and see that nothing proceeds without method and order³;—what more should I know?' Yün K'iang replied, 'I also seem carried on by an aimless influence, and yet the people follow me wherever I go. I cannot help their doing so. But now as they thus

¹ Probably, the yin, the yang, wind, rain, darkness, and light;—see *Mayers*, p. 323.

² See *Introduction*, pp. 17, 18.

³ Compare in *Book XXIII*, par. 1.

imitate me, I wish to hear a word from you (in the case).' The other said, 'What disturbs the regular method of Heaven, comes into collision with the nature of things, prevents the accomplishment of the mysterious (operation of) Heaven, scatters the herds of animals, makes the birds all sing at night, is calamitous to vegetation, and disastrous to all insects;—all this is owing, I conceive, to the error of governing men.' 'What then,' said Yün Kiang, 'shall I do?' 'Ah,' said the other, 'you will only injure them! I will leave you in my dancing way, and return to my place.' Yün Kiang rejoined, 'It has been a difficult thing to get this meeting with you, O Heaven! I should like to hear from you a word (more).' Hung Mung said, 'Ah! your mind (needs to be) nourished. Do you only take the position of doing nothing, and things will of themselves become transformed. Neglect your body; cast out from you your power of hearing and sight; forget what you have in common with things; cultivate a grand similarity with the chaos of the plastic ether; unloose your mind; set your spirit free; be still as if you had no soul. Of all the multitude of things every one returns to its root. Every one returns to its root, and does not know (that it is doing so). They all are as in the state of chaos, and during all their existence they do not leave it¹. If

¹ They never show any will of their own.—On the names Yün Kiang and Hung Mung, Lû Shû-kih makes the following remarks:—'These were not men, and yet they are introduced here as questioning and answering each other; showing us that our author frames and employs his surnames and names to serve his own purpose. Those names and the speeches made by the parties are all from him. We must believe that he introduces Confucius, Yáo, and Shun just in the same way.'

they knew (that they were returning to their root), they would be (consciously) leaving it. They do not ask its name; they do not seek to spy out their nature; and thus it is that things come to life of themselves.'

Yün *K'iang* said, 'Heaven, you have conferred on me (the knowledge of) your operation, and revealed to me the mystery of it. All my life I had been seeking for it, and now I have obtained it.' He then bowed twice, with his head to the ground, arose, took his leave, and walked away.

6. The ordinary men of the world¹ all rejoice in men's agreeing with themselves, and dislike men's being different from themselves. This rejoicing and this dislike arise from their being bent on making themselves distinguished above all others. But have they who have this object at heart so risen out above all others? They depend on them to rest quietly (in the position which they desire), and their knowledge is not equal to the multitude of the arts of all those others²! When they wish again to administer a state for its ruler, they proceed to employ all the methods which the kings of the three dynasties considered profitable without seeing the evils of such a course. This is to make the state depend on the peradventure of their luck. But how seldom it is that that peradventure does not issue in the ruin of the state! Not once in ten thousand instances will such men preserve a state. Not once will they succeed, and in more than ten thousand cases will they

¹ Meaning eccentric thinkers not Táoists, like Hui-3ze, Kung-sun Lung, and others.

² The construing and connexion of this sentence are puzzling.

ruin it. Alas that the possessors of territory,—(the rulers of states),—should not know the danger (of employing such men)! Now the possessors of territory possess the greatest of (all) things. Possessing the greatest of all things,—(possessing, that is, men),—they should not try to deal with them as (simply) things. And it is he who is not a thing (himself) that is therefore able to deal with (all) things as they severally require. When (a ruler) clearly understands that he who should so deal with all things is not a thing himself, will he only rule the kingdom? He will go out and in throughout the universe (at his pleasure); he will roam over the nine regions¹, alone in going, alone in coming. Him we call the sole possessor (of this ability); and the sole possessor (of this ability) is what is called the noblest of all.

The teaching of (this) great man goes forth as the shadow from the substance, as the echo responds to the sound. When questioned, he responds, exhausting (from his own stores) all that is in the (enquirer's) mind, as if front to front with all under heaven. His resting-place gives forth no sound; his sphere of activity has no restriction of place. He conducts every one to his proper goal, proceeding to it and bringing him back to it as by his own movement. His movements have no trace; his going forth and his re-enterings have no deviation; his course is like that of the sun without beginning (or ending).

¹ 'The nine regions' generally means the nine provinces into which the Great Yü divided the kingdom. As our author is here describing the grand Tâoist ruler after his fashion in his relation to the universe, we must give the phrase a wider meaning; but I have not met with any attempt to define it.

If you would praise or discourse about his personality, he is united with the great community of existences. He belongs to that great community, and has no individual self. Having no individual self, how should he have anything that can be called his? If you look at those who have what they call their own, they are the superior men of former times; if you look at him who has nothing of the kind, he is the friend of heaven and earth.

7. Mean, and yet demanding to be allowed their free course;—such are Things. Low, and yet requiring to be relied on;—such are the People. Hidden (as to their issues), and yet requiring to be done;—such are Affairs. Coarse, and yet necessary to be set forth;—such are Laws. Remote, and yet necessary to have dwelling (in one's self);—such is Righteousness. Near, and yet necessary to be widely extended;—such is Benevolence. Restrictive, and yet necessary to be multiplied;—such are Ceremonies. Lodged in the centre, and yet requiring to be exalted;—such is Virtue. Always One, and yet requiring to be modified;—such is the Táo. Spirit-like, and yet requiring to be exercised;—such is Heaven¹.

Therefore the sages contemplated Heaven, but did not assist It. They tried to perfect their virtue, but did not allow it to embarrass them. They proceeded according to the Táo, but did not lay any plans. They associated benevolence (with all their doings), but did not rely on it. They pursued right-

¹ All these sentences are understood to show that even in the non-action of the Master of the Táo there are still things he must do.

eousness extensively, but did not try to accumulate it. They responded to ceremonies, but did not conceal (their opinion as to the troublesomeness of them). They engaged in affairs as they occurred, and did not decline them. They strove to render their laws uniform, but (feared that confusion) might arise from them. They relied upon the people, and did not set light by them. They depended on things as their instruments, and did not discard them¹.

They did not think things equal to what they employed them for, but yet they did not see that they could do without employing them. Those who do not understand Heaven are not pure in their virtue. Those who do not comprehend the Tâo have no course which they can pursue successfully. Alas for them who do not clearly understand the Tâo!

What is it that we call the Tâo²? There is the Tâo, or Way of Heaven; and there is the Tâo, or Way of Man. Doing nothing and yet attracting all honour is the Way of Heaven; Doing and being embarrassed thereby is the Way of Man. It is the Way of Heaven that plays the part of the Lord; it is the Way of Man that plays the part of the Servant. The Way of Heaven and the Way of Man are far apart. They should be clearly distinguished from each other.

¹ Antithetic to the previous sentences, and showing that what such a Master does does not interfere with his non-action.

² This question and what follows shows clearly enough that, even with *Kwang-ze*, the character Tâo (道) retained its proper meaning of the Way or Course.

BOOK XII.

PART II. SECTION V.

Thien Tî, or 'Heaven and Earth'¹.

1. Notwithstanding the greatness of heaven and earth, their transforming power proceeds from one lathe; notwithstanding the number of the myriad things, the government of them is one and the same; notwithstanding the multitude of mankind, the lord of them is their (one) ruler². The ruler's (course) should proceed from the qualities (of the Tâo) and be perfected by Heaven³, when it is so, it is called 'Mysterious and Sublime.' The ancients ruled the world by doing nothing;—simply by this attribute of Heaven⁴.

If we look at their words⁵ in the light of the Tâo, (we see that) the appellation for the ruler of the

¹ See pp. 143, 144.

² Implying that that ruler, 'the Son of Heaven,' is only one.

³ 'Heaven' is here defined as meaning 'Non-action, what is of itself (無爲自然);' the teh (德) is the virtue, or qualities of the Tâo;—see the first paragraph of the next Book.

⁴ This sentence gives the thesis, or subject-matter of the whole Book, which the author never loses sight of.

⁵ Perhaps we should translate here, 'They looked at their words,' referring to 'the ancient rulers.' So Gabelentz construes:—'Dem Tâo gemäss betrachteten sie die reden.' The meaning that I have given is substantially the same. The term 'words' occasions a difficulty. I understand it here, with most of the critics, as 稱名之言, 'the words of appellation.'

world¹ was correctly assigned; if we look in the same light at the distinctions which they instituted, (we see that) the separation of ruler and ministers was right; if we look at the abilities which they called forth in the same light, (we see that the duties of) all the offices were well performed; and if we look generally in the same way at all things, (we see that) their response (to this rule) was complete². Therefore that which pervades (the action of) Heaven and Earth is (this one) attribute; that which operates in all things is (this one) course; that by which their superiors govern the people is the business (of the various departments); and that by which aptitude is given to ability is skill. The skill was manifested in all the (departments of) business; those departments were all administered in righteousness; the righteousness was (the outflow of) the natural virtue; the virtue was manifested according to the Tâo; and the Tâo was according to (the pattern of) Heaven.

Hence it is said³, 'The ancients who had the nourishment of the world wished for nothing and the world had enough; they did nothing and all things were transformed; their stillness was abysmal, and the people were all composed.' The Record says⁴, 'When the one (Tâo) pervades it, all business

¹ Meaning, probably, his appellation as Thien 3ze, 'the Son of Heaven.'

² That is, 'they responded to the Tâo,' without any constraint but the example of their rulers.

³ Here there would seem to be a quotation which I have not been able to trace to its source.

⁴ This 'Record' is attributed to Lâo-ze; but we know nothing of it. In illustration of the sentiment in the sentence, the critics

is completed. When the mind gets to be free from all aim, even the Spirits submit.'

2. The Master said¹, 'It is the Tâo that over-spreads and sustains all things. How great It is in Its overflowing influence! The Superior man ought by all means to remove from his mind (all that is contrary to It). Acting without action is what is called Heaven(-like). Speech coming forth of itself is what is called (a mark of) the (true) Virtue. Loving men and benefiting things is what is called Benevolence. Seeing wherein things that are different yet agree is what is called being Great. Conduct free from the ambition of being distinguished above others is what is called being Generous. The possession in himself of a myriad points of difference is what is called being Rich. Therefore to hold fast the natural attributes is what is called the Guiding Line (of government)²; the perfecting of those attributes is what is called its Establishment; accordance with the Tâo is what is called being Complete; and not allowing anything external to affect the will is what is called being Perfect. When the Superior man understands these ten things, he keeps all matters as it were sheathed in himself, showing the greatness of his mind; and through the outflow of his doings, all things move (and come to him). Being such, he lets the gold lie hid in the hill, and the pearls in the deep; he considers not

refer to par. 34 in the fourth Appendix to the Yî King; but it is not to the point.

¹ Who is 'the Master' here? Confucius? or Lâo-ze? I think the latter, though sometimes even our author thus denominates Confucius;—see par. 9.

² ? the Tâo.

property or money to be any gain; he keeps aloof from riches and honours; he rejoices not in long life, and grieves not for early death; he does not account prosperity a glory, nor is ashamed of indigence; he would not grasp at the gain of the whole world to be held as his own private portion; he would not desire to rule over the whole world as his own private distinction. His distinction is in understanding that all things belong to the one treasury, and that death and life should be viewed in the same way¹.

3. The Master said, 'How still and deep is the place where the Tâo resides! How limpid is its purity! Metal and stone without It would give forth no sound. They have indeed the (power of) sound (in them), but if they be not struck, they do not emit it. Who can determine (the qualities that are in) all things?

'The man of kingly qualities holds on his way unoccupied, and is ashamed to busy himself with (the conduct of) affairs. He establishes himself in (what is) the root and source (of his capacity), and his wisdom grows to be spirit-like. In this way his attributes become more and more great, and when his mind goes forth, whatever things come in his way, it lays hold of them (and deals with them). Thus, if there were not the Tâo, the bodily form would not have life, and its life, without the attributes (of the Tâo), would not be manifested. Is not he who preserves the body and gives the fullest development to the life, who establishes the attri-

¹ Balfour :—'The difference between life and death exists no more;' Gabelentz :—'Sterben und Leben haben gleiche Erscheinung.'

butes of the Tâo and clearly displays It, possessed of kingly qualities? How majestic is he in his sudden issuings forth, and in his unexpected movements, when all things follow him!—This we call the man whose qualities fit him to rule.

‘He sees where there is the deepest obscurity; he hears where there is no sound. In the midst of the deepest obscurity, he alone sees and can distinguish (various objects); in the midst of a soundless (abyss), he alone can hear a harmony (of notes). Therefore where one deep is succeeded by a greater, he can people all with things; where one mysterious range is followed by another that is more so, he can lay hold of the subtlest character of each. In this way in his intercourse with all things, while he is farthest from having anything, he can yet give to them what they seek; while he is always hurrying forth, he yet returns to his resting-place; now large, now small; now long, now short; now distant, now near¹.’

4. Hwang-Ti, enjoying himself on the north of the Red-water, ascended to the height of the Khwăn-lun (mountain), and having looked towards the south, was returning home, when he lost his dark-coloured pearl². He employed Wisdom to search for it, but he could not find it. He employed (the clear-sighted) Li Kû to search for it, but he

¹ I can hardly follow the reasoning of Kwang-3ze here. The whole of the paragraph is obscure. I have translated the two concluding characters 修遠, as if they were 遠近, after the example of Lin Hsî-yî, whose edition of Kwang-3ze was first published in 1261.

² Meaning the Tâo. This is not to be got or learned by wisdom, or perspicacity, or man's reasoning. It is instinctive to man, as the Heavenly gift or Truth (天真).

could not find it. He employed (the vehement debater) *K'ieh K'âu*¹ to search for it, but he could not find it. He then employed Purposeless¹, who found it; on which Hwang-Ti said, 'How strange that it was Purposeless who was able to find it!'

5. The teacher of Yáo was Hsü Yü²; of Hsü Yü, Nieh K'üeh²; of Nieh K'üeh, Wang Í²; of Wang Í, Phei-í². Yáo asked Hsü Yü, saying, 'Is Nieh K'üeh fit to be the correlate of Heaven³? (If you think he is), I will avail myself of the services of Wang Í to constrain him (to take my place).' Hsü Yü replied, 'Such a measure would be hazardous, and full of peril to the kingdom! The character of Nieh K'üeh is this;—he is acute, perspicacious, shrewd and knowing, ready in reply, sharp in retort, and hasty; his natural (endowments) surpass those of other men, but by his human qualities he seeks to obtain the Heavenly gift; he exercises his discrimination in suppressing his errors, but he does not know what is the source from which his errors arise. Make him the correlate of Heaven! He would employ the human qualities, so that no regard would be paid to the Heavenly gift. Moreover, he would assign different functions to the different parts of the one person⁴.

¹ The meaning of the characters shows what is the idea emblemated by this name; and so with Hsiang Wang,—'a Semblance,' and 'Nonentity'; = 'Mindless,' 'Purposeless.'

² All these names have occurred, excepting that of Phei-í, who heads Hwang-fü Mí's list of eminent Taoists. We shall meet with him again. He is to be distinguished from Phü-í.

³ 'Match Heaven;' that is, be sovereign below, as Heaven above ruled all.

⁴ We are referred for the meaning of this characteristic to 肝膽楚越, in Bk. V, par. 1.

Moreover, honour would be given to knowledge, and he would have his plans take effect with the speed of fire. Moreover, he would be the slave of everything he initiated. Moreover, he would be embarrassed by things. Moreover, he would be looking all round for the response of things (to his measures). Moreover, he would be responding to the opinion of the multitude as to what was right. Moreover, he would be changing as things changed, and would not begin to have any principle of constancy. How can such a man be fit to be the correlate of Heaven? Nevertheless, as there are the smaller branches of a family and the common ancestor of all its branches, he might be the father of a branch, but not the father of the fathers of all the branches¹. Such government (as he would conduct) would lead to disorder. It would be calamity in one in the position of a minister, and ruin if he were in the position of the sovereign.'

6. Yáo was looking about him at Hwâ², the border-warden of which said, 'Ha! the sage! Let me ask blessings on the sage! May he live long!'

¹ That is, Nieh might be a minister, but could not be the sovereign. The phraseology is based on the rules for the rise of sub-surnames in the same clan, and the consequent division of clans under different ancestors;—see the *Lí K'í*, Bk. XIII, i, 10-14, and XIV, 8.

² 'Hwâ' is evidently intended for the name of a place, but where it was can hardly be determined. The genuineness of the whole paragraph is called in question; and I pass it by, merely calling attention to what the border-warden is made to say about the close of the life of the sage (Táoist), who after living a thousand years, ascends among the Immortals (僊 = 仙), and arrives at the place of God, and is free from the three evils of disease, old age, and death; or as some say, after the Buddhists, water, fire, and wind!

Yâo said, 'Hush!' but the other went on, 'May the sage become rich!' Yâo (again) said, 'Hush!' but (the warden) continued, 'May the sage have many sons!' When Yâo repeated his 'Hush,' the warden said, 'Long life, riches, and many sons are what men wish for;—how is it that you alone do not wish for them?' Yâo replied, 'Many sons bring many fears; riches bring many troubles; and long life gives rise to many obloquies. These three things do not help to nourish virtue; and therefore I wish to decline them.' The warden rejoined, 'At first I considered you to be a sage; now I see in you only a Superior man. Heaven, in producing the myriads of the people, is sure to have appointed for them their several offices. If you had many sons, and gave them (all their) offices, what would you have to fear? If you had riches, and made other men share them with you, what trouble would you have? The sage finds his dwelling like the quail (without any choice of its own), and is fed like the fledgling; he is like the bird which passes on (through the air), and leaves no trace (of its flight). When good order prevails in the world, he shares in the general prosperity. When there is no such order, he cultivates his virtue, and seeks to be unoccupied. After a thousand years, tired of the world, he leaves it, and ascends among the immortals. He mounts on the white clouds, and arrives at the place of God. The three forms of evil do not reach him, his person is always free from misfortune;—what obloquy has he to incur?'

With this the border-warden left him. Yâo followed him, saying, 'I beg to ask—;' but the other said, 'Begone!'

7. When Yáo was ruling the world, Po-*khǎng* 3ze-káo¹ was appointed by him prince of one of the states. From Yáo (afterwards) the throne passed to Shun, and from Shun (again) to Yü; and (then) Po-*khǎng* 3ze-káo resigned his principality and began to cultivate the ground. Yü went to see him, and found him ploughing in the open country. Hurrying to him, and bowing low in acknowledgment of his superiority, Yü then stood up, and asked him, saying, 'Formerly, when Yáo was ruling the world, you, Sir, were appointed prince of a state. He gave his sovereignty to Shun, and Shun gave his to me, when you, Sir, resigned your dignity, and are (now) ploughing (here);—I venture to ask the reason of your conduct.' 3ze-káo said, 'When Yáo ruled the world, the people stimulated one another (to what was right) without his offering them rewards, and stood in awe (of doing wrong) without his threatening them with punishments. Now you employ both rewards and punishments, and the people notwithstanding are not good. Their virtue will from this time decay; punishments will from this time prevail; the disorder of future ages will from this time begin. Why do you, my master, not go away, and not interrupt my work?' With this he resumed his ploughing with his head bent down, and did not (again) look round.

8. In the Grand Beginning (of all things) there was nothing in all the vacancy of space; there was nothing that could be named². It was in this state

¹ Some legends say that this Po-*khǎng* 3ze-káo was a pre-incarnation of Láo-3ze; but this paragraph is like the last, and cannot be received as genuine.

² This sentence is differently understood, according as it is

that there arose the first existence¹;—the first existence, but still without bodily shape. From this things could then be produced, (receiving) what we call their proper character². That which had no bodily shape was divided³; and then without intermission there was what we call the process of conferring⁴. (The two processes) continuing in operation, things were produced. As things were completed, there were produced the distinguishing lines of each, which we call the bodily shape. That shape was the body preserving in it the spirit⁵, and each had its peculiar manifestation, which we call its Nature. When the Nature has been cultivated, it returns to its proper character; and when that has been fully reached, there is the same condition as at the Beginning. That sameness is pure vacancy, and the vacancy is great. It is like the closing of the beak and silencing the singing (of a bird). That closing and silencing is like the union of heaven and earth (at the beginning)⁶. The union, effected, as it

punctuated;—有無無, 有無名, or 有無, 無有無名. Each punctuation has its advocates. For myself, I can only adopt the former; the other is contrary to my idea of Chinese composition. If the author had wished to be understood so, he would have written differently, as, for instance, 無未有名.

¹ Probably, the primary ether, what is called the *Thâi K'ih*.

² This sentence is anticipatory.

³ Into what we call the yin and the yang;—the same ether, now at rest, now in motion.

⁴ The conferring of something more than what was material. By whom or what? By Heaven; the Tâoist understanding by that term the Tâo.

⁵ So then, man consists of the material body and the immaterial spirit.

⁶ The potential heaven and earth, not yet fashioned from the primal ether.

is, might seem to indicate stupidity or darkness, but it is what we call the 'mysterious quality' (existing at the beginning); it is the same as the Grand Submission (to the Natural Course).

9. The Master¹ asked Láo Tan, saying, 'Some men regulate the Táo (as by a law), which they have only to follow;—(a thing, they say,) is admissible or it is inadmissible; it is so, or it is not so. (They are like) the sophists who say that they can distinguish what is hard and what is white as clearly as if the objects were houses suspended in the sky. Can such men be said to be sages²? ' The reply was, 'They are like the busy underlings of a court, who toil their bodies and distress their minds with their various artifices;—dogs, (employed) to their sorrow to catch the yak, or monkeys³ that are brought from their forests (for their tricksiness). *K'hiù*, I tell you this;—it is what you cannot hear, and what you cannot speak of:—Of those who have their heads and feet, and yet have neither minds nor ears, there are multitudes; while of those who have their bodies, and at the same time preserve that which has no bodily form or shape, there are really none. It is not in their movements or stoppages, their dying or living, their falling and rising again, that this is to be found. The regulation of the course lies in (their dealing with) the human element in them. When they have forgotten external things,

¹ This 'Master' is without doubt Confucius.

² The meaning and point of Confucius's question are not clear. Did he mean to object to Láo-tze that all his disquisitions about the Táo as the one thing to be studied and followed were unnecessary?

³ Compare in Bk. VII, par. 4.

and have also forgotten the heavenly element in them, they may be named men who have forgotten themselves. The man who has forgotten himself is he of whom it is said that he has become identified with Heaven¹.

10. At an interview with *K'î K'hêh*², *Kiang-lü Mien*² said to him, 'Our ruler of Lû asked to receive my instructions. I declined, on the ground that I had not received any message³ for him. Afterwards, however, I told him (my thoughts). I do not know whether (what I said) was right or not, and I beg to repeat it to you. I said to him, "You must strive to be courteous and to exercise self-restraint; you must distinguish the public-spirited and loyal, and repress the cringing and selfish;—who among the people will in that case dare not to be in harmony with you?"' *K'î K'hêh* laughed quietly and said, 'Your words, my master, as a description of the right course for a Tî or King, were like the threatening movement of its arms by a mantis which would thereby stop the advance of a carriage;—inadequate to accomplish your object. And moreover, if he guided himself by your directions, it would be as if he were to increase the dangerous height of his towers

¹ Their action is like that of Heaven, silent but most effective, without motive from within or without, simply from the impulse of the Táo.

² These two men are only known by the mention of them here. They must have been officers of Lû, *K'î K'hêh* a member of the great *K'î* or *K'î-sun* family of that state. He would appear also to have been the teacher of the other; if, indeed, they were real personages, and not merely the production of *K'wang-ze's* imagination.

³ That is any lessons or instructions from you, my master, which I should communicate to him.

and add to the number of his valuables collected in them;—the multitudes (of the people) would leave their (old) ways, and bend their steps in the same direction.'

K'iang-lü Mien was awe-struck, and said in his fright, 'I am startled by your words, Master, nevertheless, I should like to hear you describe the influence (which a ruler should exert).' The other said, 'If a great sage ruled the kingdom, he would stimulate the minds of the people, and cause them to carry out his instructions fully, and change their manners; he would take their minds which had become evil and violent and extinguish them, carrying them all forward to act in accordance with the (good) will belonging to them as individuals, as if they did it of themselves from their nature, while they knew not what it was that made them do so. Would such an one be willing to look up to Yáo and Shun in their instruction of the people as his elder brothers? He would treat them as his juniors, belonging himself to the period of the original plastic ether¹. His wish would be that all should agree with the virtue (of that early period), and quietly rest in it.'

11. 3ze-kung had been rambling in the south in *K'ü*, and was returning to 3in. As he passed (a place) on the north of the Han, he saw an old man who was going to work on his vegetable garden. He had dug his channels, gone to the well, and was bringing from it in his arms a jar of water to pour into them. Toiling away, he expended a great deal

¹ The Chinese phrase here is explained by Dr. Williams :—
'A vivifying influence, a vapour or aura producing things.'

of strength, but the result which he accomplished was very small. 3ze-kung said to him, 'There is a contrivance here, by means of which a hundred plots of ground may be irrigated in one day. With the expenditure of a very little strength, the result accomplished is great. Would you, Master, not like (to try it)?' The gardener looked up at him, and said, 'How does it work?' 3ze-kung said, 'It is a lever made of wood, heavy behind, and light in front. It raises the water as quickly as you could do with your hand, or as it bubbles over from a boiler. Its name is a shadoof.' The gardener put on an angry look, laughed, and said, 'I have heard from my teacher that, where there are ingenious contrivances, there are sure to be subtle doings; and that, where there are subtle doings, there is sure to be a scheming mind. But, when there is a scheming mind in the breast, its pure simplicity is impaired. When this pure simplicity is impaired, the spirit becomes unsettled, and the unsettled spirit is not the proper residence of the Táo. It is not that I do not know (the contrivance which you mention), but I should be ashamed to use it.'

(At these words) 3ze-kung looked blank and ashamed; he hung down his head, and made no reply. After an interval, the gardener said to him, 'Who are you, Sir?' 'A disciple of Khung K'hiú,' was the reply. The other continued, 'Are you not the scholar whose great learning makes you comparable to a sage, who make it your boast that you surpass all others, who sing melancholy ditties all by yourself, thus purchasing a famous reputation throughout the kingdom? If you would (only) forget the energy of your spirit, and neglect the care of

your body, you might approximate (to the Tâo). But while you cannot regulate yourself, what leisure have you to be regulating the world? Go on your way, Sir, and do not interrupt my work.'

3ze-kung shrunk back abashed, and turned pale. He was perturbed, and lost his self-possession, nor did he recover it, till he had walked a distance of thirty li. His disciples then said, 'Who was that man? Why, Master, when you saw him, did you change your bearing, and become pale, so that you have been all day without returning to yourself?' He replied to them, 'Formerly I thought that there was but one man¹ in the world, and did not know that there was this man. I have heard the Master say that to seek for the means of conducting his undertakings so that his success in carrying them out may be complete, and how by the employment of a little strength great results may be obtained, is the way of the sage. Now (I perceive that) it is not so at all. They who hold fast and cleave to the Tâo are complete in the qualities belonging to it. Complete in those qualities, they are complete in their bodies. Complete in their bodies, they are complete in their spirits. To be complete in spirit is the way of the sage. (Such men) live in the world in closest union with the people, going along with them, but they do not know where they are going. Vast and complete is their simplicity! Success, gain, and ingenious contrivances, and artful cleverness, indicate (in their opinion) a forgetfulness of the (proper) mind of man. These men will not go where their mind does not carry them, and will do

¹ Confucius.

nothing of which their mind does not approve. Though all the world should praise them, they would (only) get what they think should be loftily disregarded; and though all the world should blame them, they would but lose (what they think) fortuitous and not to be received;—the world's blame and praise can do them neither benefit nor injury. Such men may be described as possessing all the attributes (of the Tâo), while I can only be called one of those who are like the waves carried about by the wind.' When he returned to Lû, (3ze-kung) reported the interview and conversation to Confucius, who said, 'The man makes a pretence of cultivating the arts of the Embryonic Age¹. He knows the first thing, but not the sequel to it. He regulates what is internal in himself, but not what is external to himself. If he had intelligence enough to be entirely unsophisticated, and by doing nothing to seek to return to the normal simplicity, embodying (the instincts of) his nature, and keeping his spirit (as it were) in his arms, so enjoying himself in the common ways, you might then indeed be afraid of him! But what should you and I find in the arts of the embryonic time, worth our knowing?'

12. *Kun Mâng*², on his way to the ocean, met with *Yüan Fung*² on the shore of the eastern sea, and

¹ The 'arts of the Embryonic Age' suggests the idea of the earliest men in their struggles for support; not the Tâo of Heaven in its formation of the universe. But the whole of the paragraph, not in itself uninteresting, is believed to be a spurious introduction, and not the production of *Kwang-3ze*.

² These are not names of men, but like *Yün Kiang* and *Hung Mung* in the fifth paragraph of the last Book. By *Kun Mâng*, it is said, we are to understand 'the great primal ether,' and by *Yüan*

was asked by him where he was going. 'I am going,' he replied, 'to the ocean;' and the other again asked, 'What for?' *Kun Mâng* said, 'Such is the nature of the ocean that the waters which flow into it can never fill it, nor those which flow from it exhaust it. I will enjoy myself, rambling by it.' *Yüan Fung* replied, 'Have you no thoughts about mankind¹? I should like to hear from you about sagely government.' *Kun Mâng* said, 'Under the government of sages, all offices are distributed according to the fitness of their nature; all appointments are made according to the ability of the men; whatever is done is after a complete survey of all circumstances; actions and words proceed from the inner impulse, and the whole world is transformed. Wherever their hands are pointed and their looks directed, from all quarters the people are all sure to come (to do what they desire):—this is what is called government by sages.'

'I should like to hear about (the government of) the kindly, virtuous men²,' (continued *Yüan Fung*). The reply was, 'Under the government of the virtuous, when quietly occupying (their place), they have no thought, and, when they act, they have no anxiety; they do not keep stored (in their minds) what is right and what is wrong, what is good and

Fung, 'the east wind.' Why these should discourse together as they are here made to do, only *Kwang-3ze* himself could tell.

¹ Literally, 'men with their cross eyes;' an appellation for mankind, men having their eyes set across their face more on the same plane than other animals;—an extraordinary application of the characters,' says *Lin Hsî-kung*.

² The text is simply 'virtuous men;' but the reply justifies us in giving the meaning as 'kindly' as well. 德 has often this signification.

what is bad. They share their benefits among all within the four seas, and this produces what is called (the state of) satisfaction; they dispense their gifts to all, and this produces what is called (the state of) rest. (The people) grieve (on their death) like babies who have lost their mothers, and are perplexed like travellers who have lost their way. They have a superabundance of wealth and all necessities, and they know not whence it comes; they have a sufficiency of food and drink, and they know not from whom they get it:—such are the appearances (under the government) of the kindly and virtuous.'

'I should like to hear about (the government of) the spirit-like men,' (continued Yüan Fung once more).

The reply was, 'Men of the highest spirit-like qualities mount up on the light, and (the limitations of) the body vanish. This we call being bright and ethereal. They carry out to the utmost the powers with which they are endowed, and have not a single attribute unexhausted. Their joy is that of heaven and earth, and all embarrassments of affairs melt away and disappear; all things return to their proper nature:—and this is what is called (the state of) chaotic obscurity¹.'

13. Măn Wû-kwei² and *K'ih-kang* Man-k'hi² had been looking at the army of king Wû, when the latter said, 'It is because he was not born in the time of the Lord of Yü³, that therefore he is in-

¹ When no human element had come in to mar the development of the Táo.

² If these be the names of real personages, they must have been of the time of king Wû, about B. C. 1122.

³ Generally understood to mean 'He is not equal to the Lord of

volved in this trouble (of war).' Mǎn Wû-kwei replied, 'Was it when the kingdom was in good order, that the Lord of Yü governed it? or was it after it had become disordered that he governed it?' The other said, 'That the kingdom be in a condition of good order, is what (all) desire, and (in that case) what necessity would there be to say anything about the Lord of Yü? He had medicine for sores; false hair for the bald; and healing for those who were ill:—he was like the filial son carrying in the medicine to cure his kind father, with every sign of distress in his countenance. A sage would be ashamed (of such a thing)¹.

'In the age of perfect virtue they attached no value to wisdom, nor employed men of ability. Superiors were (but) as the higher branches of a tree; and the people were like the deer of the wild. They were upright and correct, without knowing that to be so was Righteousness; they loved one another, without knowing that to do so was Benevolence; they were honest and leal-hearted, without knowing that it was Loyalty; they fulfilled their engagements, without knowing that to do so was Good Faith; in their simple movements they employed the services of one another, without thinking that they were conferring or receiving any gift. Therefore their actions left no trace, and there was no record of their affairs.'

14. The filial son who does not flatter his father,

Yü,' or Shun. The meaning which I have given is that propounded by Hû Wan-ying, and seems to agree better with the general purport of the paragraph.

¹ Ashamed that he had not been able to keep his father from getting sick, and requiring to be thus attended to.

and the loyal minister who does not fawn on his ruler, are the highest examples of a minister and a son. When a son assents to all that his father says, and approves of all that his father does, common opinion pronounces him an unworthy son; when a minister assents to all that his ruler says, and approves of all that his ruler does, common opinion pronounces him an unworthy minister. Nor does any one reflect that this view is necessarily correct¹. But when common opinion (itself) affirms anything and men therefore assent to it, or counts anything good and men also approve of it, then it is not said that they are mere consenters and flatterers;—is common opinion then more authoritative than a father, or more to be honoured than a ruler? Tell a man that he is merely following (the opinions) of another, or that he is a flatterer of others, and at once he flushes with anger. And yet all his life he is merely following others, and flattering them. His illustrations are made to agree with theirs; his phrases are glossed:—to win the approbation of the multitudes. From first to last, from beginning to end, he finds no fault with their views. He will let his robes hang down², display the colours on them, and arrange his movements and bearing, so as to win the favour of his age, and yet not call himself a flatterer. He is but a follower of those others, approving and dis-

¹ We can hardly tell whether this paragraph should be understood as a continuation of *K'ih-tang's* remarks, or as from *Kwang-ze* himself. The meaning here is that every one feels that this opinion is right, without pausing to reason about it.

² See the *Yi King*, Appendix III, ii, 15, where this letting his robes hang down is attributed to Shun. Ought we to infer from this that in this paragraph we have *K'ih-tang* still speaking about and against the common opinion of Shun's superiority to king Wü?

approving as they do, and yet he will not say that he is one of them. This is the height of stupidity.

He who knows his stupidity is not very stupid; he who knows that he is under a delusion is not greatly deluded. He who is greatly deluded will never shake the delusion off; he who is very stupid will all his life not become intelligent. If three men be walking together, and (only) one of them be under a delusion (as to their way), they may yet reach their goal, the deluded being the fewer; but if two of them be under the delusion, they will not do so, the deluded being the majority. At the present time, when the whole world is under a delusion, though I pray men to go in the right direction, I cannot make them do so;—is it not a sad case?

Grand music does not penetrate the ears of villagers; but if they hear 'The Breaking of the Willow,' or 'The Bright Flowers¹,' they will roar with laughter. So it is that lofty words do not remain in the minds of the multitude, and that perfect words are not heard, because the vulgar words predominate. By two earthenware instruments the (music of) a bell will be confused, and the pleasure that it would afford cannot be obtained. At the present time the whole world is under a delusion, and though I wish to go in a certain direction, how can I succeed in doing so? Knowing that I cannot do so, if I were to try to force my way, that would be another delusion. Therefore my best course is to let my purpose go, and no more pursue it. If I do not pursue it, whom shall I have to share in my sorrow²?

¹ The names of two songs, favourites with the common people.

² I shall only feel the more that I am alone without any to sympathise with me, and be the more sad.

If an ugly man¹ have a son born to him at midnight, he hastens with a light to look at it. Very eagerly he does so, only afraid that it may be like himself.

15². From a tree a hundred years old a portion shall be cut and fashioned into a sacrificial vase, with the bull figured on it, which is ornamented further with green and yellow, while the rest (of that portion) is cut away and thrown into a ditch. If now we compare the sacrificial vase with what was thrown into the ditch, there will be a difference between them as respects their beauty and ugliness; but they both agree in having lost the (proper) nature of the wood. So in respect of their practice of righteousness there is a difference between (the robber) *Kih* on the one hand, and *ǰǎng* (*Shǎn*) or *Shih* (*ǰhiú*) on the other; but they all agree in having lost (the proper qualities of) their nature.

Now there are five things which produce (in men) the loss of their (proper) nature. The first is (their fondness for) the five colours which disorder the eye, and take from it its (proper) clearness of vision; the second is (their fondness for) the five notes (of music), which disorder the ear and take from it its

¹ 厲人 should perhaps be translated 'a leper.' The illustration is edited by *Kiáo Hung* and others as a paragraph by itself. They cannot tell whether it be intended to end the paragraph that precedes or to introduce the one that follows.

² This paragraph must be our author's own. *Kih-kang*, of the time of king *Wú*, could not be criticising the schemes of life propounded by *Mo* and *Yang*, whose views were so much later in time. It breathes the animosity of *Láo* and *Kwang* against all schemes of learning and culture, as contrary to the simplicity of life according to the *Táo*.

(proper) power of hearing; the third is (their fondness for) the five odours which penetrate the nostrils, and produce a feeling of distress all over the forehead; the fourth is (their fondness for) the five flavours, which deaden the mouth, and pervert its sense of taste; the fifth is their preferences and dislikes, which unsettle the mind, and cause the nature to go flying about. These five things are all injurious to the life; and now Yang and Mo begin to stretch forward from their different standpoints, each thinking that he has hit on (the proper course for men).

But the courses they have hit on are not what I call the proper course. What they have hit on (only) leads to distress;—can they have hit on what is the right thing? If they have, we may say that the dove in a cage has found the right thing for it. Moreover, those preferences and dislikes, that (fondness for) music and colours, serve but to pile up fuel (in their breasts); while their caps of leather, the bonnet with kingfishers' plumes, the memorandum tablets which they carry, and their long girdles, serve but as restraints on their persons. Thus inwardly stuffed full as a hole for fuel, and outwardly fast bound with cords, when they look quietly round from out of their bondage, and think they have got all they could desire, they are no better than criminals whose arms are tied together, and their fingers subjected to the screw, or than tigers and leopards in sacks or cages, and yet thinking that they have got (all they could wish).

BOOK XIII.

PART II. SECTION VI.

Thien Táo, or 'The Way of Heaven'.¹

1. The Way of Heaven operates (unceasingly), and leaves no accumulation² (of its influence) in any particular place, so that all things are brought to perfection by it; so does the Way of the Tís operate, and all under the sky turn to them (as their directors); so also does the Way of the Sages operate, and all within the seas submit to them. Those who clearly understand (the Way of) Heaven, who are in sympathy with (that of) the sages, and familiar through the universe and in the four quarters (of the earth) with the work of the Tís and the kings, yet act spontaneously from themselves:—with the appearance of being ignorant they are yet entirely still.

The stillness of the sages does not belong to them as a consequence of their skilful ability³; all things are not able to disturb their minds;—it is on this account that they are still. When water is still, its clearness shows the beard and eyebrows (of him

¹ See pp. 144, 145.

² That is, its operation is universal. The Chinese critics generally explain 'accumulation' here by 'rest,' which is not quite the idea.

³ Such is the meaning here of the 善, as in the Táo Teh King, chaps. 2, 8, and often.

who looks into it). It is a perfect Level¹, and the greatest artificer takes his rule from it. Such is the clearness of still water, and how much greater is that of the human Spirit! The still mind of the sage is the mirror of heaven and earth, the glass of all things.

Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and non-action ;—this is the Level of heaven and earth, and the perfection of the Tão and its characteristics². Therefore the Tis, Kings, and Sages found in this their resting-place³. Resting here, they were vacant ; from their vacancy came fullness ; from their fullness came the nice distinctions (of things). From their vacancy came stillness ; that stillness was followed by movement ; their movements were successful. From their stillness came their non-action. Doing-nothing, they devolved the cares of office on their employés. Doing-nothing was accompanied by the feeling of satisfaction. Where there is that feeling of satisfaction, anxieties and troubles find no place ; and the years of life are many.

Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and doing-nothing are the root of all things. When this is understood, we find such a ruler on the throne as Yáo, and such a minister as Shun. When with this a high position is occupied, we find the attributes of the Tis and kings,—the sons of Heaven ; with this in a low position, we find the mysterious

¹ 準 here, is contracted in many editions into 准, which some have mistaken for 淮.

² Such are the natural characteristics of the Tãoistic mind.

³ Implying cessation from all thought and purpose.

sages, the uncrowned kings, with their ways. With this retiring (from public life), and enjoying themselves at leisure, we find the scholars who dwell by the rivers and seas, among the hills and forests, all submissive to it; with this coming forward to active life and comforting their age, their merit is great, and their fame is distinguished;—and all the world becomes united in one.

2. (Such men) by their stillness become sages; and by their movement, kings. Doing-nothing, they are honoured; in their plain simplicity, no one in the world can strive with them (for the palm of) excellence. The clear understanding of the virtue of Heaven and Earth is what is called 'The Great Root,' and 'The Great Origin; '—they who have it are in harmony with Heaven, and so they produce all equable arrangements in the world;—they are those who are in harmony with men. Being in harmony with men is called the Joy of men; being in harmony with Heaven is called the Joy of Heaven. *Kwang-ze* said, 'My Master! my Master! He shall hash and blend all things in mass without being cruel; he shall dispense his favours to all ages without being benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity, and yet is not old. He overspreads the heavens and sustains the earth; from him is the carving of all forms without any artful skill¹! This is what is called the Joy of Heaven. Hence it is said, "Those who know the Joy of Heaven during their life, act like Heaven, and at death undergo transformation like (other) things²; in their stillness

¹ Compare in Bk. VI, pars. 13 and 7.

² They do not cease to be, but only become transformed or changed.

they possess the quality of the Yin, and in their movement they flow abroad as the Yang. Therefore he who knows the Joy of Heaven has no murmuring against Heaven, nor any fault-finding with men; and suffers no embarrassment from things, nor any reproof from ghosts. Hence it is said, 'His movements are those of Heaven; his stillness is that of Earth; his whole mind is fixed, and he rules over the world. The spirits of his dead do not come to scare him; he is not worn out by their souls. His words proceeding from his vacancy and stillness, yet reach to heaven and earth, and show a communication with all things:—this is what is called the Joy of Heaven. This Joy of Heaven forms the mind of the sage whereby he nurtures all under the sky¹.'''

3. It was the Way² of the Tis and Kings to regard Heaven and Earth as their Author, the Tão and its characteristics as their Lord, and Doing-nothing as their constant rule. Doing-nothing, they could use the whole world in their service and might have done more; acting, they were not sufficient for the service required of them by the world. Hence the men of old held non-inaction in honour. When superiors do nothing and their inferiors also do nothing, inferiors and superiors possess the same virtue; and when inferiors and superiors possess the same virtue, there are none to act as ministers. When inferiors act, and their superiors also act, then superiors and inferiors possess the same Tão; and when superiors and inferiors possess the same

¹ I suppose that from 'It is said' to this is all quotation, but from what book we do not know.

² 'The virtue,' or attribute; = the way.

Tão, there is none to preside as Lord. But that the superiors do nothing and yet thereby use the world in their service, and that the inferiors, while acting, be employed in the service of the world, is an unchangeable principle. Therefore the ancient kings who presided over the world, though their knowledge embraced (all the operations of) Heaven and Earth, took no thought of their own about them; though their nice discrimination appreciated the fine fashioning of all things, they said not a word about it; though their power comprehended all within the seas, they did nothing themselves. Heaven produces nothing, yet all things experience their transformations; Earth effects no growth, yet all things receive their nurture; the Tis and Kings did nothing, yet all the world testified their effective services. Hence it is said, 'There is nothing more spirit-like than Heaven; there is nothing richer than Earth; there are none greater than the Tis and Kings.' Hence it is said (further), 'The attributes of the Tis and kings corresponded to those of Heaven and Earth.' It was thus that they availed themselves of (the operations of) Heaven and Earth, carried all things on unceasingly (in their courses), and employed the various classes of men in their service.

4. Originating belongs to those in the higher position; details (of work) to those who are in the lower. The compendious decision belongs to the lord; the minutiae of execution, to his ministers. The direction of the three hosts¹ and their men with the five weapons² is but a trifling quality; rewards

¹ 'Three hosts' constituted the military force of one of the largest states.

² The bow, the club, the spear, the lance, the javelin. Other

and penalties with their advantages and sufferings, and the inflictions of the five punishments¹ are but trivial elements of instruction; ceremonies, laws, measures, and numbers, with all the minutiae of jurisprudence², are small matters in government; the notes of bells and drums, and the display of plumes and flags are the slightest things in music, and the various grades of the mourning garments are the most unimportant manifestations of grief. These five unimportant adjuncts required the operation of the excited spirit and the employment of the arts of the mind, to bring them into use. The men of old had them indeed, but they did not give them the first place.

The ruler precedes, and the minister follows; the father precedes, and the son follows; the elder brother precedes, and the younger follows; the senior precedes, and the junior follows; the male precedes, and the female follows; the husband precedes, and the wife follows.

This precedence of the more honourable and sequence of the meaner is seen in the (relative) action of heaven and earth, and hence the sages took them as their pattern. The more honourable position of heaven and the lower one of earth are equivalent to a designation of their spirit-like and intelligent qualities. The precedence of spring and summer and the sequence of autumn and winter mark the

enumerations of them are given. See the 'Officers of *Kâu*,' Bk. XXXII.

¹ Branding, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, death.

² I read here 刑 (not 形) 名.

order of the four seasons. In the transformations and growth of all things, every bud and feature has its proper form ; and in this we have their gradual maturing and decay, the constant flow of transformation and change. Thus since Heaven and Earth, which are most spirit-like, are distinguished as more honourable and less, and by precedence and sequence, how much more must we look for this in the ways of men ! In the ancestral temple it is to kinship that honour is given ; in court, to rank ; in the neighbourhoods and districts, to age ; in the conduct of affairs, to wisdom ; such is the order in those great ways. If we speak of the course (to be pursued in them), and do not observe their order, we violate their course. If we speak of the course, and do not observe it, why do we apply that name to it ?

5. Therefore the ancients who clearly understood the great Tâo first sought to apprehend what was meant by Heaven¹, and the Tâo and its characteristics came next. When this was apprehended, then came Benevolence and Righteousness. When these were apprehended, then came the Distinction of duties and the observance of them. This accomplished, there came objects and their names. After objects and their names, came the employment of men according to their qualities: on this there followed the examination of the men and of their work. This led to the approval or disapproval of them, which again was succeeded by the apportioning of rewards and penalties. After this the stupid and the intelligent understood what was required of them, and the honourable and the mean occupied their several posi-

¹ The meaning, probably, is 'spontaneity.'

tions. The good and the able, and those inferior to them, sincerely did their best. Their ability was distributed; the duties implied in their official names were fulfilled. In this way did they serve their superiors, nourish their inferiors, regulate things, and cultivate their persons. They did not call their knowledge and schemes into requisition; they were required to fall back upon (the method of) Heaven:—this was what is called the Perfection of the Rule of Great Peace. Hence it is said in the Book ¹, ‘There are objects and there are their names.’ Objects and their names the ancients had; but they did not put them in the foremost place.

When the ancients spoke of the Great Tâo, it was only after four other steps that they gave a place to ‘Objects and their Names,’ and after eight steps that they gave a place to ‘Rewards and Penalties.’ If they had all at once spoken of ‘Objects and their Names,’ they would have shown an ignorance of what is the Root (of government); if they had all at once spoken of ‘Rewards and Penalties,’ they would have shown an ignorance of the first steps of it. Those whose words are thus an inversion of the (proper) course, or in opposition to it, are (only fit to be) ruled by others;—how can they rule others? To speak all at once of ‘Objects and their Names,’ and of ‘Rewards and Penalties,’ only shows that the speaker knows the instruments of government, but does not know the method of it, is fit to be used as an instrument in the world, but not fit to use others as his instruments:—he is what we call a mere sophist, a man of one small idea.

¹ We cannot tell what book or books.

Ceremonies, laws, numbers, measures, with all the minutiae of jurisprudence, the ancients had ; but it is by these that inferiors serve their superiors ; it is not by them that those superiors nourish the world.

6. Anciently, Shun asked Yâo, saying, 'In what way does your Majesty by the Grace of Heaven¹ exercise your mind?' The reply was, 'I simply show no arrogance towards the helpless ; I do not neglect the poor people ; I grieve for those who die ; I love their infant children ; and I compassionate their widows.' Shun rejoined, 'Admirable, as far as it goes ; but it is not what is Great.' 'How then,' asked Yâo, 'do you think I should do?' Shun replied, 'When (a sovereign) possesses the virtue of Heaven, then when he shows himself in action, it is in stillness. The sun and moon (simply) shine, and the four seasons pursue their courses. So it is with the regular phenomena of day and night, and with the movement of the clouds by which the rain is distributed.' Yâo said, 'Then I have only been persistently troubling myself ! What you wish is to be in harmony with Heaven, while I wish to be in harmony with men.' Now (the Way of) Heaven and Earth was much thought of of old, and Hwang-Ti, Yâo, and Shun united in admiring it. Hence the kings of the world of old did nothing, but tried to imitate that Way.

7. Confucius went to the west to deposit (some) writings in the library of K'âu², when 3ze-lû coun-

¹ So, in the 'Spring and Autumn' Chronicle, the rightful reigning sovereign is ordinarily designated, 'Heaven's King.' It is not a Tâoistic mode of speaking of him.

² It is supposed that Confucius, disappointed by his want of

sold him, saying, 'I have heard that the officer in charge of this *K'ang*¹ Repository of *K'au* was one *L'ao Tan*, who has given up his office, and is living in his own house. As you, Master, wish to deposit these writings here, why not go to him, and obtain his help (to accomplish your object)².' Confucius said, 'Good;' and he went and saw *L'ao Tan*, who refused his assistance. On this he proceeded to give an abstract of the Twelve Classics³ to bring the other over to his views⁴. *L'ao Tan*, however, interrupted him while he was speaking, and said, 'This is too vague; let me hear the substance of them in brief.' Confucius said, 'The substance of them is occupied with Benevolence and Righteousness.' The other said, 'Let me ask whether you consider Benevolence and Righteousness to constitute the nature of man?' 'I do,' was the answer. 'If the superior man be not benevolent, he will not fulfil his character; if he be not righteous, he might as well not have been born. Benevolence and Righteousness are truly the nature of man.' *L'ao Tan* continued, 'Let me ask you what you mean by Benevolence and Righteousness.' Confucius said, 'To be in one's inmost heart in kindly sympathy

success, wished to deposit the writings or books which he prized so much in the Royal Library, that they might not be lost, and be available for some future teacher, more fortunate than himself.

¹ The name of the Royal Library (徵); meaning, perhaps, 'Approved.'

² That is, help him to get his books deposited in the Library.

³ Meaning, perhaps, the 'Spring and Autumn,' containing a chronicle of twelve marquises of *L'û*. We know of no collection in the time of Confucius which could be styled the 'Twelve Classics.'

⁴ 說 is to be read shui.

with all things; to love all men; and to allow no selfish thoughts;—this is the nature of Benevolence and Righteousness.’ Lâu Tan exclaimed, ‘Ah! you almost show your inferiority by such words! “To love all men!” is not that vague and extravagant? “To be seeking to allow no selfish thoughts!”—that is selfishness¹! If you, Master, wish men not to be without their (proper) shepherding, think of Heaven and Earth, which certainly pursue their invariable course; think of the sun and moon, which surely maintain their brightness; think of the stars in the zodiac, which preserve their order and courses; think of birds and beasts, which do not fail to collect together in their flocks and herds; and think of the trees, which do not fail to stand up (in their places). Do you, Master, imitate this way and carry it into practice; hurry on, following this course, and you will reach your end. Why must you further be vehement in putting forward your Benevolence and Righteousness, as if you were beating a drum, and seeking a fugitive son, (only making him run away the more)? Ah! Master, you are introducing disorder into the nature of man!’

8. Shih-khăng K’hi², having an interview with Lâu-tze, asked him, saying, ‘I heard, Master, that you were a sage, and I came here, wishing to see you, without grudging the length of the journey. During the stages of the hundred days, the soles of my feet became quite callous, but I did not dare to stop and rest. Now I perceive that you are not

¹ The unselfishness was not spontaneous.

² We know nothing of this personage, but what is related here; nor does the whole paragraph serve to advance the argument of the Book.

a sage. Because there was some rice left about the holes of the rats, you sent away your younger sister, which was unkind; when your food, whether raw or cooked, remains before you not all consumed, you keep on hoarding it up to any extent¹. Lâu-ze looked indifferent, and gave him no answer.

Next day *Khi* again saw Lâu-ze, and said, 'Yesterday I taunted you; but to-day I have gone back to a better mood of mind. What is the cause (of the change)²?' Lâu-ze replied, 'I consider that I have freed myself from the trammels of claiming to be artfully knowing, spirit-like, and sage. Yesterday if you had called me an ox, you might have done so; or if you had called me a horse, you might have done so³. If there be a reality (corresponding to men's ideas), and men give it a name, which another will not receive, he will in the sequel suffer the more. My manner was what I constantly observe;—I did not put it on for the occasion.'

Shih-khăng *Khi* sidled away out of Lâu's shadow; then he retraced his steps, advanced forward, and asked how he should cultivate himself. The reply was, 'Your demeanour is repelling; you stare with your eyes; your forehead is broad and yet tapering; you bark and growl with your mouth; your appearance is severe and pretentious; you are like a horse held by its tether, you would move, but are restrained, and (if let go) would start off like an

¹ These seem strange charges to bring against Lâu-ze, and no light is thrown on them from other sources.

² The change had been produced by the demeanour of Lâu-ze; the other could not tell how. Other explanations of the question are given by some of the critics.

³ Compare in the first paragraph of Book VII.

arrow from a bow; you examine all the minutiae of a thing; your wisdom is artful, and yet you try to look at ease. All these are to be considered proofs of your want of sincerity. If on the borders one were to be found with them, he would be named a Thief.'

9. The Master¹ said, 'The Táo does not exhaust itself in what is greatest, nor is it ever absent from what is least; and therefore it is to be found complete and diffused in all things. How wide is its universal comprehension! How deep is its unfathomableness! The embodiment of its attributes in benevolence and righteousness is but a small result of its spirit-like (working); but it is only the perfect man who can determine this. The perfect man has (the charge of) the world;—is not the charge great? and yet it is not sufficient to embarrass him. He wields the handle of power over the whole world, and yet it is nothing to him. His discrimination detects everything false, and no consideration of gain moves him. He penetrates to the truth of things, and can guard that which is fundamental. So it is that heaven and earth are external to him, and he views all things with indifference, and his spirit is never straitened by them. He has comprehended the Táo, and is in harmony with its characteristics; he pushes back benevolence and righteousness (into their proper place), and deals with ceremonies and music as (simply) guests:—yes, the mind of the perfect man determines all things aright.'

¹ No doubt, Láo-ze. In the 'Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers,' the text is 老子 and not 夫子.

10. What the world thinks the most valuable exhibition of the Tâo is to be found in books. But books are only a collection of words. Words have what is valuable in them;—what is valuable in words is the ideas they convey. But those ideas are a sequence of something else;—and what that something else is cannot be conveyed by words. When the world, because of the value which it attaches to words, commits them to books, that for which it so values them may not deserve to be valued;—because that which it values is not what is really valuable.

Thus it is that what we look at and can see is (only) the outward form and colour, and what we listen to and can hear is (only) names and sounds. Alas! that men of the world should think that form and colour, name and sound, should be sufficient to give them the real nature of the Tâo. The form and colour, the name and sound, are certainly not sufficient to convey its real nature; and so it is that 'the wise do not speak and those who do speak are not wise.' How should the world know that real nature?

Duke Hwan¹, seated above in his hall, was (once) reading a book, and the wheelwright Phien was making a wheel below it². Laying aside his hammer and chisel, Phien went up the steps, and said, 'I venture to ask your Grace what words you are reading?' The duke said, 'The words of the sages.' 'Are those sages alive?' Phien con-

¹ No doubt, duke Hwan of K'hi, the first of the five presiding chiefs of the K'au dynasty.

² See in Mencius I, i, vii, 4 a similar reference to the hall and the courtyard below it.

tinued. 'They are dead,' was the reply. 'Then,' said the other, 'what you, my Ruler, are reading are only the dregs and sediments of those old men.' The duke said, 'How should you, a wheelwright, have anything to say about the book which I am reading? If you can explain yourself, very well; if you cannot, you shall die!' The wheelwright said, 'Your servant will look at the thing from the point of view of his own art. In making a wheel, if I proceed gently, that is pleasant enough, but the workmanship is not strong; if I proceed violently, that is toilsome and the joinings do not fit. If the movements of my hand are neither (too) gentle nor (too) violent, the idea in my mind is realised. But I cannot tell (how to do this) by word of mouth;—there is a knack in it. I cannot teach the knack to my son, nor can my son learn it from me. Thus it is that I am in my seventieth year, and am (still) making wheels in my old age¹. But these ancients, and what it was not possible for them to convey, are dead and gone :—so then what you, my Ruler, are reading is but their dregs and sediments!'

¹ Compare the story in Book III about the ruler Wăn-hui and his butcher; and other passages.

BOOK XIV.

PART II. SECTION VII.

Thien Yün, or 'The Revolution of Heaven'.¹

1. How (ceaselessly) heaven revolves! How (constantly) earth abides at rest! And do the sun and moon contend about their (respective) places? Who presides over and directs these (things)? Who binds and connects them together? Who is it that, without trouble or exertion on his part, causes and maintains them? Is it, perhaps, that there is some secret spring, in consequence of which they cannot be but as they are? Or is it, perhaps, that they move and turn as they do, and cannot stop of themselves?

(Then) how the clouds become rain! And how the rain again forms the clouds! Who diffuses them so abundantly? Who is it that, without trouble or exertion on his part, produces this elemental enjoyment, and seems to stimulate it?

The winds rise in the north; one blows to the west, and another to the east; while some rise upwards, uncertain in their direction. By whose breathing are they produced? Who is it that, without any trouble and exertion of his own, effects all their undulations? I venture to ask their cause².

¹ See pp. 145, 146.

² Down to this we have a description of the phenomena of heaven and earth and of nature generally as proceeding regularly

Wû-hsien Thiáo¹ said, 'Come, and I will tell you. To heaven there belong the six Extreme Points, and the five Elements². When the Tîs and Kings acted in accordance with them, there was good government; when they acted contrary to them, there was evil. Observing the things (described) in the nine divisions (of the writing) of Lo³, their government was perfected and their virtue was complete. They inspected and enlightened the kingdom beneath them, and all under the sky acknowledged and sustained them. Such was the condition under the august (sovereigns⁴) and those before them.'

2. Tang⁵, the chief administrator of Shang⁵, asked Kwang-ze about Benevolence⁶, and the answer was, 'Wolves and tigers are benevolent.' 'What do you mean?' said Tang. Kwang-ze replied, 'Father and son (among them) are affectionate to one another. Why should they be considered as not bene-

and noiselessly, without any apparent cause; which is the chief subject of the Book. As the description is not assigned to any one, we must suppose it to be from Kwang-ze himself; and that it is he who asks the question in the last three characters.

¹ This is said by the critics to have been a minister of the Shang dynasty, under Thái-mâu in the seventeenth century B.C.; but even Kwang-ze would hardly so violate the unity of time.

² Generally means 'the Five Regular Virtues;' supposed to mean here 'the Five Elements.'

³ Probably the 'Nine Divisions of the Great Plan,' in the Shû King, V, iv, fancied to be derived from the writing, which a tortoise from the Lo river exhibited to the great Yü.

⁴ Possibly Fû-hsî, Shăn Năng, and Hwang-Tî.

⁵ 'Shang' must be taken as the duchy of Sung, assigned by king Wû to the representative of the kings of the dynasty of Shang. 'Tang' would be a principal minister of it in the time of Kwang-ze.

⁶ The chief of all the virtues according to Confucianism.

volent?' 'Allow me to ask about perfect benevolence,' pursued the other. *Kwáng-3ze* said, 'Perfect benevolence¹ does not admit (the feeling) of affection.' The minister said, 'I have heard that, without (the feeling of) affection there is no love, and without love there is not filial duty;—is it permissible to say that the perfectly benevolent are not filial?' *Kwáng-3ze* rejoined, 'That is not the way to put the case. Perfect Benevolence is the very highest thing;—filial duty is by no means sufficient to describe it. The saying which you quote is not to the effect that (such benevolence) transcends filial duty;—it does not refer to such duty at all. One, travelling to the south, comes (at last) to Ying², and there, standing with his face to the north, he does not see mount Ming³. Why does he not see it? Because he is so far from it. Hence it is said, "Filial duty as a part of reverence is easy, but filial duty as a part of love is difficult. If it be easy as a part of love, yet it is difficult to forget⁴ one's parents. It may be easy for me to forget my parents, but it is difficult to make my parents forget me. If it were easy to make my parents forget me, it is difficult for me to forget all men in the world. If it were easy to forget all men in the world, it is difficult to make them all forget me."

'This virtue might make one think light of Yáo and Shun, and not wish to be they⁵. The profit

¹ A denomination here for the Táo, employed by *Kwáng-3ze* for the purpose of his argument.

² The capital of the state of *K'áu* in the south.

³ Name of a hill in the extreme north.

⁴ The Táo requires such forgetfulness on the part of both giver and receiver; it is a part of its 'doing-nothing.'

⁵ I think this is the meaning.

and beneficial influences of it extend to a myriad ages, and no one in the world knows whence they come. How can you simply heave a great sigh, and speak (as you do) of benevolence and filial duty? Filial duty, fraternal respect, benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, sincerity, firmness, and purity;—all these may be pressed into the service of this virtue, but they are far from sufficient to come up to it. Therefore it is said, “To him who has what is most noble¹, all the dignities of a state are as nothing²; to him who has what is the greatest riches, all the wealth of a state is as nothing; to him who has all that he could wish, fame and praise are as nothing.” It is thus that the Tâo admits of no substitute.’

3. Pei-măn *Khăng*³ asked Hwang-Ti, saying, ‘You were celebrating, O Ti, a performance of the music of the Hsien-*khih*⁴, in the open country near the Thung-thing lake. When I heard the first part of it, I was afraid; the next made me weary; and the last perplexed me. I became agitated and unable to speak, and lost my self-possession.’ The Ti said, ‘It was likely that it should so affect you! It was performed with (the instruments of) men, and all attuned according to (the influences of) Heaven. It

¹ The Tâo.

² This free version takes 并 as = 屏. So the Khang-hsi dictionary explains it.

³ Only heard of, so far as I know, in this passage.

⁴ The name of Hwang-Ti’s music; I do not venture to translate it. In his elaborate description of it, our author intended to give an idea of the Tâo, and the effect which the study of it was calculated to produce on the mind; as appears from the concluding sentence of the paragraph.

proceeded according to (the principles of) propriety and righteousness, and was pervaded by (the idea of) the Grand Purity.

‘The Perfect Music first had its response in the affairs of men, and was conformed to the principles of Heaven; it indicated the action of the five virtues, and corresponded to the spontaneity (apparent in nature). After this it showed the blended distinctions of the four seasons, and the grand harmony of all things;—the succession of those seasons one after another, and the production of things in their proper order. Now it swelled, and now it died away, its peaceful and military strains clearly distinguished and given forth. Now it was clear, and now rough, as if the contracting and expanding of the elemental processes blended harmoniously (in its notes). Those notes then flowed away in waves of light, till, as when the hibernating insects first begin to move, I commanded the terrifying crash of thunder. Its end was marked by no formal conclusion, and it began again without any prelude. It seemed to die away, and then it burst into life; it came to a close, and then it rose again. So it went on regularly and inexhaustibly, and without the intervention of any pause:—it was this which made you afraid.

‘In the second part (of the performance), I made it describe the harmony of the Yin and Yang, and threw round it the brilliance of the sun and moon. Its notes were now short and now long, now soft and now hard. Their changes, however, were marked by an unbroken unity, though not dominated by a fixed regularity. They filled every valley and ravine; you might shut up every crevice, and guard your spirit (against their entrance), yet

there was nothing but gave admission to them. Yea, those notes resounded slowly, and might have been pronounced high and clear. Hence the shades of the dead kept in their obscurity; the sun and moon, and all the stars of the zodiac, pursued their several courses. I made (my instruments) leave off, when (the performance) came to an end, and their (echoes) flowed on without stopping. You thought anxiously about it, and were not able to understand it; you looked for it, and were not able to see it; you pursued it, and were not able to reach it. All-amazed, you stood in the way all open around you, and then you leant against an old rotten dryandra-tree and hummed. The power of your eyes was exhausted by what you wished to see; your strength failed in your desire to pursue it, while I myself could not reach it. Your body was but so much empty vacancy while you endeavoured to retain your self-possession¹:—it was that endeavour which made you weary.

‘In the last part (of the performance), I employed notes which did not have that wearying effect. I blended them together as at the command of spontaneity. Hence they came as if following one another in confusion, like a clump of plants springing from one root, or like the music of a forest produced by no visible form. They spread themselves all around without leaving a trace (of their cause); and seemed to issue from deep obscurity where there was no sound. Their movements came from nowhere; their home was in the deep darkness;—

¹ See the usage of the two characters 委蛇 in the Shih King, I, ii, Ode 3.

conditions which some would call death, and some life ; some, the fruit, and some, (merely) the flower. Those notes, moving and flowing on, separating and shifting, and not following any regular sounds, the world might well have doubts about them, and refer them to the judgment of a sage, for the sages understand the nature of this music, and judge in accordance with the prescribed (spontaneity). While the spring of that spontaneity has not been touched, and yet the regulators of the five notes are all prepared ;—this is what is called the music of Heaven, delighting the mind without the use of words. Hence it is said in the eulogy of the Lord of Pião¹, “You listen for it, and do not hear its sound ; you look for it, and do not perceive its form ; it fills heaven and earth ; it envelopes all within the universe.” You wished to hear it, but could not take it in ; and therefore you were perplexed.

‘I performed first the music calculated to awe ; and you were frightened as if by a ghostly visitation. I followed it with that calculated to weary ; and in your weariness you would have withdrawn. I concluded with that calculated to perplex ; and in your perplexity you felt your stupidity. But that stupidity is akin to the Tão ; you may with it convey the Tão in your person, and have it (ever) with you.’

4. When Confucius was travelling in the west in Wei, Yen Yüan asked the music-master *Kin*², say-

¹ Some sovereign of antiquity, of whom it is difficult to find any other mention but this. Even in the *Lû Shih* I have not discovered him. The name is said to be pronounced Pião ; in which case it should consist of three 犬, and not of three 火.

² Only heard of here.

ing, 'How is it, do you think, with the course of the Master?' The music-master replied, 'Alas! it is all over with your Master!' 'How so?' asked Yen Yüan; and the other said, 'Before the grass-dogs¹ are set forth (at the sacrifice), they are deposited in a box or basket, and wrapt up with elegantly embroidered cloths, while the representative of the dead and the officer of prayer prepare themselves by fasting to present them. After they have been set forth, however, passers-by trample on their heads and backs, and the grass-cutters take and burn them in cooking. That is all they are good for. If one should again take them, replace them in the box or basket, wrap them up with embroidered cloths, and then in rambling, or abiding at the spot, should go to sleep under them, if he do not get (evil) dreams, he is sure to be often troubled with the nightmare. Now here is your Master in the same way taking the grass-dogs, presented by the ancient kings, and leading his disciples to wander or abide and sleep under them. Owing to this, the tree (beneath which they were practising ceremonies) in Sung was cut down²; he was obliged to leave Wei³; he was reduced to extremities in Shang³ and Kâu⁴:—were not those experiences like having (evil) dreams? He was kept in a state of siege between K'ăn and 3hâi⁵, so that for seven days he had no cooked food to eat, and was in a situation between life and death:—were not those experiences like the nightmare?

¹ See the Táo Teh K'ing, ch. 5.

² Analects III, xxii.

³ In consequence of the dissoluteness of the court; Analects VI, xxvi; IX, 17.

⁴ Meaning Sung and Wei.

⁵ Analects XI, ii, 1.

‘If you are travelling by water, your best plan is to use a boat; if by land, a carriage. Take a boat, which will go (easily) along on the water, and try to push it along on the land, and all your lifetime it will not go so much as a fathom or two:—are not ancient time and the present time like the water and the dry land? and are not *Kâu* and *Lû* like the boat and the carriage? To seek now to practise (the old ways of) *Kâu* in *Lû* is like pushing along a boat on the dry land. It is only a toilsome labour, and has no success; he who does so is sure to meet with calamity. He has not learned that in handing down the arts (of one time) he is sure to be reduced to extremity in endeavouring to adapt them to the conditions (of another).

‘And have you not seen the working of a shadoof? When (the rope of) it is pulled, it bends down; and when it is let go, it rises up. It is pulled by a man, and does not pull the man; and so, whether it bends down or rises up, it commits no offence against the man. In the same way the rules of propriety, righteousness, laws, and measures of the three Hwangs¹ and five Tis¹ derived their excellence, not from their being the same as those of the present day, but from their (aptitude for) government. We may compare them to haws², pears, oranges,

¹ It is impossible to speak definitely of who these three Hwangs (Augustuses) and five Tis were, or whom the speaker intended by them. The former would seem to lead us to the purely fabulous ages, when twelve (or thirteen) Heavenly Hwangs, eleven Earthly, and nine Human ruled over the young world, for a period of 576,000 years. There is a general agreement of opinion that the five Tis ended with Yâo and Shun.

² See Williams's Dictionary, sub voc. He says it is the Cra-

and pummeloos, which are different in flavour, but all suitable to be eaten. Just so it is that the rules of propriety, righteousness, laws, and measures, change according to the time.

‘If now you take a monkey, and dress it in the robes of the duke of *Kâu*, it will bite and tear them, and will not be satisfied till it has got rid of them altogether. And if you look at the difference between antiquity and the present time it is as great as that between the monkey and the duke of *Kâu*. In the same way, when Hsi Shih¹ was troubled in mind, she would knit her brows and frown on all in her neighbourhood. An ugly woman of the neighbourhood, seeing and admiring her beauty, went home, and also laying her hands on her heart proceeded to stare and frown on all around her. When the rich people of the village saw her, they shut fast their doors and would not go out; when the poor people saw her, they took their wives and children and ran away from her. The woman knew how to admire the frowning beauty, but she did not know how it was that she, though frowning, was beautiful. Alas! it is indeed all over with your Master²!’

5. When Confucius was in his fifty-first year³, he had not heard of the *Táo*, and went south to *Phei*⁴

taegus cuneata and *pinnatifida*, common in China, and much esteemed for its acidity.

¹ A famous beauty,—the concubine of king *Fû-khâi* of *Wû*.

² The comparisons in this paragraph are not complimentary to Confucius. Of course the conversation never took place, and must have been made up to ridicule the views of the sage.

³ This would be in B.C. 503 or 502, and *Lão-ze* would be more than a hundred years old.

⁴ Probably in what is now the district of *Phei*, department of *Hsü-kâu*, *Kiang-sû*.

to see Lâu Tan, who said to him, 'You have come, Sir; have you? I have heard that you are the wisest man of the North; have you also got the Táo?' 'Not yet,' was the reply; and the other went on, 'How have you sought it?' Confucius said, 'I sought it in measures and numbers, and after five years I had not got it.' 'And how then did you seek it?' 'I sought it in the Yin and Yang, and after twelve years I have not found it.' Lâu-ze said, 'Just so! If the Táo could be presented (to another), men would all present it to their rulers; if it could be served up (to others), men would all serve it up to their parents; if it could be told (to others), men would all tell it to their brothers; if it could be given to others, men would all give it to their sons and grandsons. The reason why it cannot be transmitted is no other but this,—that if, within, there be not the presiding principle, it will not remain there, and if, outwardly, there be not the correct obedience, it will not be carried out. When that which is given out from the mind (in possession of it) is not received by the mind without, the sage will not give it out; and when, entering in from without, there is no power in the receiving mind to entertain it, the sage will not permit it to lie hid there¹. Fame is a possession common to all; we should not seek to have much of it. Benevolence and righteousness were as the lodging-houses of the former kings; we should only rest in them for a night, and not occupy them for

¹ That is, the sage will not deposit it, where it will lie hidden;—compare *Analects* XVI, vi.

long. If men see us doing so, they will have much to say against us.

‘The perfect men of old trod the path of benevolence as a path which they borrowed for the occasion, and dwelt in Righteousness as in a lodging which they used for a night. Thus they rambled in the vacancy of Untroubled Ease, found their food in the fields of Indifference, and stood in the gardens which they had not borrowed. Untroubled Ease requires the doing of nothing; Indifference is easily supplied with nourishment; not borrowing needs no outlay. The ancients called this the Enjoyment that Collects the True.

‘Those who think that wealth is the proper thing for them cannot give up their revenues; those who seek distinction cannot give up the thought of fame; those who cleave to power cannot give the handle of it to others. While they hold their grasp of those things, they are afraid (of losing them). When they let them go, they are grieved; and they will not look at a single example, from which they might perceive the (folly) of their restless pursuits:—such men are under the doom of Heaven¹.

‘Hatred and kindness; taking and giving; reproof and instruction; death and life:—these eight things are instruments of rectification, but only those are able to use them who do not obstinately refuse to comply with their great changes. Hence it is said, “Correction is Rectification.” When the minds of

¹ See the same expression used in Book VI, par. 11, used by Confucius of himself. Comparing the two passages together, I must doubt the correctness of my note there (2, p. 252), that ‘Heaven’ is used in the Confucian sense of Tî, or God. The men here pursued and toiled after the pleasures of the world, rather than the quiet satisfactions of the Tâo.

some do not acknowledge this, it is because the gate of Heaven¹ (in them) has not been opened.'

6. At an interview with Lâu Tan, Confucius spoke to him of benevolence and righteousness. Lâu Tan said, 'If you winnow chaff, and the dust gets into your eyes, then the places of heaven and earth and of the four cardinal points are all changed to you. If mosquitoes or gadflies puncture your skin, it will keep you all the night² from sleeping. But this painful iteration of benevolence and righteousness excites my mind and produces in it the greatest confusion. If you, Sir, would cause men not to lose their natural simplicity, and if you would also imitate the wind in its (unconstrained) movements, and stand forth in all the natural attributes belonging to you!—why must you use so much energy, and carry a great drum to seek for the son whom you have lost³? The snow-goose does not bathe every day to make itself white, nor the crow blacken itself every day to make itself black. The natural simplicity of their black and white does not afford any ground for controversy; and the fame and praise which men like to contemplate do not make them greater than they naturally are. When the springs (supplying the pools) are dried up, the fishes huddle together on the dry land. Than that they should moisten one another there by their gasping, and keep one another wet by their milt, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes⁴.'

¹ See Book XXIII, par. 9. The phrase = 靈府.

² The common reading 昔 is a mistake for 夕.

³ Compare the same illustration in the preceding Book, par. 7.

⁴ This illustration is from Book VI, par. 5.

From this interview with Láo Tan, Confucius returned home, and for three days did not speak. His disciples (then) asked him, saying, 'Master, you have seen Láo Tan; in what way might you admonish and correct him?' Confucius said, 'In him (I may say) that I have now seen the dragon. The dragon coils itself up, and there is its body; it unfolds itself and becomes the dragon complete. It rides on the cloudy air, and is nourished by the Yin and Yang. I kept my mouth open, and was unable to shut it;—how could I admonish and correct Láo Tan?'

7. 3ze-kung¹ said, 'So then, can (this) man indeed sit still as a representative of the dead, and then appear as the dragon? Can his voice resound as thunder, when he is profoundly still? Can he exhibit himself in his movements like heaven and earth? May I, 3hze, also get to see him?' Accordingly with a message from Confucius he went to see Láo Tan.

Láo Tan was then about to answer (his salutation) haughtily in the hall, but he said in a low voice, 'My years have rolled on and are passing away, what do you, Sir, wish to admonish me about?' 3ze-kung replied, 'The Three Kings and Five Tîs² ruled

¹ 3ze-kung would seem to have undertaken this expedition to maintain the reputation of the Master and his school;—only to be defeated by Láo-ze more signally than Confucius had been.

² These are different probably, though the text is not quite certain, from the three Hwangs and five Tîs of par. 3. The Hwangs (or August Sovereigns) preceded the Tîs; the Kings (Wangs) came after them. The Three Kings are the three lines of kings commencing with the dynasty of Hsiâ, and following Shun. From the names mentioned by 3ze-kung, we ought certainly so to understand the designation here.

the world not in the same way, but the fame that has accrued to them is the same. How is it that you alone consider that they were not sages?' 'Come forward a little, my son. Why do you say that (their government) was not the same?' 'Yáo,' was the reply, 'gave the kingdom to Shun, and Shun gave it to Yü. Yü had recourse to his strength, and Thang to the force of arms. King Wăn was obedient to Kâu (-hsin), and did not dare to rebel; king Wû rebelled against Kâu, and would not submit to him. And I say that their methods were not the same.' Láo Tan said, 'Come a little more forward, my son, and I will tell you how the Three Hwangs and the Five Tis¹ ruled the world. Hwang-Ti ruled it, so as to make the minds of the people all conformed to the One (simplicity). If the parents of one of them died, and he did not wail, no one blamed him. Yáo ruled it so as to cause the hearts of the people to cherish relative affection. If any, however, made the observances on the death of other members of their kindred less than those for their parents, no one blamed them². Shun ruled it, so as to produce a feeling of rivalry in the minds of the people. Their wives gave birth to their children in the tenth month of their pregnancy, but those children could speak at five months; and before they were three years old, they began to call people by their surnames and names. Then it was that men began to die prematurely. Yü ruled it, so as to cause the minds of the people to become changed. Men's minds became scheming, and they

¹ See note 2, preceding page.

² Referring to some abuses, contrary to the doctrine of relationship.

used their weapons as if they might legitimately do so, (saying that they were) killing thieves and not killing other men. The people formed themselves into different combinations;—so it was throughout the kingdom. Everywhere there was great consternation, and then arose the Literati and (the followers of) Mo (Tt). From them came first the doctrine of the relationships (of society); and what can be said of the now prevailing customs (in the marrying of) wives and daughters? I tell you that the rule of the Three Kings and Five Tis may be called by that name, but nothing can be greater than the disorder which it produced. The wisdom of the Three Kings was opposed to the brightness of the sun and moon above, contrary to the exquisite purity of the hills and streams below, and subversive of the beneficent gifts of the four seasons between. Their wisdom has been more fatal than the sting of a scorpion or the bite of a dangerous beast¹. Unable to rest in the true attributes of their nature and constitution, they still regarded themselves as sages:—was it not a thing to be ashamed of? But they were shameless.’ 3ze-kung stood quite disconcerted and ill at ease.

8. Confucius said to Láo Tan, ‘I have occupied myself with the Shih, the Shû, the Lî, the Yo, the Yî, and the *Khün K’hiû*, those six Books, for what I myself consider a long time², and am thoroughly

¹ What beast is meant here cannot be ascertained from the characters in the text,—鮮規之獸.

² But with the preparation of the *Khün K’hiû* Confucius’s life ended;—it is very plain that no conversation such as *Kwang-3ze* has fabricated here could ever have taken place.

acquainted with their contents. With seventy-two rulers, all offenders against the right, I have discoursed about the ways of the former kings, and set forth the examples of (the dukes of) *Kâu* and *Shão*; and not one of them has adopted (my views) and put them in practice :—how very difficult it is to prevail on such men, and to make clear the path to be pursued !’

Lão-ze replied, ‘It is fortunate that you have not met with a ruler fitted to rule the age. Those six writings are a description of the vestiges left by the former kings, but do not tell how they made such vestiges; and what you, Sir, speak about are still only the vestiges. But vestiges are the prints left by the shoes;—are they the shoes that produced them? A pair of white herons look at each other with pupils that do not move, and impregnation takes place; the male insect emits its buzzing sound in the air above, and the female responds from the air below, and impregnation takes place; the creatures called *lêi* are both male and female, and each individual breeds of itself¹. The nature cannot be altered; the conferred constitution cannot be changed; the march of the seasons cannot be arrested; the *Táo* cannot be stopped. If you get the *Táo*, there is no effect that cannot be produced; if you miss it, there is no effect that can.’

Confucius (after this) did not go out, till at the end of three months he went again to see *Lão Tan*, and said, ‘I have got it. Ravens produce their young by hatching; fishes by the communication of their milt; the small-waisted wasp by transforma-

¹ Where had *Lão-ze* or his author learned his zoology?

tion¹; when a younger brother comes, the elder weeps². Long is it that I have not played my part in harmony with these processes of transformation. But as I did not play my part in harmony with such transformation, how could I transform men?' Láo-ze said, 'You will do. *K'hiû*, you have found the Táo.'

¹ See the Shih King, II, v, Ode II, 3, about the sphex.

² Because, as we say, 'his nose is put out.' But the sentiment, though it is ascribed to Confucius, is rarely according to the fact of the case.

BOOK XV.

PART II. SECTION VIII.

Kho Í, or 'Ingrained Ideas'¹

I. Ingrained ideas and a high estimate of their own conduct; leaving the world, and pursuing uncommon ways; talking loftily and in resentful disparagement of others;—all this is simply symptomatic of arrogance. This is what scholars who betake themselves to the hills and valleys, who are always blaming the world, and who stand aloof like withered trees, or throw themselves into deep pools², are fond of.

Discoursing of benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and good faith; being humble and frugal, self-forgetful and courteous;—all this is simply symptomatic of (self-)cultivation. This is what scholars who wish to tranquillise the world, teachers and instructors, men who pursue their studies at home and abroad, are fond of.

Discoursing of their great merit and making a great name for themselves; insisting on the ceremonies between ruler and minister; and rectifying the relations between high and low;—all this shows their one object to be the promotion of government. This is what officers of the court, men who honour their lord and would strengthen the state and who

¹ See pp. 146, 147.

² As did Shăn-thû Tî. See in Book VI, par. 3.

would do their utmost to incorporate other states with their own, are fond of.

Resorting to marshes and lakes ; dwelling in solitary places ; occupying themselves with angling and living at ease ;—all this shows their one object to be to do nothing. This is what gentlemen of the rivers and seas, men who avoid the society of the world and desire to live at leisure, are fond of.

Blowing and breathing with open mouth ; inhaling and exhaling the breath ; expelling the old breath and taking in new ; passing their time like the (dormant) bear¹, and stretching and twisting (the neck) like a bird¹ ;—all this simply shows the desire for longevity. This is what the scholars who manipulate their breath, and the men who nourish the body and wish to live as long as Päng 3û, are fond of.

As to those who have a lofty character without any ingrained ideas ; who pursue the path of self-cultivation without benevolence and righteousness ; who succeed in government without great services or fame ; who enjoy their ease without resorting to the rivers and seas ; who attain to longevity without the management (of the breath) ; who forget all things and yet possess all things ; whose placidity is unlimited, while all things to be valued attend them :—such men pursue the way of heaven and earth, and display the characteristics of the sages. Hence it is said², ‘Placidity, indifference, silence, quietude,

¹ This is probably the meaning. The text is simply :—‘Bear-passing, bird-stretching.’

² ‘It is said :’—where? and by whom? These questions we cannot answer. We have met indeed already with the same characteristics of the Táo ; but Kwang-ze is not likely to be quoting

absolute vacancy, and non-action:—these are the qualities which maintain the level of heaven and earth and are the substance of the Tâo and its characteristics.'

2. In accordance with this it is said, 'The sage is entirely restful, and so (his mind) is evenly balanced and at ease. This even balance and ease appears in his placidity and indifference. In this state of even balance and ease, of placidity and indifference, anxieties and evils do not find access to him, no depraving influence can take him by surprise; his virtue is complete, and his spirit continues unimpaired.'

Therefore it is (also) said, 'The life of the sage is (like) the action of Heaven; and his death is the transformation common to (all) things. In his stillness his virtue is the same as that of the Yin, and in movement his diffusiveness is like that of the Yang. He does not take the initiative in producing either happiness or calamity. He responds to the influence acting on him, and moves as he feels the pressure. He rises to act only when he is obliged to do so. He discards wisdom and the memories of the past; he follows the lines of his Heaven (-given nature); and therefore he suffers no calamity from Heaven, no involvement from things, no blame from men, and no reproof from the spirits of the dead¹. His life seems to float along; his death seems to be a resting. He does not indulge any

himself. On the 'It is said,' and the five recurrences of the phrase below, Lû Shû-kih says that Kwang-3ze is quoting from sentences current among the adherents of Tâoism,—the sentence-makers often drawn on by Lâo-3ze; compare the Tâo Teh K'ing, ch. xli.

¹ See Book XIII, par. 2.

anxious doubts ; he does not lay plans beforehand. His light is without display ; his good faith is without previous arrangement. His sleep is untroubled by dreams ; his waking is followed by no sorrows. His spirit is guileless and pure ; his soul is not subject to weariness. Vacant and without self-assertion, placid and indifferent, he agrees with the virtue of Heaven.'

Therefore it is said (further), 'Sadness and pleasure show a depraving element in the virtue (of those who feel them) ; joy and anger show some error in their course ; love and hatred show a failure of their virtue. Hence for the mind to be free from sorrow and pleasure is the perfection of virtue ; to be of one mind that does not change is the perfection of quietude ; to be conscious of no opposition is the perfection of vacancy ; to have no intercourse with (external) things is the perfection of indifference ; and to have no rebellious dissatisfactions is the perfection of purity.'

3. Therefore it is said (still further), 'If the body be toiled, and does not rest, it becomes worn out ; if the spirit be used without cessation, it becomes toiled ; and when toiled, it becomes exhausted. It is the nature of water, when free from admixture, to be clear, and, when not agitated, to be level ; while if obstructed and not allowed to flow, it cannot preserve its clearness ;—being an image of the virtue of Heaven.' Hence it is said (once again), 'To be guileless and pure, and free from all admixture ; to be still and uniform, without undergoing any change ; to be indifferent and do nothing ; to move and yet to act like Heaven :—this is the way to nourish the spirit. Now he who possesses a

sword made at Kan-yüeh¹ preserves it carefully in a box, and does not dare to use it ;—it is considered the perfection of valuable swords. But the human spirit² goes forth in all directions, flowing on without limit, reaching to heaven above, and wreathing round the earth beneath. It transforms and nourishes all things, and cannot be represented by any form. Its name is “the Divinity (in man)³.” It is only the path of pure simplicity which guards and preserves the Spirit. When this path is preserved and not lost, it becomes one with the Spirit ; and in this ethereal amalgamation, it acts in harmony with the orderly operation of Heaven.’

There is the vulgar saying, ‘The multitude of men consider gain to be the most important thing ; pure scholars, fame ; those who are wise and able value their ambition ; the sage prizes essential purity.’ Therefore simplicity is the denomination of that in which there is no admixture ; purity of that in which the spirit is not impaired. It is he who can embody simplicity and purity whom we call the True Man⁴.

¹ Both of the seaboard states of Wû and Yüeh were famous for the swords produced in them. Kan-yüeh appears to have been the name of a valley or place in Wû, famous for the weapons made in it ; unless indeed we should read 于越, instead of 干越, and take 于越 as equivalent to 於越, which is found in the 30 *Khwan* as the name of Yüeh.

² Might be translated ‘the subtle spirit.’

³ A very remarkable use of Tî (帝) for the human spirit in the sense of God. The subject of the clause, let the reader observe, is that spirit, and not the Tâo. See pp. 146, 147, where I have said something about it.

⁴ See the full account of ‘the True Man’ in Book VI.

BOOK XVI.

PART II. SECTION IX.

Shan Hsing, or 'Correcting the Nature'¹.

1. Those who would correct their nature by means of the vulgar learning², seeking to restore it to its original condition, and those who would regulate³ their desires, by the vulgar ways of thinking, seeking thereby to carry their intelligence to perfection, must be pronounced to be deluded and ignorant people. The ancients who regulated the Tâo nourished their faculty of knowledge by their placidity, and all through life abstained from employing that faculty in action;—they must be pronounced to have (thus also) nourished their placidity by their knowledge⁴.

When the faculty of knowledge and the placidity

¹ See pp. 147, 148.

² 'Vulgar' must mean 'common,' and 'the vulgar learning' is the teaching popular in the time of our author, and which he regarded as contrary to the principles of Tâoism, of which he was an adherent. The Chinese critics say that 'vulgar' here is used as the opposite of 'true.'

³ 滑 is generally explained by 亂, 'to confuse,' but I cannot construe the sentence with that meaning of the term. In the Khang-hsî dictionary which I have followed, the character is defined by 治 with special reference to this passage.

⁴ This sentence is the clue to the author's aim in the whole Book. The 'knowledge' is defined by 覺生, 'the faculty of perception and apprehension.'

(thus) blend together, and they nourish each other, then from the nature there come forth harmony and orderly method. The attributes (of the Táo) constitute the harmony; the Táo (itself) secures the orderly method. When the attributes appear in a universal practice of forbearance, we have Benevolence; when the path is all marked by orderly method, we have Righteousness; when the righteousness is clearly manifested, and (all) things are regarded with affection, we have Leal-heartedness; when the (heart's) core is thus (pure) and real, and carried back to its (proper) qualities, we have Music; when this sincerity appears in all the range of the capacity, and its demonstrations are in accordance with what is elegant, we have Ceremony. If Ceremonies and Music are carried out in an imperfect and one-sided manner, the world is thrown into confusion. When men would rectify others, and their own virtue is beclouded, it is not sufficient to extend itself to them. If an attempt be made so to extend it, they also will lose their (proper) nature.

2. The men of old, while the chaotic condition was yet undeveloped¹, shared the placid tranquillity which belonged to the whole world. At that time the Yin and Yang were harmonious and still; their resting and movement proceeded without any disturbance; the four seasons had their definite times; not a single thing received any injury, and no living being came to a premature end. Men might be

¹ These 'men of old' were what we may call 'primeval men';—men in the lowest stage of development; but which our author considered to be the highest or paradisiacal condition of their nature.

possessed of (the faculty of) knowledge, but they had no occasion for its use. This was what is called the state of Perfect Unity. At this time, there was no action on the part of any one, but a constant manifestation of spontaneity.

This condition (of excellence) deteriorated and decayed, till Sui-zăn and Fû-hsî arose and commenced their administration of the world¹; on which came a compliance (with their methods), but the state of unity was lost. The condition going on to deteriorate and decay, Shăn Năng and Hwang-Ti arose, and took the administration of the world, on which (the people) rested (in their methods), but did not themselves comply with them. Still the deterioration and decay continued till the lords of Thang and Yü² began to administer the world. These introduced the method of governing by transformation, resorting to the stream (instead of to the spring)³, thus vitiating the purity and destroying the simplicity (of the nature). They left the Tâo, and substituted the Good for it, and pursued the course of Haphazard Virtue. After this they forsook their nature and followed (the promptings of) their minds. One mind and another associated their knowledge, but were unable to give rest to the world. Then they added to this knowledge (ex-

¹ Kwang-ze gives no hint of how long he considered this highest condition to have lasted. Sui-zăn, 'the man of the Burning Speculum,' 'the Fire-producer,' whom Williams calls 'the Prometheus of China,' appears before Fû-hsî, as the first in the line of the Rulers of the world, who broke up the Primal Unity.

² These were Yáo and Shun, named from the principalities over which their fathers ruled.

³ 'The streams' were the methods of culture that arose after the simple virtues and spontaneity of the Tâo were lost.

ternal and) elegant forms, and went on to make these more and more numerous. The forms extinguished the (primal) simplicity, till the mind was drowned by their multiplicity. After this the people began to be perplexed and disordered, and had no way by which they might return to their true nature, and bring back their original condition.

3. Looking at the subject from this point of view, we see how the world lost ¹ the (proper) course, and how the course (which it took) only led it further astray¹. The world and the Way, when they came together, being (thus) lost to each other, how could the men of the Way make themselves conspicuous in the world? and how could the world rise to an appreciation of the Way?. Since the Way had no means to make itself conspicuous in the world, and the world had no means of rising to an appreciation of the Way, though sagely men might not keep among the hills and forests, their virtue was hidden;—hidden, but not because they themselves sought to hide it.

Those whom the ancients called 'Retired Scholars' did not conceal their persons, and not allow themselves to be seen; they did not shut up their words, and refuse to give utterance to them; they did not hide away their knowledge, and refuse to bring it forth. The conditions laid on them by the times were very much awry. If the conditions of the times had allowed them to act in the world on a great scale, they would have brought back the state of unity without any trace being perceived (of how

¹ It is the same character in the text which I have been obliged to translate thus differently,—喪.

they did so). When those conditions shut them up entirely from such action, they struck their roots deeper (in themselves), were perfectly still and waited. It was thus that they preserved (the Way in) their own persons.

4. The ancients who preserved (the Way in) their own persons did not try by sophistical reasonings to gloss over their knowledge; they did not seek to embrace (everything in) the world in their knowledge, nor to comprehend all the virtues in it. Solitary and trembling they remained where they were, and sought the restoration of their nature. What had they to do with any further action? The Way indeed is not to be pursued, nor (all) its characteristics to be known on a small scale. A little knowledge is injurious to those characteristics; small doings are injurious to the Way;—hence it is said, ‘They simply rectified themselves.’ Complete enjoyment is what is meant by ‘the Attainment of the Aim.’

What was anciently called ‘the Attainment of the Aim’ did not mean the getting of carriages and coronets¹; it simply meant that nothing more was needed for their enjoyment. Now-a-days what is called ‘the Attainment of the Aim’ means the getting of carriages and coronets. But carriages and coronets belong to the body; they do not affect the nature as it is constituted. When such things happen to come, it is but for a time; being but for a time, their coming cannot be obstructed and their going cannot be stopped². Therefore we should not

¹ That is, worldly distinction.

² Because they depend on others. Compare Mencius VI, i, ch. 17, 2.

because of carriages and coronets indulge our aims, nor because of distress and straitness resort to the vulgar (learning and thinking); the one of these conditions and the other may equally conduce to our enjoyment, which is simply to be free from anxiety. If now the departure of what is transient takes away one's enjoyment, this view shows that what enjoyment it had given was worthless. Hence it is said, 'They who lose themselves in their pursuit of things, and lose their nature in their study of what is vulgar, must be pronounced people who turn things upside down.'

BOOK XVII.

PART II. SECTION X.

K'hiû Shui, or 'The Floods of Autumn ¹.'

1. The time of the autumnal floods was come, and the hundred streams were all discharging themselves into the Ho. Its current was greatly swollen ², so that across its channel from bank to bank one could not distinguish an ox from a horse. On this the (Spirit-) earl of the Ho ³ laughed with delight, thinking that all the beauty of the world was to be found in his charge. Along the course of the river he walked east till he came to the North Sea, over which he looked, with his face to the east, without being able to see where its waters began. Then he began to turn his face round, looked across the expanse, (as if he were) confronting Zo ³, and said with a sigh, 'What the vulgar saying expresses about him who has learned a hundred points (of the T'ao), and thinks that there is no one equal to himself, was surely spoken of me. And moreover, I have heard

¹ See pp. 148, 149.

² 涇 here perhaps means 'turbid.' It has nothing to do with the river *King*.

³ See Mayers's Manual, p. 54. Our author adopts the common beliefs or superstitions of his time, and after his fashion puts his own reasonings into the mouths of these mythological personages. It is more difficult to collect the legends about Zo of the sea, or of the Northern Sea. See the *Khang-hsî Thesaurus* under 海若.

parties making little of the knowledge of *Kung-ni* and the righteousness of *Po-î*, and at first I did not believe them. Now I behold the all-but-boundless extent (of your realms). If I had not come to your gate, I should have been in danger (of continuing in my ignorance), and been laughed at for long in the schools of our great System¹.

Zo, (the Spirit-lord) of the Northern Sea, said, 'A frog in a well cannot be talked with about the sea;—he is confined to the limits of his hole. An insect of the summer cannot be talked with about ice;—it knows nothing beyond its own season. A scholar of limited views cannot be talked with about the *Táo*;—he is bound by the teaching (which he has received). Now you have come forth from between your banks, and beheld the great sea. You have come to know your own ignorance and inferiority, and are in the way of being fitted to be talked with about great principles. Of all the waters under heaven there are none so great as the sea. A myriad streams flow into it without ceasing, and yet it is not filled; and afterwards² it discharges them (also) without ceasing, and yet it is not emptied. In spring and in autumn it undergoes no change; it takes no notice of floods or of drought. Its superiority over such streams even as the *Kiang* and the

¹ Thus the Confucian learning and its worthies were to the system of the *Táo* only as the waters of the *Ho* to the great sea.

² I have translated here as if the reading were 尾閭, which is given by Lin Hsi-kung. The correct reading, however, so far as depends on editions and dictionaries, is 尾閭; which is explained in the *Khang-hsi* dictionary as 'a great Rock in *Fû-sang* on the East,' against which the water of the sea collects, and is all evaporated!

Ho cannot be told by measures or numbers ; and that I have never, notwithstanding this, made much of myself, is because I compare my own bodily form with (the greatness of) heaven and earth, and (remember that) I have received my breath from the Yin and Yang. Between heaven and earth I am but as a small stone or a small tree on a great hill. So long as I see myself to be thus small, how should I make much of myself ? I estimate all within the four seas, compared with the space between heaven and earth, to be not so large as that occupied by a pile of stones in a large marsh ! I estimate our Middle States, compared with the space between the four seas, to be smaller than a single little grain of rice in a great granary ! When we would set forth the number of things (in existence), we speak of them as myriads ; and man is only one of them. Men occupy all the nine provinces ; but of all whose life is maintained by grain-food, wherever boats and carriages reach, men form only one portion. Thus, compared with the myriads of things, they are not equal to a single fine hair on the body of a horse. Within this range are comprehended all (the territories) which the five T'is received in succession from one another ; all which the royal founders of the three dynasties contended for ; all which excited the anxiety of Benevolent men ; and all which men in office have toiled for. Po-i was accounted famous for declining (to share in its government), and K'ung-ni was accounted great because of the lessons which he addressed to it. They acted as they did, making much of themselves ;—therein like you who a little time ago did so of yourself because of your (volume of) water !'

2. The earl of the Ho said, 'Well then, may I consider heaven and earth as (the ideal of) what is great, and the point of a hair as that of what is small?' Zo of the Northern Sea replied, 'No. The (different) capacities of things are illimitable; time never stops, (but is always moving on); man's lot is ever changing; the end and the beginning of things never occur (twice) in the same way. Therefore men of great wisdom, looking at things far off or near at hand, do not think them insignificant for being small, nor much of them for being great:—knowing how capacities differ illimitably. They appeal with intelligence to things of ancient and recent occurrence, without being troubled by the remoteness of the former, or standing on tiptoe to lay hold of the latter:—knowing that time never stops in its course. They examine with discrimination (cases of) fulness and of want, not overjoyed by success, nor disheartened by failure:—knowing the inconstancy of man's lot. They know the plain and quiet path (in which things proceed), therefore they are not overjoyed to live, nor count it a calamity to die:—the end and the beginning of things never occurring (twice) in the same way.

'We must reckon that what men know is not so much as what they do not know, and that the time since they were born is not so long as that which elapsed before they were born. When they take that which is most small and try to fill with it the dimensions of what is most great, this leads to error and confusion, and they cannot attain their end. Looking at the subject in this way, how can you know that the point of a hair is sufficient to determine the minuteness of what is most small, or that

heaven and earth are sufficient to complete the dimensions of what is most large ?'

3. The earl of the Ho said, 'The disputers of the world all say, "That which is most minute has no bodily form ; and that which is most great cannot be encompassed ;"—is this really the truth ?' Zo of the Northern Sea replied, 'When from the standpoint of what is small we look at what is great, we do not take it all in ; when from the standpoint of what is great we look at what is small, we do not see it clearly. Now the subtile essence is smallness in its extreme degree ; and the vast mass is greatness in its largest form. Different as they are, each has its suitability,—according to their several conditions. But the subtile and the gross both presuppose that they have a bodily form. Where there is no bodily form, there is no longer a possibility of numerical division ; where it is not possible to encompass a mass, there is no longer a possibility of numerical estimate. What can be discoursed about in words is the grossness of things ; what can be reached in idea is the subtilty of things. What cannot be discoursed about in words, and what cannot be reached by nice discrimination of thought, has nothing to do either with subtilty or grossness.

'Therefore while the actions of the Great Man are not directed to injure men, he does not plume himself on his benevolence and kindness ; while his movements are not made with a view to gain, he does not consider the menials of a family as mean ; while he does not strive after property and wealth, he does not plume himself on declining them ; while he does not borrow the help of others to accomplish his affairs, he does not plume himself on supporting

himself by his own strength, nor does he despise those who in their greed do what is mean; while he differs in his conduct from the vulgar, he does not plume himself on being so different from them; while it is his desire to follow the multitude, he does not despise the glib-tongued flatterers. The rank and emoluments of the world furnish no stimulus to him, nor does he reckon its punishments and shame to be a disgrace. He knows that the right and the wrong can (often) not be distinguished, and that what is small and what is great can (often) not be defined. I have heard it said, "The Man of Tâo does not become distinguished; the greatest virtue is unsuccessful; the Great Man has no thought of self;"—to so great a degree may the lot be restricted.'

4. The earl of the Ho said, 'Whether the subject be what is external in things, or what is internal, how do we come to make a distinction between them as noble and mean, and as great or small?' Zo of the Northern Sea replied, 'When we look at them in the light of the Tâo, they are neither noble nor mean. Looking at them in themselves, each thinks itself noble, and despises others. Looking at them in the light of common opinion, their being noble or mean does not depend on themselves. Looking at them in their differences from one another, if we call those great which are greater than others, there is nothing that is not great, and in the same way there is nothing that is not small. We shall (thus) know that heaven and earth is but (as) a grain of the smallest rice, and that the point of a hair is (as) a mound or a mountain;—such is the view given of them by their relative size. Look-

ing at them from the services they render, allowing to everything the service which it does, there is not one which is not serviceable; and, extending the consideration to what it does not do, there is not one which is not unserviceable. We know (for instance) that East and West are opposed to each other, and yet that the one cannot be without (suggesting the idea of) the other;—(thus) their share of mutual service is determined. Looking at them with respect to their tendencies, if we approve of what they approve, then there is no one who may not be approved of; and, if we condemn what they condemn, there is no one who may not be condemned. There are the cases of Yáo and K'ieh, each of whom approved of his own course, and condemned the other;—such is the view arising from the consideration of tendency and aim.

‘Formerly Yáo and Shun resigned (their thrones), and yet each continued to be Tí; K'ih-khwâi¹ resigned (his marquisate) which led to his ruin. Thang and Wú contended (for the sovereignty), and each became king; the duke of Pâi² contended (for K'û), which led to his extinction. Looking at the subject from these examples of striving by force and of resigning, and from the conduct of Yáo (on the one hand) and of K'ieh (on the other), we see that there is a time for noble acting, and a time for

¹ See Mencius II, ii, ch. 8, and I, ii, chaps. 10, 11, with the notes. 之 is probably a mistake for 子.

² See the last narrative but one in the 30 K'wan, under the sixteenth year of duke Âi of Lû,—the year in which Confucius died. ‘The duke of Pâi’ was merely the chief of a district of K'û; but rebelling against the Ruler of the State, he was defeated, and strangled himself.

mean;—these characteristics are subject to no regular rule.

5. 'A battering ram may be used against the wall of a city, but it cannot be employed to stop up a hole;—the uses of implements are different. The (horses) *K'ih-êi* and *Hwâ-liû*¹ could in one day gallop 1000 *li*, but for catching rats they were not equal to a wild dog or a weasel;—the gifts of creatures are different. The white horned owl collects its fleas in the night-time, and can discern the point of a hair, but in bright day it stares with its eyes and cannot see a mound or a hill;—the natures of creatures are different.

'Hence the sayings, "Shall we not follow and honour the right, and have nothing to do with the wrong? shall we not follow and honour those who secure good government, and have nothing to do with those who produce disorder?" show a want of acquaintance with the principles of Heaven and Earth, and with the different qualities of things. It is like following and honouring Heaven and taking no account of Earth; it is like following and honouring the Yin and taking no account of the Yang. It is clear that such a course cannot be pursued. Yet notwithstanding they go on talking so:—if they are not stupid, they are visionaries. The *Ti* sovereigns resigned their thrones to others in one way, and the rulers of the three dynasties transmitted their thrones to their successors in another. He who acts differently from the requirements of his time and contrary to its custom is called an usurper; he who complies with the time

¹ Two of king Mu's team of eight famous steeds.

and follows the common practice is said to be righteous. Hold your peace, O earl of the Ho. How should you know what constitutes being noble and being mean, or who are the small and who the great?’

6. The earl of the Ho said, ‘Very well. But what am I to do? and what am I not to do? How am I to be guided after all in regard to what I accept or reject, and what I pursue or put away from me?’ Zo of the Northern Sea replied, ‘From the standpoint of the Tâo, what is noble? and what is mean? These expressions are but the different extremes of the average level. Do not keep pertinaciously to your own ideas, which put you in such opposition to the Tâo. What are few? and what are many? These are denominations which we employ in thanking (donors) and dispensing gifts. Do not study to be uniform in doing so;—it only shows how different you are from the Tâo. Be severe and strict, like the ruler of a state who does not selfishly bestow his favours. Be scrupulous, yet gentle, like the tutelary spirit of the land, when sacrifice is offered to him who does not bestow his blessing selfishly. Be large-minded like space, whose four terminating points are illimitable, and form no particular enclosures. Hold all things in your love, favouring and supporting none specially. This is called being without any local or partial regard; all things are equally regarded; there is no long or short among them.

‘There is no end or beginning to the Tâo. Things indeed die and are born, not reaching a perfect state which can be relied on. Now there is emptiness, and now fulness;—they do not continue in one form. The years cannot be reproduced; time

cannot be arrested. Decay and growth, fulness and emptiness, when they end, begin again. It is thus that we describe the method of great righteousness, and discourse about the principle pervading all things. The life of things is like the hurrying and galloping along of a horse. With every movement there is a change; with every moment there is an alteration. What should you be doing? what should you not be doing? You have only to be allowing this course of natural transformation to be going on.'

7. The earl of the Ho said, 'What then is there so valuable in the Táo?' Zo of the Northern Sea replied, 'He who knows the Táo is sure to be well acquainted with the principles (that appear in the procedures of things). Acquainted with (those) principles, he is sure to understand how to regulate his conduct in all varying circumstances. Having that understanding, he will not allow things to injure himself. Fire cannot burn him who is (so) perfect in virtue, nor water drown him; neither cold nor heat can affect him injuriously; neither bird nor beast can hurt him. This does not mean that he is indifferent to these things; it means that he discriminates between where he may safely rest and where he will be in peril; that he is tranquil equally in calamity and happiness; that he is careful what he avoids and what he approaches;—so that nothing can injure him. Hence it is said, "What is heavenly is internal; what is human is external." The virtue (of man) is in what is Heavenly. If you know the operation of what is Heavenly and what is Human, you will have your root in what is Heavenly and your position in Virtue. You will bend or stretch

(only) after the (necessary) hesitation; you will have returned to the essential, and may be pronounced to have reached perfection.'

'What do you mean,' pursued the earl, 'by the Heavenly, and by the Human?' Zo replied, 'Oxen and horses have four feet;—that is what I call their Heavenly (constitution). When horses' heads are haltered, and the noses of oxen are pierced, that is what I call (the doing of) Man. Hence it is said, "Do not by the Human (doing) extinguish the Heavenly (constitution); do not for your (Human) purpose extinguish the appointment (of Heaven); do not bury your (proper) fame in (such) a pursuit of it; carefully guard (the Way) and do not lose it:—this is what I call reverting to your True (Nature)."'

8. The khwei¹ desires to be like² the millipede¹; the millipede to be like the serpent; the serpent like the wind; the wind to be like the eye; and the eye to be like the mind³.

The khwei said to the millipede, 'With my one leg I hop about, and can hardly manage to go along. Now you have a myriad feet which you can employ; how is it that you are so abundantly furnished?' The millipede said, 'It is not so. Have you not seen one ejecting saliva? The largest portion of it is like a pearl, while the smaller portions fall down like a shower of mist in innumer-

¹ The khwei is 'a sort of dragon (it may be, a worm) with one foot.' The hsien has many feet; one account calls it 'a centipede.'

² Such is the meaning of the lin or lien. The best commentators explain it by hsien (羨), 'to covet and desire.'

³ Compare Book I, par. 3, towards the end.

able drops. Now I put in motion the springs set in me by Heaven, without knowing how I do so.'

The millipede said to the serpent, 'I go along by means of my multitude of feet; and yet how is it that I do not go so fast as you who have no feet at all?' The serpent replied, 'How can the method of moving by the springs set in us by Heaven be changed? How could I make use of feet?'

The serpent said to the wind, 'I get along by moving my backbone and ribs, thus appearing to have some (bodily) means of progression. But now you, Sir, rise with a blustering force in the North Sea, and go on in the same way to the South Sea;—seemingly without any such means. How does it take place?' The wind said, 'Yes. With such a blustering force I rise in the North Sea and go on to the South Sea. But you can point to me, and therein are superior to me, as you are also in treading on me. Yet notwithstanding, it is only I who can break great trees, and blow down great houses. Therefore he whom all that are small cannot overcome is a great overcomer. But it is only he who is the sagely man¹ that is the Great Conqueror (of all).'

9. When Confucius was travelling in Khwang²,

¹ The sagely man is 'the True man,' who embodies the Táo. The Táo has given to the khwei, the millipede, the serpent, and it may be said also to the wind, their means of progression and action. Nothing is said of the eye and the mind;—it was not necessary to dwell on the Táo in them.

² See Confucian Analects, IX, v and XI, xxii. Our author's account of this event is his own, constructed by him to convey his own Táoistic lessons.

some people of Sung (once) surrounded him (with a hostile intention) several ranks deep; but he kept singing to his lute without stopping. 3ze-lû came in, and saw him, and said, 'How is it, Master, that you are so pleased?' Confucius said, 'Come here, and I will tell you. I have tried to avoid being reduced to such a strait for a long time; and that I have not escaped shows that it was so appointed for me. I have sought to find a ruler that would employ me for a long time, and that I have not found one, shows the character of the time. Under Yâo and Shun there was no one in the kingdom reduced to straits like mine; and it was not by their sagacity that men succeeded as they did. Under Kieh and Kâu no (good and able man) in the kingdom found his way to employment; and it was not for (want of) sagacity that they failed to do so. It was simply owing to the times and their character.

'People that do business on the water do not shrink from meeting iguanodons and dragons;—that is the courage of fishermen. Those who do business on land do not shrink from meeting rhinoceroses and tigers;—that is the courage of hunters. When men see the sharp weapons crossed before them, and look on death as going home;—that is the courage of the determined soldier. When he knows that his strait is determined for him, and that the employment of him by a ruler depends on the character of the time, and then meeting with great distress is yet not afraid;—that is the courage of the sagely man. Wait, my good Yû, and you will see what there is determined for me in my lot.' A little afterwards, the leader of the armed men approached and took his leave, saying, 'We thought you were

Yang Hû¹, and therefore surrounded you. Now we see our mistake.' (With this) he begged to take his leave, and withdrew.

10. Kung-sun Lung² asked Mâu of Wei³, saying, 'When I was young, I learned the teachings of the former kings; and when I was grown up, I became proficient in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. I brought together the views that agreed and disagreed; I considered the questions about hardness and whiteness⁴; I set forth what was to be affirmed and what was not, and what was allowable and what was not; I studied painfully the various schools of thought, and made myself master of the reasonings of all their masters. I thought that I had reached a good understanding of every subject; but now that I have heard the words of Kwang-ze, they throw me into a flutter of surprise. I do not know whether it be that I do not come up to him in the power of discussion, or that my knowledge is not equal to his. But now I do not feel able to open my mouth, and venture to ask you what course I should pursue.' Kung-ze Mâu leant forward on his stool, drew a long breath, looked up to heaven, smiled, and

¹ No doubt the Yang Ho of Analects XVII, i.

² The grandson (Kung-sun) of one of the rulers of K'iao (one of the three states into which the great state of Jin had been broken up). He has come down to us as a philosophic sophist, whose views it is not easy to define. See Mayers's Manual, p. 288, and Book XXXIII, par. 7.

³ Wei was another of the divisions of Jin, and Mâu was one of the sons of its ruler at this time, a great admirer, evidently, of Kwang-ze, and more than a match for the sophist Lung.

⁴ Holding, it is supposed, that 'the attributes of material objects, such as hardness and colour, are separate existences:'—so Mayers, after Wylie.

said, 'Have you not heard of the frog of the dilapidated well, and how it said to the turtle of the Eastern Sea, "How I enjoy myself? I leap upon the parapet of this well. I enter, and having by means of the projections formed by the fragments of the broken tiles of the lining proceeded to the water, I draw my legs together, keep my chin up, (and strike out). When I have got to the mud, I dive till my feet are lost in it. Then turning round, I see that of the shrimps, crabs, and tadpoles there is not one that can do like me. Moreover, when one has entire command of all the water in the gully, and hesitates to go forward, it is the greatest pleasure to enjoy one's self here in this dilapidated well¹;—why do not you, Master, often come and enter, and see it for yourself?" The turtle of the Eastern Sea (was then proceeding to go forward), but before he had put in his left foot, he found his right knee caught and held fast. On this he hesitated, drew back, and told (the frog) all about the sea, saying, "A distance of a thousand li is not sufficient to express its extent, nor would (a line of) eight thousand cubits be equal to sound its depth. In the time of Yü, for nine years out of ten the flooded land (all drained into it), and its water was not sensibly increased; and in the time of Thang for seven years out of eight there was a drought, but the rocks on the shore (saw) no diminution of the water because of it. Thus it is that no change is produced in its waters by any cause operating for a short time or a long, and that they do not advance nor recede for any addition or subtraction, whether great or small; and this is the great pleasure afforded by the Eastern Sea." When

¹ A passage difficult to construe.

the frog of the dilapidated well heard this, he was amazed and terror-struck, and lost himself in surprise.

‘And moreover, when you, who have not wisdom enough to know where the discussions about what is right and what is wrong should end, still desire to see through the words of *Kwang-ze*, that is like employing a mosquito to carry a mountain on its back, or a millipede¹ to gallop as fast as the Ho runs;—tasks to which both the insects are sure to be unequal. Still further, when you, who have not wisdom enough to know the words employed in discussing very mysterious subjects, yet hasten to show your sharpness of speech on any occasion that may occur, is not this being like the frog of the dilapidated well?

‘And that (*Kwang-ze*) now plants his foot on the Yellow Springs (below the earth), and anon rises to the height of the Empyrean. Without any regard to south and north, with freedom he launches out in every direction, and is lost in the unfathomable. Without any regard to east and west, starting from what is abysmally obscure, he comes back to what is grandly intelligible. (All the while), you, Sir, in amazement, search for his views to examine them, and grope among them for matter for discussion;—this is just like peeping at the heavens through a tube, or aiming at the earth with an awl; are not both the implements too small for the purpose? Go your ways, Sir.

‘And have you not heard of the young learners of

¹ A different character from that for a millipede in the last paragraph;—a Shang *K'ü*, evidently some small insect, but we cannot tell what.

Shâu-ling¹, and how they did in Han-tan? Before they had acquired what they might have done in that capital, they had forgotten what they had learned to do in their old city, and were marched back to it on their hands and knees. If now you do not go away, you will forget your old acquirements, and fail in your profession.'

Kung-sun Lung gaped on the speaker, and could not shut his mouth, and his tongue clave to its roof. He slunk away and ran off.

11. *Kwang-ze* was (once) fishing in the river *Phû*², when the king of *Khû*³ sent two great officers to him, with the message, 'I wish to trouble you with the charge of all within my territories.' *Kwang-ze* kept on holding his rod without looking round, and said, 'I have heard that in *Khû* there is a spirit-like tortoise-shell, the wearer of which died 3000 years ago⁴, and which the king keeps, in his ancestral temple, in a hamper covered with a cloth. Was it better for the tortoise to die, and leave its shell to be thus honoured? Or would it have been better for it to live, and keep on dragging its tail through the mud?' The two officers said, 'It would have been better for it to live, and draw its tail after it over the mud⁵.' 'Go your ways. I will keep on drawing my tail after me through the mud.'

¹ A city of *Káo*, as Han-tan was its capital. Of the incident referred to, I have not been able to learn anything. The 'were marched' gives my idea of what it may have been.

² A river, which still gives its name to *Phû-kâu*, department *Khao-kâu*, Shan-tung.

³ Probably king Wei, B. C. 339-330.

⁴ A good antiquity for *Khû*!

⁵ ? A species of *Testudo* *Serpentina*, such as is often seen on pieces of Japanese lacquer-ware.

12. Hui-ze being a minister of state in Liang¹, Kwang-ze went to see him. Some one had told Hui-ze that Kwang-ze was come with a wish to supersede him in his office, on which he was afraid, and instituted a search for the stranger all over the kingdom for three days and three nights. (After this) Kwang-ze went and saw him, and said, 'There is in the south a bird, called "the Young Phoenix";'—do you know it? Starting from the South Sea, it flies to the Northern; never resting but on the bignonia³, never eating but the fruit of the melia azederach⁴, and never drinking but from the purest springs. An owl, which had got a putrid rat, (once), when a phoenix went passing overhead, looked up to it and gave an angry scream. Do you wish now, in your possession of the kingdom of Liang, to frighten me with a similar scream?'

13. Kwang-ze and Hui-ze were walking on the dam over the Hào⁵, when the former said, 'These thryssas come out, and play about at their ease;—that is the enjoyment of fishes.' The other said, 'You are not a fish; how do you know what

¹ Another name for Wei, so called from its capital;—in the present department of Khâi-făng.

² So the critics explain the name. Williams thinks the bird may be 'the argus pheasant,' or 'a variety of the peacock.' But what the bird was does not affect the meaning of our author's reference to it.

³ One of the Eleococcae, the *Dryandra Cordifolia* of Thunberg.

⁴ All the editions I have seen give 練 here, which makes no sense. The character should doubtless be 棟, with the meaning which I have given; and not 'bamboo,' which is found in the critics. It is also called 'the Pride of India.'

⁵ A river in the department and district of Fung-yang, An-hui.

constitutes the enjoyment of fishes¹?' *Kwang-ze* rejoined, 'You are not I. How do you know that I do not know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?' *Hui-ze* said, 'I am not you; and though indeed I do not fully know you, you certainly are not a fish, and (the argument) is complete against your knowing what constitutes the happiness of fishes.' *Kwang-ze* replied, 'Let us keep to your original question. You said to me, "How do you know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?" You knew that I knew it, and yet you put your question to me;—well, I know it (from our enjoying ourselves together) over the Hào.'

¹ Surely a captious question. We infer the feelings of other creatures from their demonstrations.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									III Class.
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	क	𑖕	𐭅	𐭅	𐭅	𐤀	𑦕	
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	ख	𑖖	𐭆	𐭆	𐭆	𐤁	𑦆	
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𑖗	𐭇	𐭇	𐭇	𐤂	𑦇	
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𑖘	𐭈	𐭈	𐭈	𐤃	𑦈	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	ङ	𑖙	𐭉	𐭉	𐭉	𐤄	𑦉	
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	. . .	. . .	𑖚	{ 𑖛 (ng) } { 𑖜 (N) }	𐭊	𐭊	𐭊	𐤅	𑦊	
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	ह	𑖛	𐭋	𐭋	𐭋	𐤆	𑦋	
8 " lenis	,	. . .	. . .	𑖜	𐭌	𐭌	𐭌	𐭌	𐤇	𑦌	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	𑖝	𐭍	𐭍	𐭍	𐭍	𐤈	𑦍	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	𑖞	𐭎	𐭎	𐭎	𐭎	𐤉	𑦎	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	. . .	. . .	𑖟	𐭏	𐭏	𐭏	𐭏	𐤊	𑦏	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	. . .	. . .	𑖠	𐭐	𐭐	𐭐	𐭐	𐤋	𑦐	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	. . .	k	. . .	च	𑖡	𐭑	𐭑	𐭑	𐤌	𑦑	
14 " aspirata	. . .	kh	. . .	छ	𑖢	𐭒	𐭒	𐭒	𐤍	𑦒	
15 Media	. . .	g	. . .	ज	𑖣	𐭓	𐭓	𐭓	𐤎	𑦓	
16 " aspirata	. . .	gh	. . .	झ	𑖤	𐭔	𐭔	𐭔	𐤏	𑦔	
17 " Nasalis	. . .	ñ	. . .	ञ	𑖥	𐭕	𐭕	𐭕	𐤐	𑦕	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ת	th
25 " assibilata	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ד	...
26 Media	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ד	...
27 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata	...	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	ळ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ש	s
34 " asper 2	...	s	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	ז	z

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 „ aspirata	th	39 „ aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	40 Media	b
41 „ aspirata	dh	41 „ aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	42 Tenuissima	m
43 Semivocalis	r	43 Nasalis	w
44 „ fricata	r	44 Semivocalis	hw
45 „ diacritica	R	45 „ aspirata	f
46 Spiritus asper	sh	46 Spiritus asper	v
47 „ lenis	zh	47 „ lenis	m
		48 Tenuis	h
		49 „ aspirata	
		50 Media	
		51 „ aspirata	
		52 Tenuissima	
		53 Nasalis	
		54 Semivocalis	
		55 „ aspirata	
		56 Spiritus asper	
		57 „ lenis	
		58 Anusvāta	
		59 Visarga	

VOVELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class. II Class. III Class.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ě	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ö	...	...	...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ḥ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ḥ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ṛ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ó (au)	(o)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...



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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM

TRANSLATED BY
JAMES LEGGE

PART II
THE WRITINGS OF KWANG-3ZE
BOOKS XVIII—XXXIII
THE THÂI-SHANG TRACTATE OF ACTIONS
AND THEIR RETRIBUTIONS
APPENDIXES I-VIII

Oxford
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THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM.

BOOK XVIII.

PART II. SECTION XI.

K'ih Lo, or 'Perfect Enjoyment'¹.

1. Under the sky is perfect enjoyment to be found or not? Are there any who can preserve themselves alive or not? If there be, what do they do? What do they maintain? What do they avoid? What do they attend to? Where do they resort to? Where do they keep from? What do they delight in? What do they dislike?

What the world honours is riches, dignities, longevity, and being deemed able. What it delights in is rest for the body, rich flavours, fine garments, beautiful colours, and pleasant music. What it looks down on are poverty and mean condition, short life and being deemed feeble². What men consider bitter experiences are that their bodies do not get rest and ease, that their mouths do not get food of rich flavour, that their persons are not finely clothed, that their eyes do not see beautiful colours, and that their ears do not listen to pleasant music. If they do not

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 149, 150.

² Of riches, dignities, longevity, and their opposites, enough is said, while the other two qualities are lightly passed over, and referred to only in connexion with 'meritorious officers.' I can only understand them as in the translation.

get these things, they are very sorrowful, and go on to be troubled with fears. Their thoughts are all about the body ;—are they not silly ?

Now the rich embitter their lives by their incessant labours ; they accumulate more wealth than they can use :—while they act thus for the body, they make it external to themselves¹. Those who seek for honours carry their pursuit of them from the day into the night, full of anxiety about their methods whether they are skilful or not :—while they act thus for the body they treat it as if it were indifferent to them². The birth of man is at the same time the birth of his sorrow ; and if he live long he becomes more and more stupid, and the longer is his anxiety that he may not die ; how great is his bitterness !—while he thus acts for his body, it is for a distant result. Meritorious officers are regarded by the world as good ; but (their goodness) is not sufficient to keep their persons alive. I do not know whether the goodness ascribed to them be really good or really not good. If indeed it be considered good, it is not sufficient to preserve their persons alive ; if it be deemed not good, it is sufficient to preserve other men alive. Hence it is said, ‘ When faithful remonstrances are not listened to, (the remonstrant) should sit still, let (his ruler) take his course, and not strive with him.’ Therefore when ʒze-hsü³ strove with (his ruler), he brought on him-

¹ If they did not do so, they would be content when they had enough.

² Wishing to attach it more closely to them.

³ Wû ʒze-hsü, the scourge of Kʒû ; and who perished miserably at last, when the king of Wû would no longer listen to his remonstrances ;—in about B. C. 475.

self the mutilation of his body. If he had not so striven, he would not have acquired his fame :—was such (goodness) really good or was it not ?

As to what the common people now do, and what they find their enjoyment in, I do not know whether the enjoyment be really enjoyment or really not. I see them in their pursuit of it following after all their aims as if with the determination of death, and as if they could not stop in their course ; but what they call enjoyment would not be so to me, while yet I do not say that there is no enjoyment in it. Is there indeed such enjoyment, or is there not ? I consider doing nothing (to obtain it) to be the great enjoyment¹, while ordinarily people consider it to be a great evil. Hence it is said, ' Perfect enjoyment is to be without enjoyment ; the highest praise is to be without praise². ' The right and the wrong (on this point of enjoyment) cannot indeed be determined according to (the view of) the world ; nevertheless, this doing nothing (to obtain it) may determine the right and the wrong. Since perfect enjoyment is (held to be) the keeping the body alive, it is only by this doing nothing that that end is likely to be secured. Allow me to try and explain this (more fully) :—Heaven does nothing, and thence comes its serenity ; Earth does nothing, and thence comes its rest. By the union of these two inactivities, all things are produced. How vast and imperceptible is the process !—they seem to come from

¹ This is the secret of the Táo.

² The last member of this sentence is the reading adopted by Wú K'ang towards the conclusion of the thirty-ninth chapter of the Táo Teh King, instead of the common 致數車無車.

nowhere! How imperceptible and vast!—there is no visible image of it! All things in all their variety grow from this Inaction. Hence it is said, ‘Heaven and Earth do nothing, and yet there is nothing that they do not do¹.’ But what man is there that can attain to this inaction?

2. When *K'wang-tze's* wife died, *Hui-tze* went to condole with him, and, finding him squatted on the ground, drumming on the basin², and singing, said to him, ‘When a wife has lived with her husband, and brought up children, and then dies in her old age, not to wail for her is enough. When you go on to drum on this basin and sing, is it not an excessive (and strange) demonstration?’ *K'wang-tze* replied, ‘It is not so. When she first died, was it possible for me to be singular and not affected by the event? But I reflected on the commencement of her being³. She had not yet been born to life; not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form; not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath. During the intermingling of the waste and dark chaos³, there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; another change, and there came birth

¹ Compare similar statements in the *Táo Teh K'ing*, ch. 48, et al.

² The basin or tub, not ‘a basin.’ The reference is, no doubt, to the basin of ice put down near or under the couch on which the body was laid. I suppose that *K'wang-tze* was squatting so as to have this between his legs.

³ Is the writer referring to the primal creation as we may call it, or development of things out of the chaos, or to some analogous process at the birth of his wife? However that be, birth and death appear to him to be merely changes of the same kind in the perpetual process of evolution.

and life. There is now a change again, and she is dead. The relation between these things is like the procession of the four seasons from spring to autumn, from winter to summer. There now she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber¹; and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wail for her, I should think that I did not understand what was appointed (for all). I therefore restrained myself²!'

3. Mr. Deformed³ and Mr. One-foot³ were looking at the mound-graves of the departed in the wild of Khwăn-lun, where Hwang-Ti had entered into his rest. Suddenly a tumour began to grow on their left wrists, which made them look distressed as if they disliked it. The former said to the other, 'Do

¹ Between heaven and earth.

² Was it necessary he should fall singing to his drumming on the basin? But I subjoin a note here, suggested by the paragraph, which might have found, perhaps, a more appropriate place in the notice of this Book in vol. xxxix, pp. 149, 150.

In Sir John F. Davis' 'Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants (edition of 1857),' vol. ii, pp. 74-90, we have the amusing story of 'The Philosopher and his Wife.' The philosopher is Kwang-3ze, who plays the part of a magician; and of his wife it might be said, 'Frailty! thy name is woman!' Sir John Davis says, 'The story was translated into French by Père d'Entrecolles, and supplied the materials of Voltaire's *Zadig*.' I have not met in Chinese with Father d'Entrecolles' original. All of *Zadig* which can be supposed to have been borrowed from his translator is only a few sentences. The whole story is inconsistent with the account in paragraph 2 of the death of Kwang-3ze's wife, and with all which we learn from his writings of his character.

³ We know nothing of these parties but what we are told here. They are called Shû, meaning 'uncle,' often equivalent in China to our 'Mr.' The lesson taught by them is that of submission to pain and death as merely phenomena in the sphere of change. For the phraseology of their names, see Bk. III, par. 3, and Bk. IV, par. 8.

you dread it?' 'No,' replied he, 'why should I dread it? Life is a borrowed thing. The living frame thus borrowed is but so much dust. Life and death are like day and night. And you and I were looking at (the graves of) those who have undergone their change. If my change is coming to me, why should I dislike it?'

4. When *Kwang-ze* went to *K'ü*, he saw an empty skull, bleached indeed, but still retaining its shape. Tapping it with his horse-switch, he asked it, saying, 'Did you, Sir, in your greed of life, fail in the lessons of reason, and come to this? Or did you do so, in the service of a perishing state, by the punishment of the axe? Or was it through your evil conduct, reflecting disgrace on your parents and on your wife and children? Or was it through your hard endurances of cold and hunger? Or was it that you had completed your term of life?'

Having given expression to these questions, he took up the skull, and made a pillow of it when he went to sleep. At midnight the skull appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'What you said to me was after the fashion of an orator. All your words were about the entanglements of men in their lifetime. There are none of those things after death. Would you like to hear me, Sir, tell you about death?' 'I should,' said *Kwang-ze*, and the skull resumed: 'In death there are not (the distinctions of) ruler above and minister below. There are none of the phenomena of the four seasons. Tranquil and at ease, our years are those of heaven and earth. No king in his court has greater enjoyment than we have.' *Kwang-ze* did not believe it, and said, 'If I

could get the Ruler of our Destiny¹ to restore your body to life with its bones and flesh and skin, and to give you back your father and mother, your wife and children, and all your village acquaintances, would you wish me to do so?' The skull stared fixedly at him, knitted its brows, and said, 'How should I cast away the enjoyment of my royal court, and undertake again the toils of life among mankind?'

5. When Yen Yüan went eastwards to *K'hi*, Confucius wore a look of sorrow². *Ze-kung* left his mat, and asked him, saying, 'Your humble disciple ventures to ask how it is that the going eastwards of Hui to *K'hi* has given you such a look of sadness.' Confucius said, 'Your question is good. Formerly *Kwan-ze*³ used words of which I very much approve. He said, "A small bag cannot be made to contain what is large; a short rope cannot be used to draw water from a deep well³." So it is, and man's appointed lot is definitely determined, and his body is adapted for definite ends, so that neither the one nor the other can be augmented or diminished. I am afraid that Hui will talk with the marquis of *K'hi* about the ways of Hwang-Ti, Yáo, and Shun, and go on to relate the words of Sui-zǎn and Shǎn Nǎng. The marquis will seek (for the correspondence of what he is told) in himself; and, not finding

¹ I suppose the *Táo*; but none of the commentators, so far as I have seen, say anything about the expression.

² Compare the long discourse of Confucius with Yen Hui, on the latter's proposing to go to Wei, in Bk. IV.

³ *Kwan Í-wú* or *Kwan Kung*, the chief minister of duke Hwan of *K'hi*, whom he is supposed to have in view in his 'small bag and short rope.'

it there, will suspect the speaker; and that speaker, being suspected, will be put to death. And have you not heard this?—Formerly a sea-bird alighted in the suburban country of Lû¹. The marquis went out to meet it, (brought it) to the ancestral temple, and prepared to banquet it there. The *Kiû-shão*² was performed to afford it music; an ox, a sheep, and a pig were killed to supply the food. The bird, however, looked at everything with dim eyes, and was very sad. It did not venture to eat a single bit of flesh, nor to drink a single cupful; and in three days it died.

‘The marquis was trying to nourish the bird with what he used for himself, and not with the nourishment proper for a bird. They who would nourish birds as they ought to be nourished should let them perch in the deep forests, or roam over sandy plains; float on the rivers and lakes; feed on the eels and small fish; wing their flight in regular order and then stop; and be free and at ease in their resting-places. It was a distress to that bird to hear men speak; what did it care for all the noise and hubbub made about it? If the music of the *Kiû-shão*³ or the *Hsien-k’ih*⁴ were performed in the wild of the Thung-thing⁴ lake, birds would fly away, and beasts would run off when they heard it, and fishes would dive down to the bottom of the water; while men, when they hear it, would come all round to-

¹ Perhaps another and more ridiculous version of the story told in ‘the Narratives of the States,’ II, i, art. 7.

² The name of Shun’s music;—see the *Shû* (in vol. iii), par. 2.

³ Called also *Tâ Shão*, in Book XXXIII, par. 2.

⁴ Hwang-Ti’s music;—see Bk. XIV, par. 3.—But the genuineness of the whole paragraph is called in question.

gether, and look on. Fishes live and men die in the water. They are different in constitution, and therefore differ in their likes and dislikes. Hence it was that the ancient sages did not require (from all) the same ability, nor demand the same performances. They gave names according to the reality of what was done, and gave their approbation where it was specially suitable. This was what was called the method of universal adaptation and of sure success.'

6. Lieh-ze (once) upon a journey took a meal by the road-side. There he saw a skull a hundred years old, and, pulling away the bush (under which it lay), he pointed to it and said, 'It is only you and I who know that you are not dead, and that (aforetime) you were not alive. Do you indeed really find (in death) the nourishment (which you like)? Do I really find (in life my proper) enjoyment? The seeds (of things) are multitudinous and minute. On the surface of the water they form a membranous texture. When they reach to where the land and water join they become the (lichens which we call the) clothes of frogs and oysters. Coming to life on mounds and heights, they become the plantain; and, receiving manure, appear as crows' feet. The roots of the crow's foot become grubs, and its leaves, butterflies. This butterfly, known by the name of *hsü*, is changed into an insect, and comes to life under a furnace. Then it has the form of a moth, and is named the *k'ü-to*. The *k'ü-to* after a thousand days becomes a bird, called the *kan-yü-kü*. Its saliva becomes the *s'e-mí*, and this again the *shih-hsí* (or pickle-eater). The *í-lo* is produced from the pickle-eater; the *hwang-kwang* from the

kiû-yû; the mâu-zui from the pû-khwan. The ying-hsî uniting with a bamboo, which has long ceased to put forth sprouts, produces the *kking*-ning; the *kking*-ning, the panther; the panther, the horse; and the horse, the man. Man then again enters into the great Machinery (of Evolution), from which all things come forth (at birth), and which they enter at death¹.

¹ A much larger paragraph from which this must have been abbreviated, or which must have been enlarged from this, is found in the first Book of Lieh-tze's works (pp. 4, 5). In no Buddhist treatise is the transrotation of births more fully, and, I must add, absurdly stated.

BOOK XIX.

PART II. SECTION XII.

Tā Shǎng, or 'The Full Understanding of Life'¹.

1. He who understands the conditions of Life does not strive after what is of no use to life; and he who understands the conditions of Destiny does not strive after what is beyond the reach of knowledge. In nourishing the body it is necessary to have beforehand the things (appropriate to its support)²; but there are cases where there is a superabundance of such things, and yet the body is not nourished³. In order to have life it is necessary that it do not have left the body; but there are cases when the body has not been left by it, and yet the life has perished³.

When life comes, it cannot be declined; when it goes, it cannot be detained. Alas! the men of the world think that to nourish the body is sufficient to preserve life; and when such nourishment is not sufficient to preserve the life, what can be done in the world that will be sufficient? Though (all that men can do) will be insufficient, yet there are things which they feel they ought to do, and they do not try to avoid doing them. For those who wish to

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 150, 151.

² Wealth will supply abundantly the things that are necessary and fit for the nourishment of the body, but sudden death may render them unavailing.

³ That is, the higher life of the spirit has perished.

avoid caring for the body, their best plan is to abandon the world. Abandoning the world, they are free from its entanglements. Free from its entanglements, their (minds) are correct and their (temperament) is equable. Thus correct and equable, they succeed in securing a renewal of life, as some have done¹. In securing a renewal of life, they are not far from the True (Secret of their being). But how is it sufficient to abandon worldly affairs? and how is it sufficient to forget the (business of) life? Through the renouncing of (worldly) affairs, the body has no more toil; through forgetting the (business of) life, the vital power suffers no diminution. When the body is completed and the vital power is restored (to its original vigour), the man is one with Heaven. Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of all things. It is by their union that the body is formed; it is by their separation that a (new) beginning is brought about. When the body and vital power suffer no diminution, we have what may be called the transference of power. From the vital force there comes another more vital, and man returns to be the assistant of Heaven.

2. My master² Lieh-*ŋze*² asked Yin, (the warden) of the gate², saying, 'The perfect man walks under

¹ I think I have caught the meaning. The phrase signifying 'the renewal of life' has been used to translate 'being born again' in John's Gospel, ch. 3.

² We find here Lieh-*ŋze* (whose name has already occurred several times) in communication with the warden Yin, who was a contemporary of Láo-*ŋze*, and we must refer him therefore to the sixth century B. C. He could not therefore be contemporary with our author, and yet the three characters of the text mean 'My Master, Lieh-*ŋze*;' and the whole of the paragraph is found in Lieh-*ŋze*'s second Book (4^a-5^a) with a good many variants in the text.

water without encountering any obstruction, treads on fire without being burned, and walks on high above all things without any fear; let me ask how he attains to do this¹?' The warden Yin replied, 'It is by his keeping of the pure breath (of life); it is not to be described as an achievement of his skill or daring. Sit down, and I will explain it to you. Whatever has form, semblance, sound, and colour is a thing; how can one thing come to be different from another? But it is not competent for any of these things to reach to what preceded them all;—they are but (form and) visibility. But (the perfect man) attains to be (as it were) without form, and beyond the capability of being transformed. Now when one attains to this and carries it out to the highest degree, how can other things come into his way to stop him? He will occupy the place assigned to him without going beyond it, and lie concealed in the clue which has no end. He will study with delight the process which gives their beginning and ending to all things. By gathering his nature into a unity, by nourishing his vital power, by concentrating his virtue, he will penetrate to the making of things. In this condition, with his heavenly constitution kept entire, and with no crevice in his spirit, how can things enter (and disturb his serenity)?

'Take the case of a drunken man falling from his carriage;—though he may suffer injury, he will not

The gate was at the passage leading from the Royal Domain of those days into the great feudal territory of Jin;—from the north-west of the present province of Ho-nan into Shen-hsi.

¹ Lieh-ze puts an absurd question to the warden, which is replied to at length, and unsatisfactorily. We need not discuss either the question or the answer in this place.

die. His bones and joints are the same as those of other men, but the injury which he receives is different:—his spirit is entire. He knew nothing about his getting into the carriage, and knew nothing about his falling from it. The thought of death or life, or of any alarm or affright, does not enter his breast; and therefore he encounters danger without any shrinking from it. Completely under the influence of the liquor he has drunk, it is thus with him;—how much more would it be so, if he were under the influence of his Heavenly constitution! The sagely man is kept hid in his Heavenly constitution, and therefore nothing can injure him.

‘A man in the pursuit of vengeance would not break the (sword) *Mo-yê* or *Yü-kiang* (which had done the deed); nor would one, however easily made wrathful, wreak his resentment on the fallen brick. In this way all under heaven there would be peace, without the disorder of assaults and fighting, without the punishments of death and slaughter:—such would be the issue of the course (which I have described). If the disposition that is of human origin be not developed, but that which is the gift of Heaven, the development of the latter will produce goodness, while that of the former would produce hurt. If the latter were not wearied of, and the former not slighted, the people would be brought nearly to their True nature.’

3. When *Kung-nî* was on his way to *K'û*, as he issued from a forest, he saw a hunchback receiving cicadas (on the point of a rod), as if he were picking them up with his hand¹. ‘You are clever!’ said he

¹ This paragraph is also found with variations in *Lieh-ze*,

to the man. 'Is there any method in it?' The hunchback replied, 'There is. For five or six months, I practised with two pellets, till they never fell down, and then I only failed with a small fraction¹ of the cicadas (which I tried to catch). Having succeeded in the same way with three (pellets), I missed only one cicada in ten. Having succeeded with five, I caught the cicadas as if I were gathering them. My body is to me no more than the stump of a broken trunk, and my shoulder no more than the branch of a rotten tree. Great as heaven and earth are, and multitudinous as things are, I take no notice of them, but only of the wings of my cicadas; neither turning nor inclining to one side. I would not for them all exchange the wings of my cicadas;—how should I not succeed in taking them?' Confucius looked round, and said to his disciples, "Where the will is not diverted from its object, the spirit is concentrated;"—this might have been spoken of this hunchback gentleman.'

4. Yen Yüan asked *Kung-nî*, saying, 'When I was crossing the gulf of *Khang-shān*², the ferryman handled the boat like a spirit. I asked him whether such management of a boat could be learned, and he replied, "It may. Good swimmers can learn it quickly; but as for divers, without having seen a boat, they can manage it at once." He did not

Bk. II (9^a). The dexterity of the hunchback in catching the cicadas will remind some readers of the account given by the butcher in Book III of his dexterity in cutting up his oxen.

¹ The names of two small weights, used anciently for 'a fraction,' 'a small proportion.'

² This is another paragraph common both to our author and *Lieh-ze*, but in neither is there any intimation of the place.

directly tell me what I asked ;—I venture to ask you what he meant.' *Kung-nî* replied, 'Good swimmers acquire the ability quickly ;—they forget the water (and its dangers). As to those who are able to dive, and without having seen a boat are able to manage it at once, they look on the watery gulf as if it were a hill-side, and the upsetting of a boat as the going back of a carriage. Such upsets and goings back have occurred before them multitudes of times, and have not seriously affected their minds. Wherever they go, they feel at ease on their occurrence.

'He who is contending for a piece of earthenware puts forth all his skill¹. If the prize be a buckle of brass, he shoots timorously ; if it be for an article of gold, he shoots as if he were blind. The skill of the archer is the same in all the cases ; but (in the two latter cases) he is under the influence of solicitude, and looks on the external prize as most important. All who attach importance to what is external show stupidity in themselves.'

5. *Thien Khái-khî*² was having an interview with duke Wei of *Kâu*², who said to him, 'I have heard that (your master) *Kû Hsin*² has studied the subject of Life. What have you, good Sir, heard from him about it in your intercourse with him?' *Thien Khái-khî* replied, 'In my waiting on him in the courtyard with my broom, what should I have heard from my master?' Duke Wei said, 'Do not put the question off, Mr. *Thien* ; I wish to hear what

¹ I think this is the meaning. 注 is defined by 射而賭物, 'to compete for anything by archery.'

² We have no information about who these personages and the others below were, and I have missed the story, if it be in *Lieh-tze*. The duke, it will be seen, had the appanage of *Kâu*.

you have to say.' Khái-ñih then replied, 'I have heard my master say that they who skilfully nourish their life are like shepherds, who whip up the sheep that they see lagging behind¹.' 'What did he mean?' asked the duke. The reply was, 'In Lû there was a Shan Pão, who lived among the rocks, and drank only water. He would not share with the people in their toils and the benefits springing from them; and though he was now in his seventieth year, he had still the complexion of a child. Unfortunately he encountered a hungry tiger, which killed and ate him. There was also a Kang Î, who hung up a screen at his lofty door, and to whom all the people hurried (to pay their respects)². In his fortieth year, he fell ill of a fever and died. (Of these two men), Pão nourished his inner man, and a tiger ate his outer; while Î nourished his outer man, and disease attacked his inner. Both of them neglected whipping up their lagging sheep.'

Kung-nî said, 'A man should not retire and hide himself; he should not push forward and display himself; he should be like the decayed tree which stands in the centre of the ground. Where these three conditions are fulfilled, the name will reach its greatest height. When people fear the dangers of a path, if one man in ten be killed, then fathers and sons, elder brothers and younger, warn one another that they must not go out on a journey without a large number of retainers;—and is it not a mark of wisdom to do so? But there are dangers which

¹ Pay more attention to any part of their culture which they are neglecting.

² It served its purpose there, but had not been put in its place with any special object.

men incur on the mats of their beds, and in eating and drinking ; and when no warning is given against them ;—is it not a mark of error¹ ?

6. The officer of Prayer² in his dark and square-cut robes goes to the pig-pen, and thus counsels the pigs, 'Why should you shrink from dying? I will for three months feed you on grain. Then for ten days I will fast, and keep vigil for three days, after which I will put down the mats of white grass, and lay your shoulders and rumps on the carved stand ;—will not this suit you?' If he had spoken from the standpoint of the pigs, he would have said, 'The better plan will be to feed us with our bran and chaff, and leave us in our pen.' When consulting for himself, he preferred to enjoy, while he lived, his carriage and cap of office, and after death to be borne to the grave on the ornamented carriage, with the canopy over his coffin. Consulting for the pigs, he did not think of these things, but for himself he would have chosen them. Why did he think so differently (for himself and) for the pigs³?

7. (Once), when duke Hwan⁴ was hunting by a marsh, with Kwan Kung⁵ driving the carriage, he saw a ghost. Laying his hand on that of Kwan

¹ This may seem to nourish the body, but in reality injures the life.

² Who had the charge also of the sacrifices.

³ Lin Hsi-kung says that the story shows the many troubles that arise from not renouncing the world. Ensnared by the world, men sacrifice for it their higher life, and are not so wise as pigs are for their life. The short paragraph bristles with difficulties.

⁴ The first of the leading chieftains among the princes ; B. C. 683-642.

⁵ His chief minister.

Kung, he said to him, 'Do you see anything, Father Kung?' 'Your servant sees nothing,' was the reply. The duke then returned, talking incoherently and becoming ill, so that for several days he did not go out. Among the officers of *K'hi* there was a Hwang-ze Kào-ão¹, who said to the duke, 'Your Grace is injuring yourself; how could a ghost injure you? When a paroxysm of irritation is dispersed, and the breath does not return (to the body), what remains in the body is not sufficient for its wants. When it ascends and does not descend, the patient becomes accessible to gusts of anger. When it descends and does not ascend, he loses his memory of things. When it neither ascends nor descends, but remains about the heart in the centre of the body, it makes him ill.' The duke said, 'Yes, but are there ghostly sprites²?' The officer replied, 'There are. About mountain tarns there is the *Lî*; about furnaces, the *K'chieh*; about the dust-heaps inside the door, the *Lei*-thing. In low-lying places in the north-east, the *Pei*-a and *Wa-lung* leap about, and in similar places in the north-west there dwells the *Yî*-yang. About rivers there is the *Wang*-hsiang; about mounds, the *Hsin*; about hills, the *Khwei*; about wilds, the *Fang*-hwang; about marshes, the *Wei*-tho.' 'Let me ask what is the *Wei*-tho like?' asked the duke. Hwang-ze said, 'It is the size of the

¹ An officer introduced here for the occasion, by surname Hwang, and designation Kào-ão. The 3ze simply = Mr.

² The commentators have a deal to say about the folklore of the various sprites mentioned. 'The whole shows that ghostly sprites are the fruit of a disordered mind.' It is a touch of nature that the prince recovers as soon as he knows that the ghost he had seen was of good presage.

nave of a chariot wheel, and the length of the shaft. It wears a purple robe and a red cap. It dislikes the rumbling noise of chariot wheels, and, when it hears it, it puts both its hands to its head and stands up. He who sees it is likely to become the leader of all the other princes.' Duke Hwan burst out laughing and said, 'This was what I saw.' On this he put his robes and cap to rights, and made Hwang-ze sit with him. Before the day was done, his illness was quite gone, he knew not how.

8. *K'î* Hsing-ze was rearing a fighting-cock for the king¹. Being asked after ten days if the bird were ready, he said, 'Not yet; he is still vain and quarrelsome, and relies on his own vigour.' Being asked the same after other ten days, he said, 'Not yet; he still responds to the crow and the appearance of another bird.' After ten days more, he replied, 'Not yet. He still looks angrily, and is full of spirit.' When a fourth ten days had passed, he replied to the question, 'Nearly so. Though another cock crows, it makes no change in him. To look at him, you would say he was a cock of wood. His quality is complete. No other cock will dare to meet him, but will run from him.'

9. Confucius was looking at the cataract near the gorge of Lü², which fell a height of 240 cubits, and

¹ According to the Lieh-ze version of this story (Bk. II, 17^b), the king was king Hsüan, B.C. 827-782. The trainer's rule seems to have been that his bird should meet its antagonist, with all its vigour complete and undisturbed, and not wishing to fight.

² I think that there are two versions of this story in Lieh-ze. In Bk. VIII (4^b, 5^a), it appears that Confucius was on his way from Wei to Lü, when he stopped his carriage or cart at this spot to view the cataract, and the incident occurred, and he took the opportunity to give the lesson to his disciples.

the spray of which floated a distance of forty li, (producing a turbulence) in which no tortoise, gavia, fish, or turtle could play. He saw, however, an old man swimming about in it, as if he had sustained some great calamity, and wished to end his life. Confucius made his disciples hasten along the stream to rescue the man; and by the time they had gone several hundred paces, he was walking along singing, with his hair dishevelled, and enjoying himself at the foot of the embankment. Confucius followed and asked him, saying, 'I thought you were a sprite; but, when I look closely at you, I see that you are a man. Let me ask if you have any particular way of treading the water.' The man said, 'No, I have no particular way. I began (to learn the art) at the very earliest time; as I grew up, it became my nature to practise it; and my success in it is now as sure as fate. I enter and go down with the water in the very centre of its whirl, and come up again with it when it whirls the other way. I follow the way of the water, and do nothing contrary to it of myself;—this is how I tread it.' Confucius said, 'What do you mean by saying that you began to learn the art at the very earliest time; that as you grew up, it became your nature to practise it, and that your success in it now is as sure as fate?' The man replied, 'I was born among these hills and lived contented among them;—that was why I say that I have trod this water from my earliest time. I grew up by it, and have been happy treading it;—that is why I said that to tread it had become natural to me. I know not how I do it, and yet I do it;—that is why I say that my success is as sure as fate.'

10. *K'ing*, the Worker in Rottlera¹ wood, carved a bell-stand², and when it was completed, all who saw it were astonished as if it were the work of spirits. The marquis of Lû went to see it, and asked by what art he had succeeded in producing it. 'Your subject is but a mechanic,' was the reply; 'what art should I be possessed of? Nevertheless, there is one thing (which I will mention). When your servant had undertaken to make the bell-stand, I did not venture to waste any of my power, and felt it necessary to fast in order to compose my mind. After fasting for three days, I did not presume to think of any congratulation, reward, rank, or emolument (which I might obtain by the execution of my task); after fasting five days, I did not presume to think of the condemnation or commendation (which it would produce), or of the skill or want of skill (which it might display). At the end of the seven days, I had forgotten all about myself;—my four limbs and my whole person. By this time the thought of your Grace's court (for which I was to make the thing) had passed away; everything that could divert my mind from exclusive devotion to the exercise of my skill had disappeared. Then I went into the forest, and looked at the natural forms of the trees. When I saw one of a perfect form, then the figure of the bell-stand rose up to my view, and I applied my hand to the work. Had

¹ The *3ze* or *rottlera* was and is a very famous tree, called 'the king of trees,' from its stately appearance and the excellence of its timber.

² The 'bell-stand' is celebrated in the *Shih King*, III, i, Ode 8. A complete peal consisted of twelve bells, suspended in two tiers one above the other.

I not met with such a tree, I must have abandoned the object; but my Heaven-given faculty and the Heaven-given qualities of the wood were concentrated on it. So it was that my spirit was thus engaged in the production of the bell-stand.'

11. Tung-yê *Kî*¹ was introduced to duke *Kwang*² to exhibit his driving. His horses went forwards and backwards with the straightness of a line, and wheeled to the right and the left with the exactness of a circle. The duke thought that the lines and circles could not be surpassed if they were woven with silken strings, and told him to make a hundred circuits on the same lines. On the road Yen Ho³ met the equipage, and on entering (the palace), and seeing the duke, he said, '*Kî*'s horses will break down,' but the duke was silent, and gave him no reply. After a little the horses did come back, having broken down; and the duke then said, 'How did you know that it would be so?' Yen Ho said, 'The horses were exhausted, and he was still urging them on. It was this which made me say that they would break down.'

12. The artisan Shui⁴ made things round (and square) more exactly than if he had used the circle

¹ *Kî* would be the name of the charioteer, a gentleman of Lû, called Tung-yê, 'eastern country,' I suppose from the situation of his estate.

² Duke *Kwang* would be the marquis Thung of Lû, B.C. 693-662.

³ Yen Ho was probably the chief of the Yen family at the time. A scion of it, Yen Hui, afterwards became the favourite disciple of Confucius. He could hardly be the same Yen Ho who is mentioned in Bk. IV, par. 5. *Kî* has had, and still has, his representatives in every country.

⁴ Shui is mentioned in the Shû King, V, xxii, 19, as a famous maker of arrows. Some carry him back to the time of Shun.

and square. The operation of his fingers on (the forms of) things was like the transformations of them (in nature), and required no application of his mind; and so his Intelligence¹ was entire and encountered no resistance.

13. To be unthought of by the foot that wears it is the fitness of a shoe; to be unthought of by the waist is the fitness of a girdle. When one's wisdom does not think of the right or the wrong (of a question under discussion), that shows the suitability of the mind (for the question); when one is conscious of no inward change, or outward attraction, that shows the mastery of affairs. He who perceives at once the fitness, and never loses the sense of it, has the fitness that forgets all about what is fitting.

14. There was a Sun Hsiù² who went to the door of 3ze-pien *K'ing-ze*, and said to him in a strange perturbed way, 'When I lived in my village, no one took notice of me, but all said that I did not cultivate (my fields); in a time of trouble and attack, no one took notice of me, but all said that I had no courage. But that I did not cultivate my fields, was really because I never met with a good year; and that I did not do service for our ruler, was because I did not meet with the suitable opportunity to do so. I have been sent about my business by the villagers, and am driven away by the registrars of the district;—what is my crime? O Heaven! how is it that I have met with such a fate?'

¹ Literally, 'Tower of Intelligence,'—a Taoistic name for the mind.

² A weakling, of whom we know only what we read here.

Pien-ze¹ said to him, 'Have you not heard how the perfect man deals with himself? He forgets that he has a liver and gall. He takes no thought of his ears and eyes. He seems lost and aimless beyond the dust and dirt of the world, and enjoys himself at ease in occupations untroubled by the affairs of business. He may be described as acting and yet not relying on what he does, as being superior and yet not using his superiority to exercise any control. But now you would make a display of your wisdom to astonish the ignorant; you would cultivate your person to make the inferiority of others more apparent; you seek to shine as if you were carrying the sun and moon in your hands. That you are complete in your bodily frame, and possess all its nine openings; that you have not met with any calamity in the middle of your course, such as deafness, blindness, or lameness, and can still take your place as a man among other men;—in all this you are fortunate. What leisure have you to murmur against Heaven? Go away, Sir.'

Sun-ze on this went out, and Pien-ze went inside. Having sitten down, after a little time he looked up to heaven, and sighed. His disciples asked him why he sighed, and he said to them, 'Hsiû came to me a little while ago, and I told him the characteristics of the perfect man. I am afraid he will be frightened, and get into a state of perplexity.' His disciples said, 'Not so. If what he said was right, and what you

¹ This must have been a man of more note. We find him here with a school of disciples in his house, and sought out for counsel by men like Sun Hsiû.

said was wrong, the wrong will certainly not be able to perplex the right. If what he said was wrong, and what you said was right, it was just because he was perplexed that he came to you. What was your fault in dealing with him as you did?' Pien-ze said, 'Not so. Formerly a bird came, and took up its seat in the suburbs of Lû¹. The ruler of Lû was pleased with it, and provided an ox, a sheep, and a pig to feast it, causing also the Kîû-sháo to be performed to delight it. But the bird began to be sad, looked dazed, and did not venture to eat or drink. This was what is called "Nourishing a bird, as you would nourish yourself." He who would nourish a bird as a bird should be nourished should let it perch in a deep forest, or let it float on a river or lake, or let it find its food naturally and undisturbed on the level dry ground. Now Hsiû (came to me), a man of slender intelligence, and slight information, and I told him of the characteristics of the perfect man, it was like using a carriage and horses to convey a mouse, or trying to delight a quail with the music of bells and drums;—could the creatures help being frightened?'

¹ Compare par. 5, Bk. XVIII.

BOOK XX.

PART II. SECTION XIII.

Shan Mû, or 'The Tree on the Mountain'.¹

1. *Kwang-ze* was walking on a mountain, when he saw a great tree² with huge branches and luxuriant foliage. A wood-cutter was resting by its side, but he would not touch it, and, when asked the reason, said, that it was of no use for anything. *Kwang-ze* then said to his disciples, 'This tree, because its wood is good for nothing, will succeed in living out its natural term of years.' Having left the mountain, the Master lodged in the house of an old friend, who was glad to see him, and ordered his waiting-lad to kill a goose and boil it. The lad said, 'One of our geese can cackle, and the other cannot;—which of them shall I kill?' The host said, 'Kill the one that cannot cackle.'

Next day, his disciples asked *Kwang-ze*, saying, 'Yesterday the tree on the mountain (you said) would live out its years because of the uselessness of its wood, and now our host's goose has died because of its want of power (to cackle);—which of these conditions, Master, would you prefer to be in?' *Kwang-ze* laughed and said, '(If I said that) I would prefer to be in a position between being fit to be useful and wanting that fitness, that would

¹ See vol. xxxix, p. 151.

² Compare the accounts of great trees in I, par.6; IV, par.1; et al.

seem to be the right position, but it would not be so, for it would not put me beyond being involved in trouble; whereas one who takes his seat on the Táo and its Attributes, and there finds his ease and enjoyment, is not exposed to such a contingency. He is above the reach both of praise and of detraction; now he (mounts aloft) like a dragon, now he (keeps beneath) like a snake; he is transformed with the (changing) character of the time, and is not willing to addict himself to any one thing; now in a high position and now in a low, he is in harmony with all his surroundings; he enjoys himself at ease with the Author of all things¹; he treats things as things, and is not a thing to them:—where is his liability to be involved in trouble? This was the method of Shǎn Nǎng and Hwang-Ti. As to those who occupy themselves with the qualities of things, and with the teaching and practice of the human relations, it is not so with them. Union brings on separation; success, overthrow; sharp corners, the use of the file; honour, critical remarks; active exertion, failure; wisdom, scheming; inferiority, being despised:—where is the possibility of unchangeableness in any of these conditions? Remember this, my disciples. Let your abode be here,—in the Táo and its Attributes².

2. Î-lião³, an officer of Shih-nan³, having an in-

¹ The Táo; called 衆父父, in Bk. XII, par. 5.

² But after all it comes to be the same thing in point of fact with those who ground themselves in the Táo, and with others.

³ The Î-lião here was a scion of the ruling House of K'ü, and is mentioned fortunately in the Supplement to the 30-*hwan*, under the very year in which Confucius died (B. C. 479). His residence was in the south of the 'Market Place' of the city where he lived,

terview with the marquis of Lû¹, found him looking sad, and asked him why he was so. The marquis said, 'I have studied the ways of the former kings, and cultivated the inheritance left me by my predecessors. I reverence the spirits of the departed and honour the men of worth, doing this with personal devotion, and without the slightest intermission. Notwithstanding, I do not avoid meeting with calamity, and this it is which makes me sad.' The officer said, 'The arts by which you try to remove calamity are shallow. Think of the close-furred fox and of the elegantly-spotted leopard. They lodge in the forests on the hills, and lurk in their holes among the rocks;—keeping still. At night they go about, and during day remain in their lairs;—so cautious are they. Even if they are suffering from hunger, thirst, and other distresses, they still keep aloof from men, seeking their food about the Kiang and the Ho;—so resolute are they. Still they are not able to escape the danger of the net or the trap; and what fault is it of theirs? It is their skins which occasion them the calamity.

'And is not the state of Lû your lordship's skin? I wish your lordship to rip your skin from your body, to cleanse your heart, to put away your desires, and to enjoy yourself where you will be

which is the meaning of the Shih-nan in the text. The description of his character is that no offer of gain could win him, and no threatening terrify him. We find him here at the court of Lû in friendly conference with the marquis, and trying to persuade him to adopt the ways of Tâoism, which he presents to him under the figure of an allegory, an utopia called 'the State of Established Virtue,' in the south of Yüeh.

¹ Probably known to us as 'duke Âi.'

without the presence of any one. In the southern state of Yüeh, there is a district called "the State of Established Virtue." The people are ignorant and simple; their object is to minimise the thought of self and make their desires few; they labour but do not lay up their gains; they give but do not seek for any return; they do not know what righteousness is required of them in any particular case, nor by what ceremonies their performances should be signalised; acting in a wild and eccentric way as if they were mad, they yet keep to the grand rules of conduct. Their birth is an occasion for joy; their death is followed by the rites of burial. I should wish your lordship to leave your state; to give up your ordinary ways, and to proceed to that country by the directest course.'

The ruler said, 'The way to it is distant and difficult; there are rivers and hills; and as I have neither boat nor carriage, how am I to go?' The officer from Shih-nan rejoined, 'If your lordship abjure your personal state, and give up your wish to remain here, that will serve you for a carriage.' The ruler rejoined, 'The way to it is solitary and distant, and there are no people on it;—whom shall I have as my companions? I have no provisions prepared, and how shall I get food?—how shall I be able to get (to the country)?' The officer said, 'Minimise your lordship's expenditure, and make your wants few, and though you have no provisions prepared, you will find you have enough. Wade through the rivers and float along on the sea, where however you look, you see not the shore, and, the farther you go, you do not see where your journey is to end;—those who escorted you to the shore will

return, and after that you will feel yourself far away. Thus it is that he who owns men (as their ruler) is involved in troubles, and he who is owned by men (as their ruler) suffers from sadness; and hence Yâo would neither own men, nor be owned by them. I wish to remove your trouble, and take away your sadness, and it is only (to be done by inducing you) to enjoy yourself with the Tâo in the land of Great Vacuity.

‘If a man is crossing a river in a boat, and another empty vessel comes into collision with it, even though he be a man of a choleric temper, he will not be angry with it. If there be a person, however, in that boat, he will bawl out to him to haul out of the way. If his shout be not heard, he will repeat it; and if the other do not then hear, he will call out a third time, following up the shout with abusive terms. Formerly he was not angry, but now he is; formerly (he thought) the boat was empty, but now there is a person in it. If a man can empty himself of himself, during his time in the world, who can harm him?’

3. Pei-kung Shê¹ was collecting taxes for duke Ling of Wei, to be employed in making (a peal of) bells. (In connexion with the work) he built an altar outside the gate of the suburban wall; and in three months the bells were completed, even to the suspending of the upper and lower (tiers). The king's son *K'ing-ki*² saw them, and asked what

¹ Pei-kung, ‘Northern Palace,’ must have been the name of Shê's residence, and appears here as if it were his surname.

² A son, probably of king K'ing of K'âu (B.C. 544-529).—On the whole paragraph, see par. 10 of the preceding Book.

arts he had employed in the making of them. Shê replied, 'Besides my undivided attention to them, I did not venture to use any arts. I have heard the saying, "After all the carving and the chiselling, let the object be to return to simplicity." I was as a child who has no knowledge; I was extraordinarily slow and hesitating; they grew like the springing plants of themselves. In escorting those who went and meeting those who came, my object was neither to hinder the comers nor detain the goers. I suffered those who strongly opposed to take their way, and accepted those who did their best to come to terms. I allowed them all to do the utmost they could, and in this way morning and evening I collected the taxes. I did not have the slightest trouble, and how much more will this be the case with those who pursue the Great Way (on a grand scale)!'

4. Confucius was kept (by his enemies) in a state of siege between *K'zăn* and *Zhâi*¹, and for seven days had no food cooked with fire to eat. The *Thâi-kung Zân*² went to condole with him, and said, 'You had nearly met with your death.' 'Yes,' was the reply. 'Do you dislike death?' 'I do.' Then *Zân* continued, 'Let me try and describe a way by which (such a) death may be avoided.—In the eastern sea there are birds which go by the name of *Î-ts*³; they fly low and slowly as if they were deficient in power. They fly as if they were

¹ Compare *Analects* XI, ii.

² We might translate *Thâi-kung* by 'the grand-duke.' We know nothing about him. He tries to convert Confucius to Tâoism just as *Î-liáo* does the marquis of *Lû* in par. 2; and for a time at least, as *K'wang-ze* makes it appear, with more success.

³ Were these *Î-ts* swallows? So some of the critics say.

leading and assisting one another, and they press on one another when they roost. No one ventures to take the lead in going forward, or to be the last in going backwards. In eating no one ventures to take the first mouthful, but prefers the fragments left by others. In this way (the breaks in) their line are not many¹, and men outside them cannot harm them, so that they escape injury.

‘The straight tree is the first to be cut down; the well of sweet water is the first to be exhausted. Your aim is to embellish your wisdom so as to startle the ignorant, and to cultivate your person to show the unsightliness of others. A light shines around you as if you were carrying with you the sun and moon, and thus it is that you do not escape such calamity. Formerly I heard a highly accomplished man say, “Those who boast have no merit. The merit which is deemed complete will begin to decay. The fame which is deemed complete will begin to wane.” Who can rid himself of (the ideas of) merit and fame, and return and put himself on the level of the masses of men? The practice of the Táo flows abroad, but its master does not care to dwell where it can be seen; his attainments in it hold their course, but he does not wish to appear in its display. Always simple and commonplace, he may seem to be bereft of reason. He obliterates the traces of his action, gives up position and power, and aims not at merit and fame. Therefore he does not censure men, and men do not censure him. The perfect man does not seek to be heard of; how is it that you delight in doing so?’

¹ A clause of uncertain meaning.

Confucius said, 'Excellent ;' and thereupon he took leave of his associates, forsook his disciples, retired to the neighbourhood of a great marsh, wore skins and hair cloth, and ate acorns and chestnuts. He went among animals without causing any confusion among their herds, and among birds without troubling their movements. Birds and beasts did not dislike him ; how much less would men do so !

5. Confucius asked 3ze-sang Hû¹, saying, 'I was twice driven from Lû ; the tree was felled over me in Sung ; I was obliged to disappear from Wei ; I was reduced to extreme distress in Shang and Kâu² ; and I was kept in a state of siege between K'ăn and 3hâi. I have encountered these various calamities ; my intimate associates are removed from me more and more ; my followers and friends are more and more dispersed ;—why have all these things befallen me ?' 3ze-sang Hû replied, 'Have you not heard of the flight of Lin Hui of K'ia³ ;—how he abandoned his round jade symbol of rank, worth a thousand pieces of silver, and hurried away with his infant son on his back ? If it be asked, "Was it because of the market value of the child ?" But that value was small (compared with the value of the jade token). If it be asked again, "Was it because of the troubles

¹ Supposed to have been a recluse.

² I do not know the particulars of this distress in Shang and Kâu, or have forgotten them. A still more full recital of the sage's misfortunes occurs in Lieh-ze, VII, 8^a.

³ The text here appears to be somewhat confused. Lin Hui is said to have been a man of the Yin dynasty, and of a state which was called K'ia, and for the verification of such a state I have searched in vain. The explanation of his conduct put here into his mouth is very good.

(of his office)?” But the child would occasion him much more trouble. Why was it then that, abandoning the jade token, worth a thousand pieces of silver, he hurried away with the child on his back? Lin Hui (himself) said, “The union between me and the token rested on the ground of gain; that between me and the child was of Heaven’s appointment.” Where the bond of union is its profitableness, when the pressure of poverty, calamity, distress, and injury come, the parties abandon one another; when it is of Heaven’s appointment, they hold in the same circumstances to one another. Now between abandoning one another, and holding to one another, the difference is great. Moreover, the intercourse of superior men is tasteless as water, while that of mean men is sweet as new wine. But the tastelessness of the superior men leads on to affection, and the sweetness of the mean men to aversion. The union which originates without any cause will end in separation without any cause.’

Confucius said, ‘I have reverently received your instructions.’ And hereupon, with a slow step and an assumed air of ease, he returned to his own house. There he made an end of studying and put away his books. His disciples came no more to make their bow to him (and be taught), but their affection for him increased the more.

Another day Sang Hû said further to him, ‘When Shun was about to die, he charged ¹ Yü, saying, ‘Be

¹ The 真冷 of the text here are allowed on all hands to be spurious, and 其命 have been substituted for them. What follows, however, from Shun to Yü, is far from being clear, in itself, or in its connexion.

upon your guard. (The attraction of) the person is not like that of sympathy; the (power of) affection is not like the leading (of example). Where there is sympathy, there will not be separation; where there is (the leading of) example, there will be no toil. Where there is neither separation nor toil, you will not have to seek the decoration of forms to make the person attractive, and where there is no such need of those forms, there will certainly be none for external things.'

6. *Kwang-ze* in a patched dress of coarse cloth, and having his shoes tied together with strings, was passing by the king of Wei, who said to him, 'How great, Master, is your distress?' *Kwang-ze* replied, 'It is poverty, not distress! While a scholar possesses the Tâo and its Attributes, he cannot be going about in distress. Tattered clothes and shoes tied on the feet are the sign of poverty, and not of distress. This is what we call not meeting with the right time. Has your majesty not seen the climbing monkey? When he is among the plane trees, rottleras, oaks, and camphor trees, he grasps and twists their branches (into a screen), where he reigns quite at his ease, so that not even *Î*¹ or *Phăng Măng*¹ could spy him out. When, however, he finds himself among the prickly mulberry and date trees, and other thorns, he goes cautiously, casts sidelong glances, and takes every trembling movement with apprehension;—it is not that his sinews and bones

¹ *Î*;—see Book V, par. 2. *Phăng Măng* was a contemporary of *Î*, learned archery from him, and then slew him, that he might himself be the foremost archer in the kingdom;—see Mencius IV, ii, 24.

are straitened, and have lost their suppleness, but the situation is unsuitable for him, and he cannot display his agility. And now when I dwell under a benighted ruler, and seditious ministers, how is it possible for me not to be in distress? My case might afford an illustration of the cutting out the heart of Pî-kan¹!

7. When Confucius was reduced to great distress between *Khăn* and *Khài*, and for seven days he had no cooked food to eat, he laid hold of a decayed tree with his left hand, and with his right hand tapped it with a decayed branch, singing all the while the ode of Piáo-shih². He had his instrument, but the notes were not marked on it. There was a noise, but no blended melody. The sound of the wood and the voice of the man came together like the noise of the plough through the ground, yet suitably to the feelings of the disciples around. Yen Hui, who was standing upright, with his hands crossed on his breast, rolled his eyes round to observe him. Kung-ni, fearing that Hui would go to excess in manifesting how he honoured himself, or be plunged in sorrow through his love for him, said to him, 'Hui, not to receive (as evils) the inflictions of Heaven is easy; not to receive (as benefits) the favours of men is difficult. There is no beginning which was not an end. The Human and the Heavenly may be one

¹ 'A spurious paragraph, no doubt.' Lin Hsi-kung thus concludes what he has to say on this paragraph; but it is not without its interest and lessons.

² I do not know who this was, nor what his ode or air was. Lû Teh-ming read the character 焄, and says that Piáo-shih was one of the old royal Tîs who did nothing. In all my texts it is wrongly printed with three 火.

and the same. Who, for instance, is it that is now singing¹?’ Hui said, ‘I venture to ask how not to receive (as evils) the inflictions of Heaven is easy.’ Kung-nî said, ‘Hunger, thirst, cold, and heat, and having one’s progress entirely blocked up;—these are the doings of Heaven and Earth, necessary incidents in the revolutions of things. They are occurrences of which we say that we will pass on (composedly) along with them. The minister of another does not dare to refuse his commands; and if he who is discharging the duty of a minister feels it necessary to act thus, how much more should we wait with ease on the commands of Heaven²!’ ‘What do you mean by saying that not to receive (as benefits) the favours of men is difficult?’ Kung-nî said, ‘As soon as one is employed in office, he gets forward in all directions; rank and emolument come to him together, and without end. But these advantages do not come from one’s self;—it is my appointed lot to have such external good. The superior man is not a robber; the man of worth is no filcher;—if I prefer such things, what am I³? Hence it is said, “There is no bird wiser than the swallow.” Where its eye lights on a place that is not suitable for it, it does not give it a second glance. Though it may drop the food from its

¹ This question arose out of the previous statement that man and Heaven might be one,—acting with the same spontaneity.

² Confucius recognises here, as he often does, a power beyond his own, ‘his appointed lot,’ what we call destiny, to which the Tâo requires submission. This comes very near to our idea of God.

³ Human gifts had such an attraction, that they tended to take from man his heavenly spontaneity; and were to be eschewed, or received only with great caution.

mouth, it abandons it, and hurries off. It is afraid of men, and yet it stealthily takes up its dwelling by his; finding its protection in the altars of the Land and Grain ¹.

'What do you mean by saying that there is no beginning which was not an end?' *Kung-ni* said, 'The change—rise and dissolution—of all things (continually) goes on, but we do not know who it is that maintains and continues the process. How do we know when any one begins? How do we know when he will end? We have simply to wait for it, and nothing more ².'

'And what do you mean by saying that the Human and the Heavenly are one and the same?' *Kung-ni* said, 'Given man, and you have Heaven; given Heaven, and you still have Heaven (and nothing more). That man can not have Heaven is owing to the limitation of his nature ³. The sagely man quietly passes away with his body, and there is an end of it.'

8. As *Kwang Kâu* was rambling in the park of *Tiào-ling* ⁴ he saw a strange bird which came from the south. Its wings were seven cubits in width, and

¹ What is said here about the swallow is quite obscure. *Hsi-kung* says that all the old attempts to explain it are ridiculous, and then propounds an ingenious one of his own; but I will leave the passage with my reader to deal with it as he best can.

² Compare with this how in Book XVIII we find *Kwang-ze* singing by the dead body of his wife.

³ That man is man and not Heaven is simply from the limitation of his nature,—his 'appointed lot.'

⁴ *Tiào-ling* might be translated 'Eagle Mount.' Where it was I do not know; perhaps the name originated with *Kwang-ze*, and thus has become semi-historical.

its eyes were large, an inch in circuit. It touched the forehead of *Kâu* as it passed him, and lighted in a grove of chestnut trees. 'What bird is this?' said he, 'with such great wings not to go on! and with such large eyes not to see me!' He lifted up his skirts, and hurried with his cross-bow, waiting for (an opportunity to shoot) it. (Meanwhile) he saw a cicada, which had just alighted in a beautiful shady spot, and forgot its (care for its) body. (Just then), a preying mantis raised its feelers, and pounced on the cicada, in its eagerness for its prey, (also) forgetting (its care for) its body; while the strange bird took advantage of its opportunity to secure them both, in view of that gain forgetting its true (instinct of preservation)¹. *Kwang Kâu* with an emotion of pity, said, 'Ah! so it is that things bring evil on one another, each of these creatures invited its own calamity.' (With this) he put away his cross-bow, and was hurrying away back, when the forester pursued him with terms of reproach.

When he returned and went into his house, he did not appear in his courtyard² for three months². (When he came out), *Lan 3ü*³ (his disciple) asked him, saying, 'Master, why have you for this some time avoided the courtyard so much?' *Kwang-ze* replied, 'I was guarding my person, and forgot myself; I was looking at turbid water, till I

¹ *Kwang-ze* might now have shot the bird, but we like him the better for letting it alone.

² So then, masters of schools, like *Kwang-ze*, received and taught their disciples in the courtyard of their house;—in China as elsewhere. For three 'months,' it is conjectured, we should read three 'days.'

³ The disciple *Lan 3ü* appears here, but not, so far as I know, elsewhere.

mistook the clear pool. And moreover I have heard the Master say¹, "Going where certain customs prevail, you should follow those customs." I was walking about in the park of Tiáo-ling, and forgot myself. A strange bird brushed past my forehead, and went flying about in the grove of chestnuts, where it forgot the true (art of preserving itself). The forester of the chestnut grove thought that I was a fitting object for his reproach. These are the reasons why I have avoided the courtyard.'

9. Yang-3ze, having gone to Sung, passed the night in a lodging-house, the master of which had two concubines;—one beautiful, the other ugly². The ugly one was honoured, however, and the beautiful one contemned. Yang-3ze asked the reason, and a little boy of the house replied, 'The beauty knows her beauty, and we do not recognise it. The ugly one knows her ugliness, and we do not recognise it.' Yang-3ze said, 'Remember it, my disciples. Act virtuously, and put away the practice of priding yourselves on your virtue. If you do this, where can you go to that you will not be loved³?'

¹ Who was this 'Master?'

² The story here is found in Lieh-3ze II, 15^{a, b}. The Yang-3ze is there Yang K'ü, against whom Mencius so often directed his arguments.

³ See the greater part of this paragraph in Prémare's 'Notitia Linguae Sinicae,' p. 200, with his remarks on the style.

BOOK XXI.

PART II. SECTION XIV.

Thien 3ze-fang¹.

1. Thien 3ze-fang, sitting in attendance on the marquis Wăn of Wei², often quoted (with approbation) the words of *Khi* Kung³. The marquis said, 'Is *Khi* Kung your preceptor?' 3ze-fang replied, 'No. He only belongs to the same neighbourhood. In speaking about the Tâo, his views are often correct, and therefore I quote them as I do.' The marquis went on, 'Then have you no preceptor?' 'I have.' 'And who is he?' 'He is Tung-kwo Shun-ze⁴.' 'And why, my Master, have I never heard you quote his words?' 3ze-fang replied, 'He is a man who satisfies the true (ideal of humanity)⁵; a man in appearance, but (having the mind of) Heaven. Void of any thought of himself, he accommodates himself to others, and nourishes the true ideal that belongs to him. With all his purity, he is forbearing to others. Where they are without the Tâo, he rectifies his demeanour, so that they understand it, and in consequence their own ideas melt

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 151, 152.

² B.C. 424-387.

³ Some well-known worthy of Wei.

⁴ A greater worthy still. He must have lived near the outside suburban wall of the capital, and his residence became a sort of surname.

⁵ The Human and the Heavenly were blended in his personality.

away and disappear. How should one like me be fit to quote his words ?'

When 3ze-fang went out, the marquis Wăn continued in a state of dumb amazement all the day. He then called Lung Li-*khăn*, and said to him, 'How far removed from us is the superior man of complete virtue ! Formerly I thought the words of the sages and wise men, and the practice of benevolence and righteousness, to be the utmost we could reach to. Since I have heard about the preceptor of 3ze-fang, my body is all unstrung, and I do not wish to move, and my mouth is closed up, and I do not wish to speak ;—what I have learned has been only a counterfeit of the truth¹. Yes, (the possession of Wei) has been an entanglement to me.'

2. Wăn-po Hsüeh-ze², on his way to *Khî*, stayed some time in *Lû*, where some persons of the state begged to have an interview with him. He refused them, saying, 'I have heard that the superior men of these Middle States³ understand the (subjects of) ceremony and righteousness, but are deplorably ignorant of the minds of men. I do not wish to see them.' He went on to *Khî*; and on his way back (to the south), he again stayed in *Lû*, when the same persons begged as before for an interview. He then said, 'Formerly they asked to see me, and now again they seek an interview. They will afford me

¹ So the Khang-hsî dictionary defines the phrase ;—'a wooden image made of earth,' says *Lû Shû-kih*.

² A Tâoist of note from some region in the south, perhaps from *Khî*, having his own share of the Tâoistic contempt for knowledge and culture.

³ Probably *Lû* and the northern states grouped closely round the royal domain.

some opportunity of bringing out my sentiments.' He went out accordingly and saw the visitors, and came in again with a sigh. Next day the same thing occurred, and his servant said to him, 'How is it that whenever you see those visitors, you are sure to come in again sighing?' 'I told you before,' was the reply, 'that the people of these Middle States understand (the subjects of) ceremony and righteousness, but are deplorably ignorant of the minds of men. Those men who have just seen me, as they came in and went out would describe, one a circle and another a square, and in their easy carriage would be like, one a dragon and another a tiger. They remonstrated with me as sons (with their fathers), and laid down the way for me as fathers (for their sons). It was this which made me sigh.'

Kung-nî saw the man, but did not speak a word to him. *3ze-lû* said, 'You have wished, Sir, to see this *Wăn-po Hsüeh-ze* for a long time; what is the reason that when you have seen him, you have not spoken a word?' *Kung-nî* replied, 'As soon as my eyes lighted on that man, the *Tâo* in him was apparent. The situation did not admit of a word being spoken.'

3. *Yen Yüan* asked *Kung-nî*, saying, 'Master, when you pace quietly along, I also pace along; when you go more quickly, I also do the same; when you gallop, I also gallop; but when you race along and spurn the dust, then I can only stand and look, and keep behind you¹.' The Master said, 'Hui, what do you mean?' The reply was, 'In saying that "when you, Master, pace quietly along, I also pace

¹ They are both supposed to be on horseback.

along," I mean¹ that when you speak, I also speak. By saying, "When you go more quickly, I also do the same," I mean¹ that when you reason, I also reason. By saying, "When you gallop, I also gallop," I mean¹ that when you speak of the Way, I also speak of the Way; but by saying, "When you race along and spurn the dust, then I can only stare, and keep behind you," I am thinking how though you do not speak, yet all men believe you; though you are no partisan, yet all parties approve your catholicity; and though you sound no instrument, yet people all move on harmoniously before you, while (all the while) I do not know how all this comes about; and this is all which my words are intended to express².

Kung-ni said, 'But you must try and search the matter out. Of all causes for sorrow there is none so great as the death of the mind;—the death of man's (body) is only next to it. The sun comes forth in the east, and sets in the extreme west;—all things have their position determined by these two points. All that have eyes and feet wait for this (sun), and then proceed to do what they have to do. When this comes forth, they appear in their places; when it sets, they disappear. It is so with all things. They have that for which they wait, and (on its arrival) they die; they have that for which they wait, and then (again) they live. When once I receive my frame thus completed, I remain unchanged, awaiting the consummation of my course.

¹ In these three cases the 也 of the text should be 者.

² So Hui is made to represent the master as a mental Thaumaturgist, and Confucius is made to try to explain the whole thing to him;—but not to my mind successfully. Still a distinction is maintained between the mind and the body.

I move as acted on by things, day and night without cessation, and I do not know when I will come to an end. Clearly I am here a completed frame, and even one who (fancies that he) knows what is appointed cannot determine it beforehand. I am in this way daily passing on, but all day long I am communicating my views to you; and now, as we are shoulder to shoulder you fail (to understand me);—is it not matter for lamentation? You are able in a measure to set forth what I more clearly set forth; but that is passed away, and you look for it, as if it were still existing, just as if you were looking for a horse in the now empty place where it was formerly exhibited for sale. You have very much forgotten my service to you, and I have very much forgotten wherein I served you. But nevertheless why should you account this such an evil? What you forget is but my old self; that which cannot be forgotten remains with me.'

4. Confucius went to see Láo Tan, and arrived just as he had completed the bathing of his head, and was letting his dishevelled hair get dry. There he was, motionless, and as if there were not another man in the world¹. Confucius waited quietly; and, when in a little time he was introduced, he said, 'Were my eyes dazed? Is it really you? Just now, your body, Sir, was like the stump of a rotten tree. You looked as if you had no thought of anything, as if you had left the society of men, and were standing in the solitude (of yourself).' Láo Tan replied, 'I was enjoying myself in thinking about the commencement

¹ He was in the Táoistic trance, like Nan-kwo 3ze-~~hhi~~, at the beginning of the second Book.

of things¹. 'What do you mean?' 'My mind is so cramped, that I hardly know it; my tongue is so tied that I cannot tell it; but I will try to describe it to you as nearly as I can. When the state of Yin was perfect, all was cold and severe; when the state of Yang was perfect, all was turbulent and agitated. The coldness and severity came forth from Heaven; the turbulence and agitation issued from Earth. The two states communicating together, a harmony ensued and things were produced. Some one regulated and controlled this, but no one has seen his form. Decay and growth; fulness and emptiness; darkness and light; the changes of the sun and the transformations of the moon:—these are brought about from day to day; but no one sees the process of production. Life has its origin from which it springs, and death has its place from which it returns. Beginning and ending go on in mutual contrariety without any determinable commencement, and no one knows how either comes to an end. If we disallow all this, who originates and presides over all these phenomena?'

Confucius said, 'I beg to ask about your enjoyment in these thoughts.' Lâu Tan replied, 'The

¹ This 'commencement of things' was not the equivalent of 'our creation out of nothing,' for Lâu Tan immediately supposes the existence of the primary ether in its twofold state, as Yin and Yang; and also of Heaven and Earth, as a twofold Power working, under some regulation and control, yet invisible; that is, under the Táo. In the same way the process of beginning and ending, growth and decay, life and death go on, no one knows how, or how long. And the contemplation of all this is the cause of unceasing delight to the Perfect man, the possessor of the Táo. Death is a small matter, merely as a change of feature; and Confucius acknowledges his immeasurable inferiority to Lâu-3ze.

comprehension of this is the most admirable and the most enjoyable (of all acquisitions). The getting of the most admirable and the exercise of the thoughts in what is the most enjoyable, constitutes what we call the Perfect man.' Confucius said, 'I should like to hear the method of attaining to it.' The reply was, 'Grass-eating animals do not dislike to change their pastures; creatures born in the water do not dislike to change their waters. They make a small change, but do not lose what is the great and regular requirement (of their nature); joy, anger, sadness, and delight do not enter into their breasts (in connexion with such events). Now the space under the sky is occupied by all things in their unity. When they possess that unity and equally share it, then the four limbs and hundred members of their body are but so much dust and dirt, while death and life, their ending and beginning, are but as the succession of day and night, which cannot disturb their enjoyment; and how much less will they be troubled by gains and losses, by calamity and happiness! Those who renounce the paraphernalia of rank do it as if they were casting away so much mud;—they know that they are themselves more honourable than those paraphernalia. The honour belonging to one's self is not lost by any change (of condition). Moreover, a myriad transformations may take place before the end of them is reached. What is there in all this sufficient to trouble the mind? Those who have attained to the Tâo understand the subject.'

Confucius said, 'O Master, your virtue is equal to that of Heaven and Earth, and still I must borrow

(some of your) perfect words (to aid me) in the cultivation of my mind. Who among the superior men of antiquity could give such expression to them?' Lâo Tan replied, 'Not so. Look at the spring, the water of which rises and overflows;—it does nothing, but it naturally acts so. So with the perfect man and his virtue;—he does not cultivate it, and nothing evades its influence. He is like heaven which is high of itself, like earth which is solid of itself, like the sun and moon which shine of themselves;—what need is there to cultivate it?'

Confucius went out and reported the conversation to Yen Hui, saying, 'In the (knowledge of the) Tâo am I any better than an animalcule in vinegar? But for the Master's lifting the veil from me, I should not have known the grand perfection of Heaven and Earth.'

5. At an interview of *Kwang-ze* with duke Âi¹ of Lû, the duke said, 'There are many of the Learned class in Lû; but few of them can be compared with you, Sir.' *Kwang-ze* replied, 'There are few Learned men in Lû.' 'Everywhere in Lû,' rejoined the duke, 'you see men wearing the dress of the Learned²;—how can you say that they are few?' 'I have heard,' said *Kwang-ze*, 'that those of them who wear round caps know the times of heaven; that those who wear square shoes know the contour of the ground; and that those who saunter about with semicircular stones at their

¹ Duke Âi of Lû died in B.C. 468, a century and more before the birth of *Kwang-ze*. On that, as well as on other grounds, the paragraph cannot be genuine.

² Compare the thirty-eighth Book of the *Lî K'î*, where Confucius denies that there was any dress peculiar to the scholar,

girdle-pendants settle matters in dispute as they come before them. But superior men who are possessed of such knowledge will not be found wearing the dress, and it does not follow that those who wear the dress possess the knowledge. If your Grace think otherwise, why not issue a notification through the state, that it shall be a capital offence to wear the dress without possessing the knowledge.' On this the duke issued such a notification, and in five days, throughout all Lû, there was no one who dared to wear the dress of the Learned. There was only one old man who came and stood in it at the duke's gate. The duke instantly called him in, and questioned him about the affairs of the state, when he talked about a thousand points and ten thousand divergences from them. Kwang-ze said, 'When the state of Lû can thus produce but one man of the Learned class, can he be said to be many?'

6. The ideas of rank and emolument did not enter the mind of Pâi-lî Hsî¹, and so he became a cattle-feeder, and his cattle were all in fine condition. This made duke Mû of K'in forget the meanness of his position, and put the government (of his state) into his hands. Neither life nor death entered into the mind of (Shun), the Lord of Yü, and therefore he was able to influence others².

7. The ruler Yüan³ of Sung wishing to have a map

¹ Pâi-lî Hsî, a remarkable character of the seventh century B.C., who rose to be chief minister to Mû, the earl (or duke) of K'in, the last of the five Leading Princes of the kingdom. Mû died in B.C. 621. Mencius has much to say of Pâi-lî Hsî.

² Shun's parents wished to kill him; but that did not trouble his mind; his filial piety even affected them.

³ His first year as duke of Sung was B.C. 530. The point of the story is not clear.

drawn, the masters of the pencil all came (to undertake the task). Having received his instructions and made their bows, they stood, licking their pencils and preparing their ink. Half their number, however, remained outside. There was one who came late, with an air of indifference, and did not hurry forward. When he had received his instructions and made his bow, he did not keep standing, but proceeded to his shed. The duke sent a man to see him, and there he was, with his upper garment off, sitting cross-legged, and nearly naked. The ruler said, 'He is the man; he is a true draughtsman.'

8. King Wăn was (once) looking about him at 3ang¹, when he saw an old man fishing². But his fishing was no fishing. It was not the fishing of one whose business is fishing. He was always fishing (as if he had no object in the occupation). The king wished to raise him to office, and put the government into his hands, but was afraid that such a step would give dissatisfaction to his great ministers, his uncles, and cousins. He then wished to dismiss the man altogether from his mind, but he could not bear the thought that his people should be without (such a) Heaven (as their Protector). On this, (next) morning, he called together his great officers, and said to them, 'Last night, I dreamt that I saw a good man, with a dark complexion and a

¹ Where 3ang was cannot be told.

² The old fisherman here was, no doubt, the first marquis of *Khî*, after the establishment of the dynasty of *Kâu*, known by various names, as *Lü Shang*, *Thái-kung Wang*, and *Kiang 3ze-yâ*. He did much for the new rule, but his connexion with kings Wăn and Wû is a mass of fables. The fishing as if he were not fishing betokened in him the aimlessness of the *Táo*.

beard, riding on a piebald horse, one half of whose hoofs were red, who commanded me, saying, "Lodge your government in the hands of the old man of 3ang; and perhaps the evils of your people will be cured." The great officers said eagerly, 'It was the king, your father.' King Wăn said, 'Let us then submit the proposal to the tortoise-shell.' They replied, 'It is the order of your father. Let not your majesty think of any other. Why divine about it?' (The king) then met the old man of 3ang, and committed the government to him.

The statutes and laws were not changed by him; not a one-sided order (of his own) was issued; but when the king made a survey of the kingdom after three years, he found that the officers had destroyed the plantations (which harboured banditti), and dispersed their occupiers, that the superintendents of the official departments did not plume themselves on their successes, and that no unusual grain measures were allowed within the different states¹. When the officers had destroyed the dangerous plantations and dispersed their occupants, the highest value was set on the common interests; when the chiefs of departments did not plume themselves on their successes, the highest value was set on the common business; when unusual grain measures did not enter the different states, the different princes had no jealousies. On this king Wăn made the old man his Grand Preceptor, and asked him, with his own face to the north, whether his government might be extended to all the kingdom. The old

¹ That is, that all combinations formed to resist and warp the course of justice had been put an end to.

man looked perplexed and gave no reply, but with aimless look took his leave. In the morning he had issued his orders, and at night he had gone his way; nor was he heard of again all his life. Yen Yüan questioned Confucius, saying, 'Was even king Wăn unequal to determine his course? What had he to do with resorting to a dream?' Kung-nt replied, 'Be silent and do not say a word! King Wăn was complete in everything. What have you to do with criticising him? He only had recourse (to the dream) to meet a moment's difficulty.'

9. Lieh Yü-khâu was exhibiting his archery¹ to Po-hwăn Wû-zăn². Having drawn the bow to its full extent, with a cup of water placed on his elbow, he let fly. As the arrow was discharged, another was put in its place; and as that was sent off, a third was ready on the string. All the while he stood like a statue. Po-hwăn Wû-zăn said, 'That is the shooting of an archer, but not of one who shoots without thinking about his shooting. Let me go up with you to the top of a high mountain, treading with you among the tottering rocks, till we arrive at the brink of a precipice, 800 cubits deep, and (I will then see) if you can shoot.' On this they went up a high mountain, making their way among the tottering rocks, till they came to the brink of a precipice 800 cubits deep. Then Wû-zăn turned round and walked backwards, till his feet were two-

¹ This must be the meaning of the 爲, 'for.' The whole story is found in Lieh-ze, II, p. 5. From Lieh's Book VIII, p. 2, we learn that Lieh-ze's teacher in archery was Yin Hsî, the warden of the pass famous in the history of Láo-ze.

² Mentioned in Book V, par. 2.

thirds of their length outside the edge, and beckoned Yü-khâu to come forward. He, however, had fallen prostrate on the ground, with the sweat pouring down to his heels. Then the other said, 'The Perfect man looks up to the azure sky above, or dives down to the yellow springs beneath, or soars away to the eight ends of the universe, without any change coming over his spirit or his breath. But now the trepidation of your mind appears in your dazed eyes; your inward feeling of peril is extreme!'

10. *Kien Wû* asked *Sun-shû Âo*¹, saying, 'You, Sir, were thrice chief minister, and did not feel elated; you were thrice dismissed from that position, without manifesting any sorrow. At first I was in doubt about you, (but I am not now, since) I see how regularly and quietly the breath comes through your nostrils. How is it that you exercise your mind?' *Sun-shû Âo* replied, 'In what do I surpass other men? When the position came to me, I thought it should not be rejected; when it was taken away, I thought it could not be retained. I considered that the getting or losing it did not make me what I was, and was no occasion for any manifestation of sorrow;—that was all. In what did I surpass other men? And moreover, I did not know whether the honour of it belonged to the dignity, or to myself. If it belonged to the dignity, it was nothing to me; if it belonged to me, it had nothing

¹ *Sun-shû Âo*;—see *Mencius* VI, ii, 15. He was, no doubt, a good and able man, chief minister to king *Kwang* of *Khû*. The legends or edifying stories about him are many; but *Kwang-ze*, I think, is the author of his being thrice raised and thrice dismissed from office.

to do with the dignity. While occupied with these uncertainties, and looking round in all directions, what leisure had I to take knowledge of whether men honoured me or thought me mean ?'

Kung-nî heard of all this, and said, 'The True men of old could not be fully described by the wisest, nor be led into excess by the most beautiful, nor be forced by the most violent robber. Neither *Fû-hsi* nor *Hwang-Ti* could compel them to be their friends. Death and life are indeed great considerations, but they could make no change in their (true) self; and how much less could rank and emolument do so? Being such, their spirits might pass over the *Thâi* mountain and find it no obstacle to them¹; they might enter the greatest gulphs, and not be wet by them; they might occupy the lowest and smallest positions without being distressed by them. Theirs was the fulness of heaven and earth; the more that they gave to others, the more they had.'

The king of *K'û* and the ruler of *Fan*² were sitting together. After a little while, the attendants of the king said, 'Fan has been destroyed three times.' The ruler of Fan rejoined, 'The destruction of Fan has not been sufficient to destroy what we had that was most deserving to be preserved.' Now,

¹ It is difficult to see why this should be predicated of the 'spirits' of the True men.

² Fan was a small state, held at one time by descendants of the famous duke of *K'âu*;—see the *30 K'wan*, I, vii, 6; V, xxiv, 2. But we do not know what had been the relations between the powerful *K'û* and the feeble Fan, which gave rise to and could explain the remarks made at the entertainment, more honourable to Fan than to *K'û*.

if the destruction of Fan had not been sufficient to destroy that which it had most deserving to be preserved, the preservation of *Khû* had not been sufficient to preserve that in it most deserving to be preserved. Looking at the matter from this point of view, Fan had not begun to be destroyed, and *Khû* had not begun to be preserved.

BOOK XXII.

PART II. SECTION XV.

K'ih Pei Yü, or 'Knowledge Rambling in the North¹.'

1. Knowledge² had rambled northwards to the region of the Dark Water³, where he ascended the height of Imperceptible Slope³, when it happened that he met with Dumb Inaction². Knowledge addressed him, saying, 'I wish to ask you some questions:—By what process of thought and anxious consideration do we get to know the Táo? Where should we dwell and what should we do to find our rest in the Táo? From what point should we start and what path should we pursue to make the Táo our own?' He asked these three questions, but Dumb Inaction² gave him no reply. Not only did he not answer, but he did not know how to answer.

Knowledge², disappointed by the fruitlessness of his questions, returned to the south of the Bright

¹ See vol. xxxix, p. 152.

² All these names are metaphorical, having more or less to do with the qualities of the Táo, and are used as the names of personages, devoted to the pursuit of it. It is difficult to translate the name *K'hwang K'ü* (狂屈). An old reading is 諛, which Medhurst explains by 'Bent or Crooked Discourse.' 'Blurter,' though not an elegant English term, seems to express the idea our author would convey by it. Hwang-Ti is different from the other names, but we cannot regard him as here a real personage.

³ These names of places are also metaphorical and Táoistic.

Water¹, and ascended the height of the End of Doubt¹, where he saw Heedless Blurter, to whom he put the same questions, and who replied, 'Ah! I know, and will tell you.' But while he was about to speak, he forgot what he wanted to say.

Knowledge, (again) receiving no answer to his questions, returned to the palace of the Tí², where he saw Hwang-Tí³, and put the questions to him. Hwang-Tí said, 'To exercise no thought and no anxious consideration is the first step towards knowing the Táo; to dwell nowhere and do nothing is the first step towards resting in the Táo; to start from nowhere and pursue no path is the first step towards making the Táo your own.'

Knowledge then asked Hwang-Tí, saying, 'I and you know this; those two did not know it; which of us is right?' The reply was, 'Dumb Inaction³ is truly right; Heedless Blurter has an appearance of being so; I and you are not near being so. (As it is said), "Those who know (the Táo) do not speak of it; those who speak of it do not know it⁴;" and "Hence the sage conveys his instructions without the use of speech⁴." The Táo cannot be made ours by constraint; its characteristics will not come to us (at our call). Benevolence may be practised; Righteousness may be partially attended to; by Ceremonies men impose on one another. Hence it

¹ See note 3, on preceding page.

² Tí might seem to be used here for 'God,' but its juxtaposition with Hwang-Tí is against our translating it so.

³ See note 2, on preceding page.

⁴ See the Táo Teh King, chaps. 56 and 2. Kwang-ze is quoting, no doubt, these two passages, as he vaguely intimates I think by the 夫, with which the sentence commences.

is said, "When the Táo was lost, its Characteristics appeared. When its Characteristics were lost, Benevolence appeared. When Benevolence was lost, Righteousness appeared. When Righteousness was lost, Ceremonies appeared. Ceremonies are but (the unsubstantial) flowers of the Táo, and the commencement of disorder¹." Hence (also it is further said), "He who practises the Táo, daily diminishes his doing. He diminishes it and again diminishes it, till he arrives at doing nothing. Having arrived at this non-inaction, there is nothing that he does not do¹." Here now there is something, a regularly fashioned utensil;—if you wanted to make it return to the original condition of its materials, would it not be difficult to make it do so? Could any but the Great Man accomplish this easily²?

'Life is the follower of death, and death is the predecessor of life; but who knows the Arranger (of this connexion between them)³? The life is due to the collecting of the breath. When that is collected, there is life; when it is dispersed, there is death. Since death and life thus attend on each other, why should I account (either of) them an evil?

'Therefore all things go through one and the same experience. (Life) is accounted beautiful because it is spirit-like and wonderful, and death is accounted ugly because of its foetor and putridity. But the foetid and putrid is transformed again into the spirit-like and wonderful, and the spirit-like and wonderful is transformed again into the foetid and

¹ See the Táo Teh King, chaps. 38 and 48.

² This sentence is metaphorical of the Táo, whose spell is broken by the intrusion of Knowledge.

³ This 'Arranger' is the Táo.

putrid. Hence it is said, "All under the sky there is one breath of life, and therefore the sages prized that unity¹."

Knowledge² said to Hwang-Ti², 'I asked Dumb Inaction², and he did not answer me. Not only did he not answer me, but he did not know how to answer me. I asked Heedless Blurter, and while he wanted to tell me, he yet did not do so. Not only did he not tell me, but while he wanted to tell me, he forgot all about my questions. Now I have asked you, and you knew (all about them);—why (do you say that) you are not near doing so?' Hwang-Ti replied, 'Dumb Inaction² was truly right, because he did not know the thing. Heedless Blurter² was nearly right, because he forgot it. I and you are not nearly right, because we know it.' Heedless Blurter² heard of (all this), and considered that Hwang-Ti² knew how to express himself (on the subject).

2. (The operations of) Heaven and Earth proceed in the most admirable way, but they say nothing about them; the four seasons observe the clearest laws, but they do not discuss them; all things have their complete and distinctive constitutions, but they say nothing about them³.

The sages trace out the admirable operations of Heaven and Earth, and reach to and understand the distinctive constitutions of all things; and thus it is that the Perfect Man (is said to) do nothing and the Greatest Sage to originate nothing, such language showing that they look to Heaven and Earth as

¹ I have not been able to trace this quotation to its source.

² See note 2, p. 57. ³ Compare Analects XVII, xix, 3.

their model¹. Even they, with their spirit-like and most exquisite intelligence, as well as all the tribes that undergo their transformations, the dead and the living, the square and the round, do not understand their root and origin, but nevertheless they all from the oldest time by it preserve their being.

Vast as is the space included within the six cardinal points, it all (and all that it contains) lies within (this twofold root of Heaven and Earth); small as is an autumn hair, it is indebted to this for the completion of its form. All things beneath the sky, now rising, now descending, ever continue the same through this. The Yin and Yang, and the four seasons revolve and move by it, each in its proper order. Now it seems to be lost in obscurity, but it continues; now it seems to glide away, and have no form, but it is still spirit-like. All things are nourished by it, without their knowing it. This is what is called the Root and Origin; by it we may obtain a view of what we mean by Heaven².

3. Nieh K'üeh³ asked about the T'ao from Phei-î³, who replied, 'If you keep your body as it should be, and look only at the one thing, the Harmony of Heaven will come to you. Call in your knowledge, and make your measures uniform, and the spiritual (belonging to you) will come and lodge with you; the Attributes (of the T'ao) will be your beauty, and the T'ao (itself) will be your dwelling-place. You will have the simple look of a new-born calf, and

¹ Compare the T'ao Teh King, ch. 25.

² The binomial 'Heaven and Earth' here gives place to the one term 'Heaven,' which is often a synonym of T'ao.

³ See his character in Book XII, par. 5, where Phei-î also is mentioned.

will not seek to know the cause (of your being what you are).' Phei-t had not finished these words when the other dozed off into a sleep.

Phei-t was greatly pleased, and walked away, singing as he went,

'Like stump of rotten tree his frame,
Like lime when slaked his mind became¹.
Real is his wisdom, solid, true,
Nor cares what's hidden to pursue.
O dim and dark his aimless mind!
No one from him can counsel find.
What sort of man is he?'

4. Shun asked (his attendant) *Khǎng*², saying, 'Can I get the Táo and hold it as mine?' The reply was, 'Your body is not your own to hold;—how then can you get and hold the Táo?' Shun resumed, 'If my body be not mine to possess and hold, who holds it?' *Khǎng* said, 'It is the bodily form entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth. Life is not yours to hold. It is the blended harmony (of the Yin and Yang), entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth. Your nature, constituted as it is, is not yours to hold. It is entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth to act in accordance with it. Your grandsons and sons are not yours to hold. They are the exuviae³ entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth. Therefore when we walk, we should not know where we are going; when we stop and rest, we should not know what to occupy ourselves with;

¹ See the account of Nan-kwo *3ze-khi* in Book II, par. 1.

² Not the name of a man, but an office.

³ The term in the text denotes the cast-off skin or shell of insects, snakes, and crabs. See the account of death and life in par. 1.

when we eat, we should not know the taste of our food;—all is done by the strong Yang influence of Heaven and Earth¹. How then can you get (the Tâo), and hold it as your own?’

5. Confucius asked Lâu Tan, saying, ‘Being at leisure to-day, I venture to ask you about the Perfect Tâo.’ Lâu Tan replied, ‘You must, as by fasting and vigil, clear and purge your mind, wash your spirit white as snow, and sternly repress your knowledge. The subject of the Tâo is deep, and difficult to describe;—I will give you an outline of its simplest attributes.

‘The Luminous was produced from the Obscure; the Multiform from the Unembodied; the Spiritual from the Tâo; and the bodily from the seminal essence. After this all things produced one another from their bodily organisations. Thus it is that those which have nine apertures are born from the womb, and those with eight from eggs². But their coming leaves no trace, and their going no monument; they enter by no door; they dwell in no apartment³:—they are in a vast arena reaching in all directions. They who search for and find (the Tâo) in this are strong in their limbs, sincere and far-reaching in their thinking, acute in their hearing, and clear in their seeing. They exercise their minds without being toiled; they respond to everything aright without regard to place or circumstance. Without this heaven would not be high, nor earth

¹ It is an abstruse point why only the Yang is mentioned here, and described as ‘strong.’

² It is not easy to see the pertinence of this illustration.

³ Hû Wăn-ying says, ‘With this one word our author sweeps away the teaching of Purgatorial Sufferings.’

broad; the sun and moon would not move, and nothing would flourish:—such is the operation of the Tâo.

‘Moreover, the most extensive knowledge does not necessarily know it; reasoning will not make men wise in it;—the sages have decided against both these methods. However you try to add to it, it admits of no increase; however you try to take from it, it admits of no diminution;—this is what the sages maintain about it. How deep it is, like the sea! How grand it is, beginning again when it has come to an end! If it carried along and sustained all things, without being overburdened or weary, that would be like the way of the superior man, merely an external operation; when all things go to it, and find their dependence in it;—this is the true character of the Tâo.

‘Here is a man (born) in one of the middle states¹. He feels himself independent both of the Yin and Yang², and dwells between heaven and earth; only for the present a mere man, but he will return to his original source. Looking at him in his origin, when his life begins, we have (but) a gelatinous substance in which the breath is collecting. Whether his life be long or his death early, how short is the space between them! It is but the name for a moment of time, insufficient to play the part of a good Yâo or a bad Kieh in.

‘The fruits of trees and creeping plants have their distinctive characters, and though the relation-

¹ The commentators suppose that by ‘the man’ here there is intended ‘a sage;’ and they would seem to be correct.

² Compare the second sentence in the Tâo Teh King, ch. 42.

ships of men, according to which they are classified, are troublesome, the sage, when he meets with them, does not set himself in opposition to them, and when he has passed through them, he does not seek to retain them ; he responds to them in their regular harmony according to his virtue ; and even when he accidentally comes across any of them, he does so according to the Táo. It was thus that the Tis flourished, thus that the kings arose.

‘Men’s life between heaven and earth is like a white¹ colt’s passing a crevice, and suddenly disappearing. As with a plunge and an effort they all come forth ; easily and quietly they all enter again. By a transformation they live, and by another transformation they die. Living things are made sad (by death), and mankind grieve for it ; but it is (only) the removal of the bow from its sheath, and the emptying the natural satchel of its contents. There may be some confusion amidst the yielding to the change ; but the intellectual and animal souls are taking their leave, and the body will follow them :—This is the Great Returning home,

‘That the bodily frame came from incorporeity, and will return to the same, is what all men in common know, and what those who are on their way to (know) it need not strive for. This is what the multitudes of men discuss together. Those whose (knowledge) is complete do not discuss it ;—such discussion shows that their (knowledge) is not complete. Even the most clear-sighted do not meet

¹ Why is it the colt here is ‘white?’ Is it to heighten the impression made by his speedy disappearing? or is it merely the adoption of the phrase from the Shih, II, iv, 2?

(with the Táo);—it is better to be silent than to reason about it. The Táo cannot be heard with the ears;—it is better to shut the ears than to try and hear it. This is what is called the Great Attainment.'

6. Tung-kwo 3ze¹ asked Kwang-ze, saying, 'Where is what you call the Táo to be found?' Kwang-ze replied, 'Everywhere.' The other said, 'Specify an instance of it. That will be more satisfactory.' 'It is here in this ant.' 'Give a lower instance.' 'It is in this panic grass.' 'Give me a still lower instance.' 'It is in this earthenware tile.' 'Surely that is the lowest instance?' 'It is in that excrement².' To this Tung-kwo 3ze gave no reply.

Kwang-ze said, 'Your questions, my master, do not touch the fundamental point (of the Táo). They remind me of the questions addressed by the superintendents of the market to the inspector about examining the value of a pig by treading on it, and testing its weight as the foot descends lower and lower on the body³. You should not specify any particular thing. There is not a single thing without (the Táo). So it is with the Perfect Táo. And if we call it the Great (Táo), it is just the same. There are the three terms,—"Complete," "All-embracing," "the Whole." These names are differ-

¹ Perhaps the Tung-kwo Shun-ze of Bk. XXI, par. 1.

² A contemptuous reply, provoked by Tung-kwo's repeated interrogation as to where the Táo was to be found, the only question being as to what it was.

³ We do not know the practices from which our author draws his illustrations here sufficiently to make out his meaning clearly. The signification of the characters 正 and 獲 may be gathered indeed from the Î Lî, Books 7-9; but that is all.

ent, but the reality (sought in them) is the same ; referring to the One thing¹.

‘Suppose we were to try to roam about in the palace of No-where;—when met there, we might discuss (about the subject) without ever coming to an end. Or suppose we were to be together in (the region of) Non-action;—should we say that (the Táo was) Simplicity and Stillness? or Indifference and Purity? or Harmony and Ease? My will would be aimless. If it went nowhere, I should not know where it had got to; if it went and came again, I should not know where it had stopped; if it went on going and coming, I should not know when the process would end. In vague uncertainty should I be in the vastest waste. Though I entered it with the greatest knowledge, I should not know how inexhaustible it was. That which makes things what they are has not the limit which belongs to things, and when we speak of things being limited, we mean that they are so in themselves. (The Táo) is the limit of the unlimited, and the boundlessness of the unbounded.

‘We speak of fulness and emptiness; of withering and decay. It produces fulness and emptiness, but is neither fulness nor emptiness; it produces withering and decay, but is neither withering nor decay. It produces the root and branches, but is neither root nor branch; it produces accumulation and dispersion, but is itself neither accumulated nor dispersed.’

7. A-ho Kan² and Shăn Năng studied together

¹ The meaning of this other illustration is also very obscure to me; and much of what follows to the end of the paragraph.

² We can hardly be said to know anything more of the first and third of these men than what is mentioned here.

under Lǎo-lung K'1. Shǎn Nǎng¹ was leaning forward on his stool, having shut the door and gone to sleep in the day time. At midday A-ho Kan pushed open the door and entered, saying, 'Lǎo-lung is dead.' Shǎn Nǎng leant forward on his stool, laid hold of his staff and rose. Then he laid the staff aside with a clash, laughed and said, 'That Heaven knew how cramped and mean, how arrogant and assuming I was, and therefore he has cast me off, and is dead. Now that there is no Master to correct my heedless words, it is simply for me to die!' Yen Kang, (who had come in) to condole, heard these words, and said, 'It is to him who embodies the Táo that the superior men everywhere cling. Now you who do not understand so much as the tip of an autumn hair of it, not even the ten-thousandth part of the Táo, still know how to keep hidden your heedless words about it and die;—how much more might he who embodied the Táo do so! We look for it, and there is no form; we hearken for it, and there is no sound. When men try to discuss it, we call them dark indeed. When they discuss the Táo, they misrepresent it.'

Hereupon Grand Purity² asked Infinitude², saying, 'Do you know the Táo?' 'I do not know it,' was the reply. He then asked Do-nothing², who replied, 'I know it.' 'Is your knowledge of it de-

¹ Shǎn Nǎng is well known, as coming in the chronological list between Fû-hsî and Hwang-Tî; and we are surprised that a higher place is not given to him among the Táoist patriarchs than our author assigns to him here.

² These names, like those in the first paragraph of the Book, are metaphorical, intended, no doubt, to set forth attributes of the Táo, and to suggest to the reader what it is or what it is not.

terminated by various points?' 'It is.' 'What are they?' Do-nothing¹ said, 'I know that the Táo may be considered noble, and may be considered mean, that it may be bound and compressed, and that it may be dispersed and diffused. These are the marks by which I know it.' Grand Purity took the words of those two, and asked No-beginning¹, saying, 'Such were their replies; which was right? and which was wrong? Infinitude's saying that he did not know it? or Do-nothing's saying that he knew it?' No-beginning said, 'The "I do not know it" was profound, and the "I know it" was shallow. The former had reference to its internal nature; the latter to its external conditions. Grand Purity looked up and sighed, saying, 'Is "not to know it" then to know it? And is "to know it" not to know it? But who knows that he who does not know it (really) knows it?' No-beginning replied, 'The Táo cannot be heard; what can be heard is not It. The Táo cannot be seen; what can be seen is not It. The Táo cannot be expressed in words; what can be expressed in words is not It. Do we know the Formless which gives form to form? In the same way the Táo does not admit of being named.'

No-beginning (further) said, 'If one ask about the Táo and another answer him, neither of them knows it. Even the former who asks has never learned anything about the Táo. He asks what does not admit of being asked, and the latter answers where answer is impossible. When one asks what does not admit of being asked, his questioning is in (dire)

¹ See note 2 on last page.

extremity. When one answers where answer is impossible, he has no internal knowledge of the subject. When people without such internal knowledge wait to be questioned by others in dire extremity, they show that externally they see nothing of space and time, and internally know nothing of the Grand Commencement¹. Therefore they cannot cross over the Khwăn-lun², nor roam in the Grand Void.'

8. Starlight³ asked Non-entity³, saying, 'Master, do you exist? or do you not exist?' He got no answer to his question, however, and looked steadfastly to the appearance of the other, which was that of a deep void. All day long he looked to it, but could see nothing; he listened for it, but could hear nothing; he clutched at it, but got hold of nothing⁴. Starlight then said, 'Perfect! Who can attain to this? I can (conceive the ideas of) existence and non-existence, but I cannot (conceive the ideas of) non-existing non-existence, and still there be a non-existing existence. How is it possible to reach to this?'

9. The forger of swords for the Minister of War had reached the age of eighty, and had not lost a hair's-breadth of his ability⁵. The Minister said to

¹ The first beginning of all things or of anything.

² The Khwăn-lun may be considered the Sacred Mountain of Taoism.

³ The characters Kwang Yáo denote the points of light all over the sky, 'dusted with stars.' I can think of no better translation for them, as personified here, than 'starlight.' 'Non-entity' is a personification of the Táo; as no existing thing, but the idea of the order that pervades and regulates throughout the universe.

⁴ A quotation from the Táo Teh K'ing, ch. 14.

⁵ Compare the case of the butcher in Bk. III, and other similar passages.

him, 'You are indeed skilful, Sir. Have you any method that makes you so?' The man said, 'Your servant has (always) kept to his work. When I was twenty, I was fond of forging swords. I looked at nothing else. I paid no attention to anything but swords. By my constant practice of it, I came to be able to do the work without any thought of what I was doing. By length of time one acquires ability at any art; and how much more one who is ever at work on it! What is there which does not depend on this, and succeed by it?'

10. Zăn K'hiû¹ asked Kung-nî, saying, 'Can it be known how it was before heaven and earth?' The reply was, 'It can. It was the same of old as now.' Zăn K'hiû asked no more and withdrew. Next day, however, he had another interview, and said, 'Yesterday I asked whether it could be known how it was before heaven and earth, and you, Master, said, "It can. As it is now, so it was of old." Yesterday, I seemed to understand you clearly, but to-day it is dark to me. I venture to ask you for an explanation of this.' Kung-nî said, 'Yesterday you seemed to understand me clearly, because your own spiritual nature had anticipated my reply. To-day it seems dark to you, for you are in an unspiritual mood, and are trying to discover the meaning. (In this matter) there is no old time and no present; no beginning and no ending. Could it be that there were grandchildren and children before there were (other) grandchildren and children²?'

¹ One of the disciples of Confucius;—Analects VI, 3.

² Hû Wăn-ying says, 'Before there can be grandsons and sons there must be grandfathers and fathers to transmit them, so before

Zăn K'hiu had not made any reply, when *Kung-ni* went on, 'Let us have done. There can be no answering (on your part). We cannot with life give life to death; we cannot with death give death to life. Do death and life wait (for each other)? There is that which contains them both in its one comprehension¹. Was that which was produced before Heaven and Earth a thing? That which made things and gave to each its character was not itself a thing. Things came forth and could not be before things, as if there had (previously) been things; —as if there had been things (producing one another) without end. The love of the sages for others, and never coming to an end, is an idea taken from this².'

11. Yen Yüan asked *Kung-ni*, saying, 'Master, I have heard you say, "There should be no demonstration of welcoming; there should be no movement to meet;"—I venture to ask in what way this affection of the mind may be shown.' The reply was, 'The ancients, amid (all) external changes, did not change internally; now-a-days men change internally, but take no note of external changes. When one only notes the changes of things, himself continuing one and the same, he does not change. How should there be (a difference between) his changing and not changing? How should he put himself in contact with (and come under the influence of) those external changes? He is sure, however,

there were (the present) heaven and earth, there must have been another heaven and earth.' But I am not sure that he has in this remark exactly caught our author's meaning.

¹ Meaning the *Táo*.

² An obscure remark.

to keep his points of contact with them from being many. The park of Shih-wei¹, the garden of Hwang-Ti, the palace of the Lord of Yü, and the houses of Thang and Wû;—(these all were places in which this was done). But the superior men (so called, of later days), such as the masters of the Literati and of Mohism, were bold to attack each other with their controversies; and how much more so are the men of the present day! Sages in dealing with others do not wound them; and they who do not wound others cannot be wounded by them. Only he whom others do not injure is able to welcome and meet men.

‘Forests and marshes make me joyful and glad; but before the joy is ended, sadness comes and succeeds to it. When sadness and joy come, I cannot prevent their approach; when they go, I cannot retain them. How sad it is that men should only be as lodging-houses for things, (and the emotions which they excite)! They know what they meet, but they do not know what they do not meet; they use what power they have, but they cannot be strong where they are powerless. Such ignorance and powerlessness is what men cannot avoid. That they should try to avoid what they cannot avoid, is not this also sad? Perfect speech is to put speech away; perfect action is to put action away; to digest all knowledge that is known is a thing to be despised.’

¹ This personage has occurred before in Bk. VI, par. 7,—at the head of the most ancient sovereigns, who were in possession of the Táo. His ‘park’ as a place for moral and intellectual inquiry is here mentioned;—so early was there a certain quickening of the mental faculties in China.

BOOK XXIII.

PART III. SECTION I.

Kǎng-sang K'û¹.

1. Among the disciples² of Láo Tan there was a Kǎng-sang K'û, who had got a greater knowledge than the others of his doctrines, and took up his residence with it in the north at the hill of Wei-lêi³. His servants who were pretentious and knowing he sent away, and his concubines who were officious and kindly he kept at a distance; living (only) with those who were boorish and rude, and employing (only) the bustling and ill-mannered⁴. (After three years there was great prosperity⁵ in Wei-lêi, and the people said to one another, 'When Mr. Kǎng-sang first came here, he alarmed us, and we thought him strange; our estimate of him after a short acquaintance was that he could not do us much good; but now that we have known him for years, we find him a more than ordinary benefit. Must he not be near being a sage? Why should you not

¹ See vol. xxxix, p. 153.

² The term in the text commonly denotes 'servants.' It would seem here simply to mean 'disciples.'

³ Assigned variously. Probably the mount Yü in the 'Tribute of Yü,'—a hill in the present department of Tǎng-káu, Shan-tung.

⁴ The same phraseology occurs in Bk. XI, par. 5; and also in the Shih, II, vi, 1, q. v.

⁵ That is, abundant harvests. The 壤 of the common text should, probably, be 穰.

unite in blessing him as the representative of our departed (whom we worship), and raise an altar to him as we do to the spirit of the grain¹?' K'ang-sang heard of it, kept his face indeed to the south², but was dissatisfied.

His disciples thought it strange in him, but he said to them, 'Why, my disciples, should you think this strange in me? When the airs of spring come forth, all vegetation grows; and, when the autumn arrives, all the previous fruits of the earth are matured. Do spring and autumn have these effects without any adequate cause? The processes of the Great T'ao have been in operation. I have heard that the Perfect man dwells idly in his apartment within its surrounding walls³, and the people get wild and crazy, not knowing how they should repair to him. Now these small people of Wei-l'ei in their opinionative way want to present their offerings to me, and place me among such men of ability and virtue. But am I a man to be set up as such a model? It is on this account that I am dissatisfied when I think of the words of L'ao Tan⁴.'

2. His disciples said, 'Not so. In ditches eight cubits wide, or even twice as much, big fishes cannot turn their bodies about, but minnows and eels find them sufficient for them⁵; on hillocks six or

¹ I find it difficult to tell what these people wanted to make of K'ang, further than what he says himself immediately to his disciples. I cannot think that they wished to make him their ruler.

² This is the proper position for the sovereign in his court, and for the sage as the teacher of the world. K'ang accepts it in the latter capacity, but with dissatisfaction.

³ Compare the L'ao K'ang, Bk. XXXVIII, par. 10, et al.

⁴ As if he were one with the T'ao.

⁵ I do not see the appropriateness here of the 制 in the text.

seven cubits high, large beasts cannot conceal themselves, but foxes of evil omen find it a good place for them. And moreover, honour should be paid to the wise, offices given to the able, and preference shown to the good and the beneficial. From of old Yáo and Shun acted thus;—how much more may the people of Wei-lêi do so! O Master, let them have their way!’

Kǎng-sang replied, ‘Come nearer, my little children. If a beast that could hold a carriage in its mouth leave its hill by itself, it will not escape the danger that awaits it from the net; or if a fish that could swallow a boat be left dry by the flowing away of the water, then (even) the ants are able to trouble it. Thus it is that birds and beasts seek to be as high as possible, and fishes and turtles seek to lie as deep as possible. In the same way men who wish to preserve their bodies and lives keep their persons concealed, and they do so in the deepest retirement possible. And moreover, what was there in those sovereigns to entitle them to your laudatory mention? Their sophistical reasonings (resembled) the reckless breaking down of walls and enclosures and planting the wild rubus and wormwood in their place; or making the hair thin before they combed it; or counting the grains of rice before they cooked them¹. They would do such things with careful discrimination; but what was there in them to benefit the world? If you raise the men of talent to office, you will create disorder; making the people strive with one

¹ All these condemnatory descriptions of Yáo and Shun are eminently Taoistic, but so metaphorical that it is not easy to appreciate them.

another for promotion ; if you employ men for their wisdom, the people will rob one another (of their reputation)¹. These various things are insufficient to make the people good and honest. They are very eager for gain ;—a son will kill his father, and a minister his ruler (for it). In broad daylight men will rob, and at midday break through walls. I tell you that the root of the greatest disorder was planted in the times of Yáo and Shun. The branches of it will remain for a thousand ages ; and after a thousand ages men will be found eating one another².

3. (On this) Nan-yung *K'û*³ abruptly sat right up and said, 'What method can an old man like me adopt to become (the Perfect man) that you have described?' Kǎng-sang 3ze said, 'Maintain your body complete ; hold your life in close embrace ; and do not let your thoughts keep working anxiously :—do this for three years, and you may become the man of whom I have spoken.' The other rejoined, 'Eyes are all of the same form, I do not know any difference between them :—yet the blind have no power of vision. Ears are all of the same form ; I do not know any difference between them :—yet the deaf have no power of hearing. Minds are all of the same nature, I do not know any difference between them ;—yet the mad cannot make the minds of other men their own. (My) personality is indeed like (yours), but things seem to separate

¹ Compare the Táo Teh *K'ing*, ch. 3.

² *K'û* is in all this too violent.

³ A disciple of Kǎng-sang *K'û* ;—'a sincere seeker of the Táo, very much to be pitied,' says Lin Hst-ñung.

between us¹. I wish to find in myself what there is in you, but I am not able to do so¹. You have now said to me, "Maintain your body complete; hold your life in close embrace; and do not let your thoughts keep working anxiously." With all my efforts to learn your Way, (your words) reach only my ears.' Käng-sang replied, 'I can say nothing more to you,' and then he added, 'Small flies cannot transform the bean caterpillar²; Yüeh³ fowls cannot hatch the eggs of geese, but Lû fowls³ can. It is not that the nature of these fowls is different; the ability in the one case and inability in the other arise from their different capacities as large and small. My ability is small and not sufficient to transform you. Why should you not go south and see Láo-ze?'

4. Nan-yung K'ü hereupon took with him some rations, and after seven days and seven nights arrived at the abode of Láo-ze, who said to him, 'Are you come from K'ü's?' 'I am,' was the reply. 'And why, Sir, have you come with such a multitude of attendants⁴?' Nan-yung was frightened, and turned his head round to look behind him. Láo-ze said, 'Do you not understand my meaning?' The other held his head down and was ashamed, and then he lifted it up, and sighed, saying, 'I forgot at the moment what I should reply to your

¹ The 辟 in the former of these sentences is difficult. I take it in the sense of 譬, and read it phî.

² Compare the Shih, II, v, Ode 2, 3.

³ I believe the fowls of Shan-tung are still larger than those of Kih-kiang or Fû-kien.

⁴ A good instance of Láo's metaphorical style.

question, and in consequence I have lost what I wished to ask you.' 'What do you mean?' 'If I have not wisdom, men say that I am stupid¹, while if I have it, it occasions distress to myself. If I have not benevolence, then (I am charged) with doing hurt to others, while if I have it, I distress myself. If I have not righteousness, I (am charged with) injuring others, while if I have it, I distress myself. How can I escape from these dilemmas? These are the three perplexities that trouble me; and I wish at the suggestion of *K'û* to ask you about them.' Láo-ze replied, 'A little time ago, when I saw you and looked right into your eyes², I understood you, and now your words confirm the judgment which I formed. You look frightened and amazed. You have lost your parents, and are trying with a pole to find them at the (bottom of) the sea. You have gone astray; you are at your wit's end. You wish to recover your proper nature, and you know not what step to take first to find it. You are to be pitied!'

5. Nan-yung *K'û* asked to be allowed to enter (the establishment), and have an apartment assigned to him³. (There) he sought to realise the qualities which he loved, and put away those which he hated. For ten days he afflicted himself, and then waited again on Láo-ze, who said to him, 'You must purify yourself thoroughly! But from your symptoms of

¹ In the text 朱愚. The 朱 must be an erroneous addition, or probably it is a mistake for the speaker's name 越.

² Literally, 'between the eye-brows and eye-lashes.'

³ Thus we are as it were in the school of Láo-ze, and can see how he deals with his pupils.

distress, and signs of impurity about you, I see there still seem to cling to you things that you dislike. When the fettering influences from without become numerous, and you try to seize them (you will find it a difficult task); the better plan is to bar your inner man against their entrance. And when the similar influences within get intertwined, it is a difficult task to grasp (and hold them in check); the better plan is to bar the outer door against their exit. Even a master of the Táo and its characteristics will not be able to control these two influences together, and how much less can one who is only a student of the Táo do so!' Nan-yung *K'ü* said, 'A certain villager got an illness, and when his neighbours asked about it, he was able to describe the malady, though it was one from which he had not suffered before. When I ask you about the Grand Táo, it seems to me like drinking medicine which (only serves to) increase my illness. I should like to hear from you about the regular method of guarding the life;—that will be sufficient for me.' Láo-ze replied, '(You ask me about) the regular method of guarding the life;—can you hold the One thing fast in your embrace? Can you keep from losing it? Can you know the lucky and the unlucky without having recourse to the tortoise-shell or the divining stalks? Can you rest (where you ought to rest)? Can you stop (when you have got enough)? Can you give over thinking of other men, and seek what you want in yourself (alone)? Can you flee (from the allurements of desire)? Can you maintain an entire simplicity? Can you become a little child? The child will cry all the day, without its throat becoming hoarse;—so perfect is the harmony (of

its physical constitution). It will keep its fingers closed all the day without relaxing their grasp;—such is the concentration of its powers. It will keep its eyes fixed all day, without their moving;—so is it unaffected by what is external to it. It walks it knows not whither; it rests where it is placed, it knows not why; it is calmly indifferent to things, and follows their current. This is the regular method of guarding the life ¹.

6. Nan-yung *K'û* said, 'And are these all the characteristics of the Perfect man?' Lâu-ze replied, 'No. These are what we call the breaking up of the ice, and the dissolving of the cold. The Perfect man, along with other men, gets his food from the earth, and derives his joy from his Heaven (-conferred nature). But he does not like them allow himself to be troubled by the consideration of advantage or injury coming from men and things; he does not like them do strange things, or form plans, or enter on undertakings; he flees from the allurements of desire, and pursues his way with an entire simplicity. Such is the way by which he guards his life.' 'And is this what constitutes his perfection?' 'Not quite. I asked you whether you could become a little child. The little child moves unconscious of what it is doing, and walks unconscious of whither it is going. Its body is like the branch of a rotten tree, and its mind is like slaked lime ². Being such, misery does not come to it, nor happiness. It has

¹ In this long reply there are many evident recognitions of passages in the *Tâu Teh King*;—compare chapters 9, 10, 55, 58.

² See the description of *3ze-khi's* Tâuistic trance at the beginning of the second Book.

neither misery nor happiness;—how can it suffer from the calamities incident to men¹?’

7. ² He whose mind³ is thus grandly fixed emits a Heavenly light. In him who emits this heavenly light men see the (True) man. When a man has cultivated himself (up to this point), thenceforth he remains constant in himself. When he is thus constant in himself, (what is merely) the human element will leave him⁴, but Heaven will help him. Those whom their human element has left we call the people of Heaven⁴. Those whom Heaven helps we call the Sons of Heaven. Those who would by learning attain to this⁵ seek for what they cannot

¹ Nan-yung *K'ü* disappears here. His first master, Käng-sang *K'ü*, disappeared in paragraph 4. The different way in which his name is written by Sze-mâ *K'hien* is mentioned in the brief introductory note on p. 153. It should have been further stated there that in the Fourth Book of Lieh-*zse* (IV, 2^b-3^b) some account of him is given with his name as written by *K'hien*. A great officer of *K'än* is introduced as boasting of him that he was a sage, and, through his mastery of the principles of Láo Tan, could hear with his eyes and see with his ears. Hereupon Khäng-*zhang* is brought to the court of the marquis of Lú to whom he says that the report of him which he had heard was false, adding that he could dispense with the use of his senses altogether, but could not alter their several functions. This being reported to Confucius, he simply laughs at it, but makes no remark.

² I suppose that from this to the end of the Book we have the sentiments of *K'wang-*zse** himself. Whether we consider them his, or the teachings of Láo-*zse* to his visitor, they are among the depths of Taoism, which I will not attempt to elucidate in the notes here.

³ The character which I have translated ‘mind’ here is 宇, meaning ‘the side walls of a house,’ and metaphorically used for ‘the breast,’ as the house of the mind. Hû explains it by 心胸.

⁴ He is emancipated from the human as contrary to the heavenly.

⁵ The Táo.

learn. Those who would by effort attain to this, attempt what effort can never effect. Those who aim by reasoning to reach it reason where reasoning has no place. To know to stop where they cannot arrive by means of knowledge is the highest attainment. Those who cannot do this will be destroyed on the lathe of Heaven.

8. Where things are all adjusted to maintain the body; where a provision against unforeseen dangers is kept up to maintain the life of the mind; where an inward reverence is cherished to be exhibited (in all intercourse) with others;—where this is done, and yet all evils arrive, they are from Heaven, and not from the men themselves. They will not be sufficient to confound the established (virtue of the character), or be admitted into the Tower of Intelligence. That Tower has its Guardian, who acts unconsciously, and whose care will not be effective, if there be any conscious purpose in it¹. If one who has not this entire sincerity in himself make any outward demonstration, every such demonstration will be incorrect. The thing will enter into him, and not let go its hold. Then with every fresh demonstration there will be still greater failure. If he do what is not good in the light of open day, men will have the opportunity of punishing him; if he do it in darkness and secrecy, spirits² will inflict the punishment. Let a man understand this—his relation both to men and spirits, and then he will do what is good in the solitude of himself.

¹ This Guardian of the Mind or Tower of Intelligence is the Táo.

² One of the rare introductions of spiritual agency in the early Táoism.

He whose rule of life is in himself does not act for the sake of a name. He whose rule is outside himself has his will set on extensive acquisition. He who does not act for the sake of a name emits a light even in his ordinary conduct; he whose will is set on extensive acquisition is but a trafficker. Men see how he stands on tiptoe, while he thinks that he is overtopping others. Things enter (and take possession of) him who (tries to) make himself exhaustively (acquainted with them), while when one is indifferent to them, they do not find any lodgment in his person. And how can other men find such lodgment? But when one denies lodgment to men, there are none who feel attachment to him. In this condition he is cut off from other men. There is no weapon more deadly than the will¹;—even Mû-yê² was inferior to it. There is no robber greater than the Yin and Yang, from whom nothing can escape of all between heaven and earth. But it is not the Yin and Yang that play the robber;—it is the mind that causes them to do so.

9. The Táo is to be found in the subdivisions (of its subject); (it is to be found) in that when complete, and when broken up. What I dislike in considering it as subdivided, is that the division leads to the multiplication of it;—and what I dislike in that multiplication is that it leads to the (thought of) effort to secure it. Therefore when (a man)

¹ That is, the will, man's own human element, in opposition to the Heavenly element of the Táo.

² One of the two famous swords made for Ho-lü, the king of Wû. See the account of their making in the seventy-fourth chapter of the 'History of the Various States;' very marvellous, but evidently, and acknowledged to be, fabulous.

comes forth (and is born), if he did not return (to his previous non-existence), we should have (only) seen his ghost; when he comes forth and gets this (return), he dies (as we say). He is extinguished, and yet has a real existence:—(this is another way of saying that in life we have) only man's ghost. By taking the material as an emblem of the immaterial do we arrive at a settlement of the case of man. He comes forth, but from no root; he re-enters, but by no aperture. He has a real existence, but it has nothing to do with place; he has continuance, but it has nothing to do with beginning or end. He has a real existence, but it has nothing to do with place, such is his relation to space; he has continuance, but it has nothing to do with beginning or end, such is his relation to time; he has life; he has death; he comes forth; he enters; but we do not see his form;—all this is what is called the door of Heaven. The door of Heaven is Non-Existence. All things come from non-existence. The (first) existences could not bring themselves into existence; they must have come from non-existence. And non-existence is just the same as non-existing. Herein is the secret of the sages.

10. Among the ancients there were those whose knowledge reached the extreme point. And what was that point? There were some who thought that in the beginning there was nothing. This was the extreme point, the completest reach of their knowledge, to which nothing could be added. Again, there were those who supposed that (in the beginning) there were existences, proceeding to consider life to be a (gradual) perishing, and death a returning (to the original state). And there they stopped,

making, (however), a distinction between life and death. Once again there were those who said, 'In the beginning there was nothing; by and by there was life; and then in a little time life was succeeded by death. We hold that non-existence was the head, life the body, and death the os coccygis. But of those who acknowledge that existence and non-existence, death and life, are all under the One Keeper, we are the friends.' Though those who maintained these three views were different, they were so as the different branches of the same ruling Family (of *K'ü*)¹,—the *K'âos* and the *K'ings*, bearing the surname of the lord whom they honoured as the author of their branch, and the *K'îas* named from their appanage;—(all one, yet seeming) not to be one.

The possession of life is like the soot that collects under a boiler. When that is differently distributed, the life is spoken of as different. But to say that life is different in different lives, and better in one than in another, is an improper mode of speech. And yet there may be something here which we do not know. (As for instance), at the *lâ* sacrifice the paunch and the divided hoofs may be set forth on separate dishes, but they should not be considered as parts of different victims; (and again), when one is inspecting a house, he goes over it all, even the adytum for the shrines of the temple, and visits also the most private apartments; doing this, and setting a different estimate on the different parts.

Let me try and speak of this method of appor-

¹ Both *Lâo* and *K'wang* belonged to *K'ü*, and this illustration was natural to them.

tioning one's approval:—life is the fundamental consideration in it; knowledge is the instructor. From this they multiply their approvals and disapprovals, determining what is merely nominal and what is real. They go on to conclude that to themselves must the appeal be made in everything, and to try to make others adopt them as their model; prepared even to die to make good their views on every point. In this way they consider being employed in office as a mark of wisdom, and not being so employed as a mark of stupidity, success as entitling to fame, and the want of it as disgraceful. The men of the present day who follow this differentiating method are like the cicada and the little dove¹;—there is no difference between them.

11. When one treads on the foot of another in the market-place, he apologises on the ground of the bustle. If an elder tread on his younger brother, he proceeds to comfort him; if a parent tread on a child, he says and does nothing. Hence it is said, 'The greatest politeness is to show no special respect to others; the greatest righteousness is to take no account of things; the greatest wisdom is to lay no plans; the greatest benevolence is to make no demonstration of affection; the greatest good faith is to give no pledge of sincerity.'

Repress the impulses of the will; unravel the errors of the mind; put away the entanglements to virtue; and clear away all that obstructs the free course of the Táo. Honours and riches, distinctions and austerity, fame and profit; these six things produce the impulses of the will. Personal appearance

¹ See in Bk. I, par. 2.

and deportment, the desire of beauty and subtle reasonings, excitement of the breath and cherished thoughts; these six things produce errors of the mind. Hatred and longings, joy and anger, grief and delight; these six things are the entanglements to virtue. Refusals and approachments, receiving and giving, knowledge and ability; these six things obstruct the course of the Táo. When these four conditions, with the six causes of each, do not agitate the breast, the mind is correct. Being correct, it is still; being still, it is pellucid; being pellucid, it is free from pre-occupation; being free from pre-occupation, it is in the state of inaction, in which it accomplishes everything.

The Táo is the object of reverence to all the virtues. Life is what gives opportunity for the display of the virtues. The nature is the substantive character of the life. The movement of the nature is called action. When action becomes hypocritical, we say that it has lost (its proper attribute).

The wise communicate with what is external to them and are always laying plans. This is what with all their wisdom they are not aware of;—they look at things askance. When the action (of the nature) is from external constraint, we have what is called virtue; when it is all one's own, we have what is called government. These two names seem to be opposite to each other, but in reality they are in mutual accord.

12. ¹ was skilful in hitting the minutest mark, but stupid in wishing men to go on praising him without end. The sage is skilful Heavenwards, but stupid

¹ See on V, par. 2.

manwards. It is only the complete man who can be both skilful Heavenwards and good manwards.

Only an insect can play the insect, only an insect show the insect nature. Even the complete man hates the attempt to exemplify the nature of Heaven. He hates the manner in which men do so, and how much more would he hate the doing so by himself before men!

When a bird came in the way of Î, he was sure to obtain it;—such was his mastery with his bow. If all the world were to be made a cage, birds would have nowhere to escape to. Thus it was that Thang caged Î Yin by making him his cook¹, and that duke Mû of K~~h~~in caged Pâi-lî Hsî by giving the skins of five rams for him². But if you try to cage men by anything but what they like, you will never succeed.

A man, one of whose feet has been cut off, discards ornamental (clothes);—his outward appearance will not admit of admiration. A criminal under sentence of death will ascend to any height without fear;—he has ceased to think of life or death.

When one persists in not reciprocating the gifts (of friendship), he forgets all others. Having forgotten all others, he may be considered as a Heaven-like man. Therefore when respect is shown to a man, and it awakens in him no joy, and when contempt awakens no anger, it is only one who shares in the Heaven-like harmony that can be thus. When he would display anger and yet is not angry, the anger comes out in that repression of it. When he would put forth action, and yet does not do so,

¹ See Mencius V, i, 7.

² Mencius V, i, 9.

the action is in that not-acting. Desiring to be quiescent, he must pacify all his emotions ; desiring to be spirit-like, he must act in conformity with his mind. When action is required of him, he wishes that it may be right ; and it then is under an inevitable constraint. Those who act according to that inevitable constraint pursue the way of the sage.

BOOK XXIV.

PART III. SECTION II.

Hsü Wû-kwei¹.

I. Hsü Wû-kwei having obtained through Nü Shang² an introduction to the marquis Wû of Wei³, the marquis, speaking to him with kindly sympathy⁴, said, 'You are ill, Sir; you have suffered from your hard and laborious toils⁴ in the forests, and still you have been willing to come and see poor me⁵.' Hsü Wû-kwei replied, 'It is I who have to comfort your lordship; what occasion have you to comfort me? If your lordship go on to fill up the measure of your sensual desires, and to prolong your likes and dislikes, then the condition of your mental nature will be diseased, and if you discourage and repress those desires, and deny your likings and dislikings, that will be an affliction to your ears and eyes

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 153, 154.

² A favourite and minister of the marquis Wû.

³ This was the second marquis of Wei, one of the three principalities into which the great state of Jin had been broken up, and which he ruled as the marquis K'î for sixteen years, B. C. 386-371. His son usurped the title of king, and was the 'king Hui of Liang,' whom Mencius had interviews with. Wû, or 'martial,' was K'î's honorary, posthumous epithet.

⁴ The character (勞) which I thus translate, has two tones, the second and fourth. Here and elsewhere in this paragraph and the next, it is with one exception in the fourth tone, meaning 'to comfort or reward for toils endured.' The one exception is its next occurrence,—'hard and laborious toils.'

⁵ The appropriate and humble designation of himself by the ruler of a state.

(deprived of their accustomed pleasures);—it is for me to comfort your lordship, what occasion have you to comfort me?' The marquis looked contemptuous, and made no reply.

After a little time, Hsü Wû-kwei said, 'Let me tell your lordship something:—I look at dogs and judge of them by their appearance¹. One of the lowest quality seizes his food, satiates himself, and stops;—he has the attributes of a fox. One of a medium quality seems to be looking at the sun. One of the highest quality seems to have forgotten the one thing,—himself. But I judge still better of horses than I do of dogs. When I do so, I find that one goes straight-forward, as if following a line; that another turns off, so as to describe a hook; that a third describes a square as if following the measure so called; and that a fourth describes a circle as exactly as a compass would make it. These are all horses of a state; but they are not equal to a horse of the kingdom. His qualities are complete. Now he looks anxious; now to be losing the way; now to be forgetting himself. Such a horse prances along, or rushes on, spurning the dust and not knowing where he is.' The marquis was greatly pleased and laughed.

When Hsü Wû-kwei came out, Nü Shang said to him, 'How was it, Sir, that you by your counsels produced such an effect on our ruler? In my counsellings of him, now indirectly, taking my subjects from the Books of Poetry, History, Rites, and Music; now directly, from the Metal Tablets², and the six Bow-cases², all calculated for the service (of the

¹ Literally, 'I physiognomise dogs.'

² The names of two Books, or Collections of Tablets, the former

state), and to be of great benefit ;—in these counsellings, repeated times without number, I have never seen the ruler show his teeth in a smile :—by what counsels have you made him so pleased to-day ?’ Hsü Wû-kwei replied, ‘ I only told him how I judged of dogs and horses by looking at their appearance.’ ‘ So ?’ said Nü Shang, and the other rejoined, ‘ Have you not heard of the wanderer ¹ from Yüeh ? when he had been gone from the state several days, he was glad when he saw any one whom he had seen in it ; when he had been gone a month, he was glad when he saw any one whom he had known in it ; and when he had been gone a round year, he was glad when he saw any one who looked like a native of it. The longer he was gone, the more longingly did he think of the people ;—was it not so ? The men who withdraw to empty valleys, where the hellebore bushes stop up the little paths made by the weasels, as they push their way or stand amid the waste, are glad when they seem to hear the sounds of human footsteps ; and how much more would they be so, if it were their brothers and relatives talking and laughing by their side ! How long it is since the words of a True ² man were heard as he talked and laughed by our ruler’s side !’

2. At (another) interview of Hsü Wû-kwei with the marquis Wû, the latter said, ‘ You, Sir, have been dwelling in the forests for a long time, living

containing Registers of the Population, the latter treating of military subjects.

¹ Kwo Hsiang makes this ‘ a banished criminal.’ This is not necessary.

² Wû-kwei then had a high opinion of his own attainments in Tâoism, and a low opinion of Nü Shang and the other courtiers.

on acorns and chestnuts, and satiating yourself with onions and chives, without thinking of poor me. Now (that you are here), is it because you are old? or because you wish to try again the taste of wine and meat? or because (you wish that) I may enjoy the happiness derived from the spirits of the altars of the Land and Grain?' Hsü Wû-kwei replied, 'I was born in a poor and mean condition, and have never presumed to drink of your lordship's wine, or eat of your meat. My object in coming was to comfort your lordship under your troubles.' 'What? comfort me under my troubles?' 'Yes, to comfort both your lordship's spirit and body.' The marquis said, 'What do you mean?' His visitor replied, 'Heaven and Earth have one and the same purpose in the production (of all men). However high one man be exalted, he should not think that he is favourably dealt with; and however low may be the position of another, he should not think that he is unfavourably dealt with. You are indeed the one and only lord of the 10,000 chariots (of your state), but you use your dignity to embitter (the lives of) all the people, and to pamper your ears, eyes, nose, and mouth. But your spirit does not acquiesce in this. The spirit (of man) loves to be in harmony with others and hates selfish indulgence¹. This selfish indulgence is a disease, and therefore I would comfort you under it. How is it that your lordship more than others brings this disease on yourself?' The marquis said, 'I have wished to see you, Sir, for a long time. I want to love my people, and by the exercise of righteous-

¹ Wû-kwei had a high idea of the constitution of human nature.

ness to make an end of war ;—will that be sufficient ?' Hsü Wû-kwei replied, ' By no means. To love the people is the first step to injure them¹. By the exercise of righteousness to make an end of war is the root from which war is produced¹. If your lordship try to accomplish your object in this way, you are not likely to succeed. All attempts to accomplish what we think good (with an ulterior end) is a bad contrivance. Although your lordship practise benevolence and righteousness (as you propose), it will be no better than hypocrisy. You may indeed assume the (outward) form, but successful accomplishment will lead to (inward) contention, and the change thence arising will produce outward fighting. Your lordship also must not mass files of soldiers in the passages of your galleries and towers, nor have footmen and horsemen in the apartments about your altars². Do not let thoughts contrary to your success lie hidden in your mind ; do not think of conquering men by artifice, or by (skilful) plans, or by fighting. If I kill the officers and people of another state, and annex its territory, to satisfy my selfish desires, while in my spirit I do not know whether the fighting be good, where is the victory that I gain ? Your lordship's best plan is to abandon (your purpose). If you will cultivate in your breast the sincere purpose (to love the people), and so respond to the feeling of Heaven and Earth, and not (further) vex yourself, then your people will already have escaped death ;—what

¹ Tâoistic teaching, but questionable.

² We need more information about the customs of the feudal princes fully to understand the language of this sentence.

occasion will your lordship have to make an end of war ?'

3. Hwang-Tî was going to see Tâ-kwei¹ at the hill of K'ü-ghze. Fang Ming was acting as charioteer, and K'hang Yü was occupying the third place in the carriage. Kang Zo and Hsi Phăng went before the horses; and Khwăn Hwun and K'û K'hi followed the carriage. When they arrived at the wild of Hsiang-khăng, the seven sages were all perplexed, and could find no place at which to ask the way. Just then they met with a boy tending some horses, and asked the way of him. 'Do you know,' they said, 'the hill of K'ü-ghze?' and he replied that he did. He also said that he knew where Tâ-kwei was living. 'A strange boy is this!' said Hwang-Tî. 'He not only knows the hill of K'ü-ghze, but he also knows where Tâ-kwei is living. Let me ask him about the government of mankind.' The boy said, 'The administration of the kingdom is like this (which I am doing);—what difficulty should there be in it? When I was young, I enjoyed myself roaming over all within the six confines of the world of space, and then I began to suffer from indistinct sight. A wise elder taught me, saying, "Ride in the chariot of the

¹ Tâ (or Thâi)-kwei (or wei) appears here as the name of a person. It cannot be the name of a hill, as it is said by some to be. The whole paragraph is parabolic or allegorical; and Tâ-kwei is probably a personification of the Great Tâo itself, though no meaning of the character kwei can be adduced to justify this interpretation. The horseherd boy is further supposed to be a personification of the 'Great Simplicity,' which is characteristic of the Tâo, the spontaneity of it, unvexed by the wisdom of man. The lesson of the paragraph is that taught in the eleventh Book, and many other places.

sun, and roam in the wild of Hsiang-K'hang." Now the trouble in my eyes is a little better, and I am again enjoying myself roaming outside the six confines of the world of space. As to the government of the kingdom, it is like this (which I am doing);— what difficulty should there be in it?' Hwang-Ti said, 'The administration of the world is indeed not your business, my son; nevertheless, I beg to ask you about it.' The little lad declined to answer, but on Hwang-Ti putting the question again, he said, 'In what does the governor of the kingdom differ from him who has the tending of horses, and who has only to put away whatever in him would injure the horses?'

Hwang-Ti bowed to him twice with his head to the ground, called him his 'Heavenly Master¹,' and withdrew.

4. If officers of wisdom do not see the changes which their anxious thinking has suggested, they have no joy; if debaters are not able to set forth their views in orderly style, they have no joy; if critical examiners find no subjects on which to exercise their powers of vituperation, they have no joy:— they are all hampered by external restrictions.

Those who try to attract the attention of their age (wish to) rise at court; those who try to win the regard of the people² count holding office a glory; those who possess muscular strength boast of doing what is difficult; those who are bold and daring exert themselves in times of calamity; those who are able

¹ This is the title borne to the present day by the chief or pope of T'aoism, the representative of K'ang T'ao-ling of our first century.

² Taking the initial *kung* in the third tone. If we take it in the first tone, the meaning is different.

swordmen and spearmen delight in fighting; those whose powers are decayed seek to rest in the name (they have gained); those who are skilled in the laws seek to enlarge the scope of government; those who are proficient in ceremonies and music pay careful attention to their deportment; and those who profess benevolence and righteousness value opportunities (for displaying them).

The husbandmen who do not keep their fields well weeded are not equal to their business, nor are traders who do not thrive in the markets. When the common people have their appropriate employment morning and evening, they stimulate one another to diligence; the mechanics who are masters of their implements feel strong for their work. If their wealth does not increase, the greedy are distressed; if their power and influence is not growing, the ambitious are sad.

Such creatures of circumstance and things delight in changes, and if they meet with a time when they can show what they can do, they cannot keep themselves from taking advantage of it. They all pursue their own way like (the seasons of) the year, and do not change as things do. They give the reins to their bodies and natures, and allow themselves to sink beneath (the pressure of) things, and all their lifetime do not come back (to their proper selves):— is it not sad¹?

5. *Kwang-tze* said, 'An archer, without taking aim beforehand, yet may hit the mark. If we say that he is a good archer, and that all the world may

¹ All the parties in this paragraph disallow the great principle of Tâoism, which does everything by doing nothing.

be *Is*¹, is this allowable?' Hui-ze replied, 'It is.' Kwang-ze continued, 'All men do not agree in counting the same thing to be right, but every one maintains his own view to be right; (if we say) that all men may be *Yâos*, is this allowable?' Hui-ze (again) replied, 'It is;' and Kwang-ze went on, 'Very well; there are the literati, the followers of Mo (Ti), of Yang (*Kü*), and of Ping²;—making four (different schools). Including yourself, Master, there are five. Which of your views is really right? Or will you take the position of *Lü Kü*³? One of his disciples said to him, "Master, I have got hold of your method. I can in winter heat the furnace under my tripod, and in summer can produce ice." *Lü Kü* said, "That is only with the Yang element to call out the same, and with the Yin to call out the yin;—that is not my method. I will show you what my method is." On this he tuned two citherns, placing one of them in the hall, and the other in one of the inner apartments. Striking the note *Kung*⁴ in the one, the same note vibrated in the other, and so it was with the note *Kio*⁴; the two instruments being tuned in the same way. But if he had differently tuned them on other strings different

¹ The famous archer of the Hsiâ dynasty, in the twenty-second century B. C.

² The name of Kung-sun Lung, the Lung Li-*hăn* of Bk. XXI, par. I.

³ Only mentioned here. The statement of his disciple and his remark on it are equally obscure, though the latter is partially illustrated from the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and other hexagrams of the *Yih King*.

⁴ The sounds of the first and third notes of the Chinese musical scale, corresponding to our A and E. I know too little of music myself to pronounce further on *Lü Kü*'s illustration.

from the normal arrangement of the five notes, the five-and-twenty strings would all have vibrated, without any difference of their notes, the note to which he had tuned them ruling and guiding all the others. Is your maintaining your view to be right just like this ?'

Hui-ze replied, 'Here now are the literati, and the followers of Mo, Yang, and Ping. Suppose that they have come to dispute with me. They put forth their conflicting statements; they try vociferously to put me down; but none of them have ever proved me wrong:—what do you say to this?' Kwang-ze said, 'There was a man of *K'hi* who cast away his son in Sung to be a gate-keeper there, and thinking nothing of the mutilation he would incur; the same man, to secure one of his sacrificial vessels or bells, would have it strapped and secured, while to find his son who was lost, he would not go out of the territory of his own state:—so forgetful was he of the relative importance of things. If a man of *K'hi*, going to another state as a lame gate-keeper, at midnight, at a time when no one was nigh, were to fight with his boatman, he would not be able to reach the shore, and he would have done what he could to provoke the boatman's animosity¹.'

6. As Kwang-ze was accompanying a funeral, when passing by the grave of Hui-ze², he looked

¹ The illustrations in this last member of the paragraph are also obscure. Lin Hsi-kung says that all the old explanations of them are defective; his own explanation has failed to make itself clear to me.

² The expression in the last sentence of the paragraph, 'the Master,' makes it certain that this was the grave of Kwang-ze's friend with whom he had had so many conversations and arguments.

round, and said to his attendants, 'On the top of the nose of that man of Ying¹ there is a (little) bit of mud like a fly's wing.' He sent for the artisan Shih to cut it away. Shih whirled his axe so as to produce a wind, which immediately carried off the mud entirely, leaving the nose uninjured, and the (statue of) the man of Ying¹ standing undisturbed. The ruler Yüan of Sung² heard of the feat, called the artisan Shih, and said to him, 'Try and do the same thing on me.' The artisan said, 'Your servant has been able to trim things in that way, but the material on which I have worked has been dead for a long time.' Kwang-3ze said, 'Since the death of the Master, I have had no material to work upon. I have had no one with whom to talk.'

7. Kwan Kung being ill, duke Hwan went to ask for him, and said, 'Your illness, father Kung, is very severe; should you not speak out your mind to me? Should this prove the great illness, to whom will it be best for me to entrust my State?' Kwan Kung said, 'To whom does your grace wish to entrust it?' 'To Pão Shû-yâ³,' was the reply. 'He will not do. He is an admirable officer, pure and incorruptible, but with others who are not like himself he will not associate. And when he once hears

¹ Ying was the capital of K'û. I have seen in China about the graves of wealthy and distinguished men many life-sized statues of men somehow connected with them.

² Yüan is called the 'ruler' of Sung. That duchy was by this time a mere dependency of K'û. The sacrifices of its old ruling House were finally extinguished by K'û in B. C. 206.

³ Pão Shû-yâ had been the life-long friend of the dying premier, and to him in the first place had been owing the elevation of Hwan to the marquise.

of another man's faults, he never forgets them. If you employ him to administer the state, above, he will take the leading of your Grace, and, below, he will come into collision with the people;—in no long time you will be holding him as an offender.' The duke said, 'Who, then, is the man?' The reply was, 'If I must speak, there is Hsí Phǎng¹;—he will do. He is a man who forgets his own high position, and against whom those below him will not revolt. He is ashamed that he is not equal to Hwang-Ti, and pities those who are not equal to himself. Him who imparts of his virtue to others we call a sage; him who imparts of his wealth to others we call a man of worth. He who by his worth would preside over others, never succeeds in winning them; he who with his worth condescends to others, never but succeeds in winning them. Hsí Phǎng has not been (much) heard of in the state; he has not been (much) distinguished in his own clan. But as I must speak, he is the man for you.'

8. The king of Wú, floating about on the *Kiang*, (landed and) ascended the Hill of monkeys, which all, when they saw him, scampered off in terror, and hid themselves among the thick hazels. There was one, however, which, in an unconcerned way, swung about on the branches, displaying its cleverness to the king, who thereon discharged an arrow at it. With a nimble motion it caught the swift arrow, and the king ordered his attendants to hurry forward and shoot it; and thus the monkey was seized and killed. The king then, looking round, said to his friend Yen

¹ For a long time a great officer of *K'hi*, but he died in the same year as Kwan Kung himself.

Pû-t¹, 'This monkey made a display of its artfulness, and trusted in its agility, to show me its arrogance;—this it was which brought it to this fate. Take warning from it. Ah! do not by your looks give yourself haughty airs!' Yen Pû-t¹, when he returned home, put himself under the teaching of Tung Wû¹, to root up² his pride. He put away what he delighted in and abjured distinction. In three years the people of the kingdom spoke of him with admiration.

9. Nan-po 3ze-k³ was seated, leaning forward on his stool, and sighing gently as he looked up to heaven. (Just then) Yen K³h³ang-ze³ came in, and said, when he saw him, 'Master, you surpass all others. Is it right to make your body thus like a mass of withered bones, and your mind like so much slaked lime?' The other said, 'I formerly lived in a grotto on a hill. At that time Thien Ho⁴ once came to see me, and all the multitudes of K³h³ congratulated him thrice (on his having found the proper man). I must first have shown myself, and so it was that he knew me; I must first have been selling (what I had), and so it was that he came to buy. If I had not shown what I possessed, how should he have known it; if I had not been selling (myself), how should he have come to buy me? I pity

¹ We know these names only from their occurrence here. Tung Wû must have been a professor of Tâoism.

² The text here is 助, 'to help'; but it is explained as = 鋤, 'a hoe.' The Khang-hsi dictionary does not give this meaning of the character, but we find it in that of Yen Yüan.

³ See the first paragraph of Bk. II.

⁴ 田禾 must be the 田和 of Sze-mâ K³hien, who became marquis of K³h³ in B. C. 389.

the men who lose themselves¹; I also pity the men who pity others (for not being known); and I also pity the men who pity the men who pity those that pity others. But since then the time is long gone by; (and so I am in the state in which you have found me)².

10. *Kung-ni*, having gone to *K'ü*, the king ordered wine to be presented to him. *Sun Shü-áo*³ stood, holding the goblet in his hand. *Î-lião* of *Shih-nan*³, having received (a cup), poured its contents out as a sacrificial libation, and said, 'The men of old, on such an occasion as this, made some speech.' *Kung-ni* said, 'I have heard of speech without words; but I have never spoken it; I will do so now. *Î-lião* of *Shih-nan* kept (quietly) handling his little spheres,

¹ In seeking for worldly honours.

² That is, I have abjured all desire for worldly honour, and desire attainment in the *Táo* alone.

³ See *Mencius* VI, ii, 15. *Sun Shü-áo* was chief minister to king *K'hwang* who died in B. C. 591, and died, probably, before Confucius was born, and *Î-lião* (p. 28, n. 3) appears in public life only after the death of the sage. The three men could not have appeared together at any time. This account of their doing so was devised by our author as a peg on which to hang his own lessons in the rest of the paragraph. The two historical events referred to I have found it difficult to discover. They are instances of doing nothing, and yet thereby accomplishing what is very great. The action of *Î-lião* in 'quietly handling his balls' recalls my seeing the same thing done by a gentleman at *K'ü-fâu*, the city of Confucius, in 1873. Being left there with a companion, and not knowing how to get to the Grand Canal, many gentlemen came to advise with us how we should proceed. Among them was one who, while tendering his advice, kept rolling about two brass balls in one palm with the fingers of the other hand. When I asked the meaning of his action, I was told, 'To show how he is at his ease and master of the situation.' I mention the circumstance because I have nowhere found the phrase in the text adequately explained.

and the difficulties between the two Houses were resolved; Sun Shû-âo slept undisturbed on his couch, with his (dancer's) feather in his hand, and the men of Ying enrolled themselves for the war. I wish I had a beak three cubits long¹.

In the case of those two (ministers) we have what is called 'The Way that cannot be trodden²;' in (the case of *Kung-ni*) we have what is called 'the Argument without words³.' Therefore when all attributes are comprehended in the unity of the Tâo, and speech stops at the point to which knowledge does not reach, the conduct is complete. But where there is (not)³ the unity of the Tâo, the attributes cannot (always) be the same, and that which is beyond the reach of knowledge cannot be exhibited by any reasoning. There may be as many names as those employed by the Literati and the Mohists, but (the result is) evil. Thus when the sea does not reject the streams that flow into it in their eastward course, we have the perfection of greatness. The sage embraces in his regard both Heaven and Earth; his beneficent influence extends to all under the sky; and we do not know from whom it comes. Therefore though when living one may have no rank, and when dead no honorary epithet; though the reality (of what he is) may not be acknowledged and his name not established; we have in him what is called 'The Great Man.'

A dog is not reckoned good because it barks well; and a man is not reckoned wise because he speaks

¹ This strange wish concludes the speech of Confucius. What follows is from *Kwang-3ze*.

² Compare the opening chapters of the Tâo Teh King.

³ The Tâo is greater than any and all of its attributes.

skilfully;—how much less can he be deemed Great! If one thinks he is Great, he is not fit to be accounted Great;—how much less is he so from the practice of the attributes (of the Tâo)¹! Now none are so grandly complete as Heaven and Earth; but do they seek for anything to make them so grandly complete? He who knows this grand completion does not seek for it; he loses nothing and abandons nothing; he does not change himself from regard to (external) things; he turns in on himself, and finds there an inexhaustible store; he follows antiquity and does not feel about (for its lessons);—such is the perfect sincerity of the Great Man.

11. 3ze-*khi*² had eight sons. Having arranged them before him, he called *Kiû-fang Yăn*³, and said to him, 'Look at the physiognomy of my sons for me;—which will be the fortunate one?' Yăn said, 'Khwăn is the fortunate one.' 3ze-*khi* looked startled, and joyfully said, 'In what way?' Yăn replied, 'Khwăn will share the meals of the ruler of a state to the end of his life.' The father looked uneasy, burst into tears, and said, 'What has my son done that he should come to such a fate?' Yăn replied, 'When one shares the meals of the ruler of a state, blessings reach to all within the three branches of his kindred⁴, and how much more to his father and mother! But you, Master, weep when you hear this;—you oppose (the idea of) such happiness. It is the good fortune of your son, and

¹ See note 3 on previous page.

² This can hardly be any other but Nan-kwo 3ze-*khi*.

³ A famous physiognomist; some say, of horses. Hwâi-nan 3ze calls him *Kiû-fang Káo* (皇).

⁴ See Mayers's Manual, p. 303.

you count it his misfortune.' 3ze-*khi* said, 'O Yǎn, what sufficient ground have you for knowing that this will be Khwǎn's good fortune? (The fortune) that is summed up in wine and flesh affects only the nose and the mouth, but you are not able to know how it will come about. I have never been a shepherd, and yet a ewe lambed in the south-west corner of my house. I have never been fond of hunting, and yet a quail hatched her young in the south-east corner. If these were not prodigies, what can be accounted such? Where I wish to occupy my mind with my son is in (the wide sphere of) heaven and earth; I wish to seek his enjoyment and mine in (the idea of) Heaven, and our support from the Earth. I do not mix myself up with him in the affairs (of the world); nor in forming plans (for his advantage); nor in the practice of what is strange. I pursue with him the perfect virtue of Heaven and Earth, and do not allow ourselves to be troubled by outward things. I seek to be with him in a state of undisturbed indifference, and not to practise what affairs might indicate as likely to be advantageous. And now there is to come to us this vulgar recompense. Whenever there is a strange realisation, there must have been strange conduct. Danger threatens;—not through any sin of me or of my son, but as brought about, I apprehend, by Heaven. It is this which makes me weep!'

Not long after this, 3ze-*khi* sent off Khwǎn to go to Yen¹, when he was made prisoner by some robbers on the way. It would have been difficult to sell him if he were whole and entire, and they thought

¹ The state so called.

their easiest plan was to cut off (one of his) feet first. They did so, and sold him in *K'hi*, where he became Inspector of roads for a Mr. *K'hi*¹. Nevertheless he had flesh to eat till he died.

12. Nieh *K'üeh* met Hsü Yü (on the way), and said to him, 'Where, Sir, are you going to?' 'I am fleeing from Yáo,' was the reply. 'What do you mean?' 'Yáo has become so bent on his benevolence that I am afraid the world will laugh at him, and that in future ages men will be found eating one another². Now the people are collected together without difficulty. Love them, and they respond with affection; benefit them, and they come to you; praise them, and they are stimulated (to please you); make them to experience what they dislike, and they disperse. When the loving and benefiting proceed from benevolence and righteousness, those who forget the benevolence and righteousness, and those who make a profit of them, are the many. In this way the practice of benevolence and righteousness comes to be without sincerity and is like a borrowing of the instruments with which men catch birds³. In all this the one man's seeking to benefit the world by his decisions and enactments (of such a nature) is as if he were to cut through (the nature of all) by one operation;—Yáo knows how wise and superior men can benefit the world, but he does not

¹ One expert supposes the text here to mean 'duke *K'ü*;' but there was no such duke of *K'hi*. The best explanation seems to be that *K'ü* was a rich gentleman, inspector of the roads of *K'hi*, or of the streets of its capital, who bought Khwän to take his duties for him.

² Compare in Bk. XXIII, par. 2.

³ A scheming for one's own advantage.

also know how they injure it. It is only those who stand outside such men that know this ¹.'

There are the pliable and weak; the easy and hasty; the grasping and crooked. Those who are called the pliable and weak learn the words of some one master, to which they freely yield their assent, being secretly pleased with themselves, and thinking that their knowledge is sufficient, while they do not know that they have not yet begun (to understand) a single thing. It is this which makes them so pliable and weak. The easy and hasty are like lice on a pig. The lice select a place where the bristles are more wide apart, and look on it as a great palace or a large park. The slits between the toes, the overlappings of its skin, about its nipples and its thighs,—all these seem to them safe apartments and advantageous places;—they do not know that the butcher one morning, swinging about his arms, will spread the grass, and kindle the fire, so that they and the pig will be roasted together. So do they appear and disappear with the place where they harboured:—this is why they are called the easy and hasty.

Of the grasping and crooked we have an example in Shun. Mutton has no craving for ants, but ants have a craving for mutton, for it is rank. There was a rankness about the conduct of Shun, and the people were pleased with him. Hence when he thrice changed his residence, every one of them became a capital city ². When he came to the wild

¹ I suppose that the words of Hsü Yü stop with this sentence, and that from this to the end of the paragraph we have the sentiments of Kwang-ze himself. The style is his,—graphic but sometimes coarse.

² See note on Mencius V, i, 2, 3.

of Tăng¹, he had 100,000 families about him. Yáo having heard of the virtue and ability of Shun, appointed him to a new and uncultivated territory, saying, 'I look forward to the benefit of his coming here.' When Shun was appointed to this new territory, his years were advanced, and his intelligence was decayed;—and yet he could not find a place of rest or a home. This is an example of being grasping and wayward.

Therefore (in opposition to such) the spirit-like man dislikes the flocking of the multitudes to him. When the multitudes come, they do not agree; and when they do not agree, no benefit results from their coming. Hence there are none whom he brings very near to himself, and none whom he keeps at a great distance. He keeps his virtue in close embrace, and warmly nourishes (the spirit of) harmony, so as to be in accordance with all men. This is called the True man². Even the knowledge of the ant he puts away; his plans are simply those of the fishes³; even the notions of the sheep he discards. His seeing is simply that of the eye; his hearing that of the ear; his mind is governed by its general exercises. Being such, his course is straight and level as if marked out by a line, and its every change is in accordance (with the circumstances of the case).

13. The True men of old waited for the issues of events as the arrangements of Heaven, and did not by their human efforts try to take the place of Heaven. The True men of old (now) looked on

¹ Situation unknown.

² The spirit-like man and the true man are the same.

³ Fishes forget everything in the water.

success as life and on failure as death; and (now) on success as death and on failure as life. The operation of medicines will illustrate this:—there are monk's-bane, the *kieh-kăng*, the tribulus fruit, and china-root; each of these has the time and case for which it is supremely suitable; and all such plants and their suitabilities cannot be mentioned particularly. Kâu-kien¹ took his station on (the hill of) Kwâi-khî with 3,000 men with their buff-coats and shields:—(his minister) Kung knew how the ruined (Yüeh) might still be preserved, but the same man did not know the sad fate in store for himself¹. Hence it is said, 'The eye of the owl has its proper fitness; the leg of the crane has its proper limit, and to cut off any of it would distress (the bird).' Hence (also) it is (further) said, 'When the wind passes over it, the volume of the river is diminished, and so it is when the sun passes over it. But let the wind and sun keep a watch together on the river, and it will not begin to feel that they are doing it any injury;—it relies on its springs and flows on.' Thus, water does its part to the ground with undeviating exactness; and so does the shadow to the substance; and one thing to another. Therefore there is danger from the power of vision in the eyes, of hearing in the ears, and of the inordinate thinking of the mind; yea, there is danger from the exercise of every power of which man's constitution is the depository.

¹ See the account of the struggle between Kâu-kien of Yüeh and Fû-khî of Wû in the eightieth and some following chapters of the 'History of the various States of the Eastern Kâu (Lieh Kwo Kîh).' We have sympathy with Kâu-kien, till his ingratitude to his two great ministers, one of whom was Wăn Kung (the Kung of the text), shows the baseness of his character.

When the danger has come to a head, it cannot be averted, and the calamity is perpetuated, and goes on increasing. The return from this (to a state of security) is the result of (great) effort, and success can be attained only after a long time; and yet men consider (their power of self-determination) as their precious possession:—is it not sad? It is in this way that we have the ruin of states and the slaughtering of the people without end; while no one knows how to ask how it comes about.

14. Therefore, the feet of man on the earth tread but on a small space, but going on to where he has not trod before, he traverses a great distance easily; so his knowledge is but small, but going on to what he does not already know, he comes to know what is meant by Heaven¹. He knows it as The Great Unity; The Great Mystery; The Great Illuminator; The Great Framer; The Great Boundlessness; The Great Truth; The Great Determiner. This makes his knowledge complete. As The Great Unity, he comprehends it; as The Great Mystery, he unfolds it; as the Great Illuminator, he contemplates it; as the Great Framer, it is to him the Cause of all; as the Great Boundlessness, all is to him its embodiment; as The Great Truth, he examines it; as The Great Determiner, he holds it fast.

Thus Heaven is to him all; accordance with it is the brightest intelligence. Obscurity has in this its pivot; in this is the beginning. Such being the

¹ This paragraph grandly sets forth the culmination of all inquiries into the Táo as leading to the knowledge of Heaven; and the means by which it may be attained to.

case, the explanation of it is as if it were no explanation; the knowledge of it is as if it were no knowledge. (At first) he does not know it, but afterwards he comes to know it. In his inquiries, he must not set to himself any limits, and yet he cannot be without a limit. Now ascending, now descending, then slipping from the grasp, (the Táo) is yet a reality, unchanged now as in antiquity, and always without defect:—may it not be called what is capable of the greatest display and expansion? Why should we not inquire into it? Why should we be perplexed about it? With what does not perplex let us explain what perplexes, till we cease to be perplexed. So may we arrive at a great freedom from all perplexity!

BOOK XXV.

PART III. SECTION III.

Jeh-yang¹.

1. Jeh-yang having travelled to *K'ü*, *Î Kieh*² spoke of him to the king, and then, before the king had granted him an interview, (left him, and) returned home. Jeh-yang went to see Wang Kwo³, and said to him, 'Master, why do you not mention me to the king?' Wang Kwo replied, 'I am not so good a person to do that as Kung-yüeh Hsiü⁴.' 'What sort of man is he?' asked the other, and the reply was, 'In winter he spears turtles in the *Kiang*, and in summer he rests in shady places on the mountain. When passers-by ask him (what he is doing there), he says, "This is my abode." Since *Î Kieh* was not able to induce the king to see you, how much less should I, who am not equal to him, be able to do so! *Î Kieh*'s character is this:—he has no (real) virtue, but he has knowledge. If you do not freely yield yourself to him, but employ him to carry on his spirit-like influence (with you), you will certainly get upset and benighted in the region of riches and honours. His help will not be of a virtuous character, but will go to make your virtue

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 154, 155.

² A native of *K'ü*, and, probably, a parasite of the court.

³ An officer of *K'ü*, 'a worthy man.'

⁴ A recluse of *K'ü*, but not keeping quite aloof from the court.

less;—it will be like heaping on clothes in spring as a protection against cold, or bringing back the cold winds of winter as a protection against heat (in summer). Now the king of *K'û* is of a domineering presence and stern. He has no forgiveness for offenders, but is merciless as a tiger. It is only a man of subtle speech, or one of correct virtue, who can bend him from his purpose¹.

‘But the sagely man², when he is left in obscurity, causes the members of his family to forget their poverty; and, when he gets forward to a position of influence, causes kings and dukes to forget their rank and emoluments, and transforms them to be humble. With the inferior creatures, he shares their pleasures, and they enjoy themselves the more; with other men, he rejoices in the fellowship of the *Táo*, and preserves it in himself. Therefore though he may not speak, he gives them to drink of the harmony (of his spirit). Standing in association with them, he transforms them till they become in their feeling towards him as sons with a father. His wish is to return to the solitude of his own mind, and this is the effect of his occasional intercourse with them. So far-reaching is his influence on the minds of men; and therefore I said to you, “Wait for Kung-yüeh Hsiü.”’

2. The sage comprehends the connexions between himself and others, and how they all go to constitute him of one body with them, and he does not know how it is so;—he naturally does so. In fulfilling his constitution, as acted on and acting, he

¹ Much of the description of *Î K'ieh* is difficult to construe.

² Kung-yüeh Hsiü.

(simply) follows the direction of Heaven; and it is in consequence of this that men style him (a sage). If he were troubled about (the insufficiency of) his knowledge, what he did would always be but small, and sometimes would be arrested altogether;—how would he in this case be (the sage)? When (the sage) is born with all his excellence, it is other men who see it for him. If they did not tell him, he would not know that he was more excellent than others. And when he knows it, he is as if he did not know it; when he hears it, he is as if he did not hear it. His source of joy in it has no end, and men's admiration of him has no end;—all this takes place naturally¹. The love of the sage for others receives its name from them. If they did not tell him of it, he would not know that he loved them; and when he knows it, he is as if he knew it not; when he hears it, he is as if he heard it not. His love of others never has an end, and their rest in him has also no end:—all this takes place naturally¹.

3. When one sees at a distance his old country and old city, he feels a joyous satisfaction². Though it be full of mounds and an overgrowth of trees and grass, and when he enters it he finds but a tenth part remaining, still he feels that satisfaction. How much more when he sees what he saw, and hears what he heard before! All this is to him like a tower eighty cubits high exhibited in the sight of all men.

¹ That is, 'he does so in the spontaneity of his nature.' The 性 requires the employment of the term 'nature' here, not according to any abstract usage of the term, but meaning the natural constitution. Compare the 性之 in Mencius VII, i, 30.

² So does he rejoice in attaining to the knowledge of his nature.

(The sovereign) Zǎn-hsiang¹ was possessed of that central principle round which all things revolve², and by it he could follow them to their completion. His accompanying them had neither ending nor beginning, and was independent of impulse or time. Daily he witnessed their changes, and himself underwent no change; and why should he not have rested in this? If we (try to) adopt Heaven as our Master, we incapacitate ourselves from doing so. Such endeavour brings us under the power of things. If one acts in this way, what is to be said of him? The sage never thinks of Heaven nor of men. He does not think of taking the initiative, nor of anything external to himself. He moves along with his age, and does not vary or fail. Amid all the completeness of his doings, he is never exhausted. For those who wish to be in accord with him, what other course is there to pursue?

When Thang got one to hold for him the reins of government, namely, Mǎn-yin Tǎng-hǎng³, he employed him as his teacher. He followed his master, but did not allow himself to be hampered by him, and so he succeeded in following things to their completion. The master had the name; but that name was a superfluous addition to his laws, and the twofold character of his government was made apparent⁴. Kung-ní's 'Task your thoughts to the utmost' was his expression of the duties of a

¹ A sage sovereign prior to the three Hwang or August ones.

² See the same phraseology in Book II, par. 3.

³ I have followed Lin Hsî-kung in taking these four characters as the name of one man.

⁴ There was a human element in it instead of the Heavenly only; but some critics think the text here is erroneous or defective.

master. Yung-khăng said, 'Take the days away and there will be no year; without what is internal there will be nothing external¹.'

4. (King) Yung² of Wei made a treaty with the marquis Thien Mâu³ (of *K'hi*), which the latter violated. The king was enraged, and intended to send a man to assassinate him. When the Minister of War⁴ heard of it, he was ashamed, and said (to the king), 'You are a ruler of 10,000 chariots, and by means of a common man would avenge yourself on your enemy. I beg you to give me, Yen, the command of 200,000 soldiers to attack him for you. I will take captive his people and officers, halter (and lead off) his oxen and horses, kindling a fire within him that shall burn to his backbone. I will then storm his capital; and when he shall run away in terror, I will flog his back and break his spine.' *K'î-ze*⁵ heard of this advice, and was ashamed of it, and said (to the king), 'We have been raising the wall (of our capital) to a height of eighty cubits, and the work has been completed. If we now get it thrown down, it will be a painful toil to the convict builders. It is now seven years

¹ Said to have been employed by Hwang-Tî to make the calendar.

² B.C. 370-317.

³ I do not find the name Mâu as belonging to any of the Thien rulers of *K'hi*. The name of the successor of Thien Ho, who has been before us, was 午, Wû, for which 牟, Mâu, may be a mistake; or 'the marquis Mâu' may be a creation of our author.

⁴ Literally, 'the Rhinoceros' Head,' the title of 'the Minister of War' in Wei, who was at this time a Kung-sun Yen. See the memoir of him in Sze-mâ *K'zien*, Book IX of his Biographies.

⁵ I do not know that anything more can be said of *K'î* and *Hwâ* than that they were officers of Wei.

since our troops were called out, and this is the foundation of the royal sway. Yen would introduce disorder;—he should not be listened to.’ Hwâ-ze¹ heard of this advice, and, greatly disapproving of it, said (to the king), ‘He who shows his skill in saying “Attack *K’hi*” would produce disorder; and he who shows his skill in saying “Do not attack it” would also produce disorder. And one who should (merely) say, “The counsellors to attack *K’hi* and not to attack it would both produce disorder,” would himself also lead to the same result.’ The king said, ‘Yes, but what am I to do?’ The reply was, ‘You have only to seek for (the rule of) the T’ao (on the subject).’

Hui-ze, having heard of this counsel, introduced to the king T’ai J’in-zăn², who said, ‘There is the creature called a snail; does your majesty know it?’ ‘I do.’ ‘On the left horn of the snail there is a kingdom which is called Provocation, and on the right horn another which is called Stupidity. These two kingdoms are continually striving about their territories and fighting. The corpses that lie on the ground amount to several myriads. The army of one may be defeated and put to flight, but in fifteen days it will return.’ The king said, ‘Pooh! that is empty talk!’ The other rejoined, ‘Your servant begs to show your majesty its real significance. When your majesty thinks of space—east, west, north, and south, above and beneath—can you set any limit to it?’ ‘It is illimitable,’ said the king; and his visitor went on, ‘Your majesty knows

¹ See note 5 on preceding page.

² Evidently a man of considerable reach of thought.

how to let your mind thus travel through the illimitable, and yet (as compared with this) does it not seem insignificant whether the kingdoms that communicate one with another exist or not?' The king replies, 'It does so;' and Tâi Jîn-zăn said, finally, 'Among those kingdoms, stretching one after another, there is this Wei; in Wei there is this (city of) Liang¹; and in Liang there is your majesty. Can you make any distinction between yourself, and (the king of that kingdom of) Stupidity?' To this the king answered, 'There is no distinction,' and his visitor went out, while the king remained disconcerted and seemed to have lost himself.

When the visitor was gone, Hui-ze came in and saw the king, who said, 'That stranger is a Great man. An (ordinary) sage is not equal to him.' Hui-ze replied, 'If you blow into a flute, there come out its pleasant notes; if you blow into a sword-hilt, there is nothing but a wheezing sound. Yâo and Shun are the subjects of men's praises, but if you speak of them before Tâi Jîn-zăn, there will be but the wheezing sound.'

5. Confucius, having gone to K'û, was lodging in the house of a seller of Congee at Ant-hill. On the roof of a neighbouring house there appeared the husband and his wife, with their servants, male and female². Jze-lû said, 'What are those people doing,

¹ Liang, the capital, came to be used also as the name of the state;—as in Mencius.

² 'They were on the roof, repairing it,' say some. 'They had got on the roof, to get out of the way of Confucius,' say others. The sequel shows that this second interpretation is correct; but we do not see how the taking to the roof facilitated their departure from the house.

collected there as we see them ?' *Kung-nî* replied, 'The man is a disciple of the sages. He is burying himself among the people, and hiding among the fields. Reputation has become little in his eyes, but there is no bound to his cherished aims. Though he may speak with his mouth, he never tells what is in his mind. Moreover, he is at variance with the age, and his mind disdains to associate with it ;—he is one who may be said to lie hid at the bottom of the water on the dry land. Is he not a sort of *Î Lião* of *Shih-nan* ?' *Ûze-lû* asked leave to go and call him, but *Confucius* said, 'Stop. He knows that I understand him well. He knows that I am come to *K'û*, and thinks that I am sure to try and get the king to invite him (to court). He also thinks that I am a man swift to speak. Being such a man, he would feel ashamed to listen to the words of one of voluble and flattering tongue, and how much more to come himself and see his person! And why should we think that he will remain here ?' *Ûze-lû*, however, went to see how it was, but found the house empty.

6. The Border-warden of *K'ang-wû*¹, in questioning *Ûze-lão*², said, 'Let not a ruler in the exercise of his government be (like the farmer) who leaves the clods unbroken, nor, in regulating his people, (like one) who recklessly plucks up the shoots. Formerly, in ploughing my corn-fields, I left the clods unbroken, and my recompense was in the rough unsatisfactory crops ; and in weeding, I destroyed and tore up (many good plants), and my recompense was in the scantiness of my harvests. In subse-

¹ Probably the same as the *K'ang-wû* *Ûze* in Book II, par. 9.

² See *Analects* IX, vi, 4.

quent years I changed my methods, ploughing deeply and carefully covering up the seed; and my harvests were rich and abundant, so that all the year I had more than I could eat.' When *Kwang-ze* heard of his remarks, he said, 'Now-a-days, most men, in attending to their bodies and regulating their minds, correspond to the description of the Border-warden. They hide from themselves their Heaven(-given being); they leave (all care of) their (proper) nature; they extinguish their (proper) feelings; and they leave their spirit to die:—abandoning themselves to what is the general practice. Thus dealing with their nature like the farmer who is negligent of the clods in his soil, the illegitimate results of their likings and dislikings become their nature. The bushy sedges, reeds, and rushes, which seem at first to spring up to support our bodies, gradually eradicate our nature, and it becomes like a mass of running sores, ever liable to flow out, with scabs and ulcers, discharging in flowing matter from the internal heat. So indeed it is!'

7. Po *Kü*¹ was studying with *Lão Tan*, and asked his leave to go and travel everywhere. *Lão Tan* said, 'Nay;—elsewhere it is just as here.' He repeated his request, and then *Lão Tan* said, 'Where would you go first?' 'I would begin with *Kh*,' replied the disciple. 'Having got there, I would go to look at the criminals (who had been executed). With my arms I would raise (one of) them up and set him on his feet, and, taking off my court robes, I would cover him with them, appealing at

¹ We can only say of Po *Kü* that he was a disciple of *Lão-ze*.

the same time to Heaven and bewailing his lot, while I said¹, "My son, my son, you have been one of the first to suffer from the great calamities that afflict the world²." (Láo Tan) said¹, '(It is said), "Do not rob. Do not kill." (But) in the setting up of (the ideas of) glory and disgrace, we see the cause of those evils; in the accumulation of property and wealth, we see the causes of strife and contention. If now you set up the things against which men fret; if you accumulate what produces strife and contention among them; if you put their persons in such a state of distress, that they have no rest or ease, although you may wish that they should not come to the end of those (criminals), can your wish be realised?

'The superior men (and rulers) of old considered that the success (of their government) was to be found in (the state of) the people, and its failure to be sought in themselves; that the right might be with the people, and the wrong in themselves. Thus it was that if but a single person lost his life, they retired and blamed themselves. Now, however, it is not so. (Rulers) conceal what they want done, and hold those who do not know it to be stupid; they require what is very difficult, and condemn those who do not dare to undertake it; they impose heavy burdens, and punish those who are unequal to them; they require men to go far, and put them to death when they cannot accomplish the distance. When the people know that the utmost of their

¹ There are two 曰 here, and the difficulty in translating is to determine the subject of each.

² The 離 of the text here is taken as = 罹.

strength will be insufficient, they follow it up with deceit. When (the rulers) daily exhibit much hypocrisy, how can the officers and people not be hypocritical? Insufficiency of strength produces hypocrisy; insufficiency of knowledge produces deception; insufficiency of means produces robbery. But in this case against whom ought the robbery and theft to be charged?'

8. When *Kü Po-yü* was in his sixtieth year, his views became changed in the course of it¹. He had never before done anything but consider the views which he held to be right, but now he came to condemn them as wrong; he did not know that what he now called right was not what for fifty-nine years he had been calling wrong. All things have the life (which we know), but we do not see its root; they have their goings forth, but we do not know the door by which they depart. Men all honour that which lies within the sphere of their knowledge, but they do not know their dependence on what lies without that sphere which would be their (true) knowledge:—may we not call their case one of great perplexity? Ah! Ah! there is no escaping from this dilemma. So it is! So it is!

9. *Kung-ní* asked the Grand Historiographer² *Tá Tháo*, (along with) *Po Khang-khien* and *Khieh-wei*, saying, 'Duke Ling of Wei was so addicted to

¹ Confucius thought highly of this *Kü Po-yü*, and they were friends (*Analects*, XIV, 26; XV, 6). It would seem from this paragraph that, in his sixtieth year, he adopted the principles of Táoism. Whether he really did so we cannot tell. See also Book IV, par. 5.

² We must translate here in the singular, for in the historiographer's department there were only two officers with the title of 'Grand;' *Po Khang-khien* and *Khieh-wei* would be inferior members of it.

drink, and abandoned to sensuality, that he did not attend to the government of his state. Occupied in his pursuit of hunting with his nets and bows, he kept aloof from the meetings of the princes. In what was it that he showed his title to the epithet of Ling¹? Tá Tháo said, 'It was on account of those very things.' Po *Khang-khien* said, 'Duke Ling had three mistresses with whom he used to bathe in the same tub. (Once, however), when Shih-jhiû came to him with presents from the imperial court, he made his servants support the messenger in bearing the gifts². So dissolute was he in the former case, and when he saw a man of worth, thus reverent was he to him. It was on this account that he was styled "Duke Ling."' *Khih-wei* said, 'When duke Ling died, and they divined about burying him in the old tomb of his House, the answer was unfavourable; when they divined about burying him on Shâ-khiû, the answer was favourable. Accordingly they dug there to the depth of several fathoms, and found a stone coffin. Having washed and inspected it, they discovered an inscription, which said,

"This grave will not be available for your posterity;
Duke Ling will appropriate it for himself."

¹ Ling (靈), as a posthumous epithet, has various meanings, none of them very bad, and some of them very good. Confucius ought to have been able to solve his question himself better than any of the historiographers, but he propounded his doubt to them for reasons which he, no doubt, had.

² We are not to suppose that the royal messenger found him in the tub with his three wives or mistresses. The two incidents mentioned illustrate two different phases of his character, as some of the critics, and even the text itself, clearly indicate.

Thus that epithet of Ling had long been settled for the duke¹. But how should those two be able to know this?’

10. Shào K'ih² asked Thâi-kung Thiào², saying, ‘What do we mean by “The Talk of the Hamlets and Villages?”’ The reply was, ‘Hamlets and Villages are formed by the union—say of ten surnames and a hundred names, and are considered to be (the source of) manners and customs. The differences between them are united to form their common character, and what is common to them is separately apportioned to form the differences. If you point to the various parts which make up the body of a horse, you do not have the horse; but when the horse is before you, and all its various parts stand forth (as forming the animal), you speak of “the horse.” So it is that the mounds and hills are made to be the elevations that they are by accumulations of earth which individually are but low. (So also rivers like) the K'iang and the Ho obtain their greatness by the union of (other smaller) waters with them. And (in the same way) the Great man exhibits the common sentiment of humanity by the union in himself of all its individualities. Hence when ideas come to him from without, though he

¹ This explanation is, of course, absurd.

² These two names are both metaphorical, the former meaning ‘Small Knowledge,’ and the latter, ‘The Grand Public and Just Harmonizer.’ Small Knowledge would look for the T'ao in the ordinary talk of ordinary men. The other teaches him that it is to be found in ‘the Great man,’ blending in himself what is ‘just’ in the sentiments and practice of all men. And so it is to be found in all the phenomena of nature, but it has itself no name, and does nothing.

has his own decided view, he does not hold it with bigotry ; and when he gives out his own decisions, which are correct, the views of others do not oppose them. The four seasons have their different elemental characters, but they are not the partial gifts of Heaven, and so the year completes its course. The five official departments have their different duties, but the ruler does not partially employ any one of them, and so the kingdom is governed. (The gifts of) peace and war (are different), but the Great man does not employ the one to the prejudice of the other, and so the character (of his administration) is perfect. All things have their different constitutions and modes of actions, but the Tào (which directs them) is free from all partiality, and therefore it has no name. Having no name, it therefore does nothing. Doing nothing, there is nothing which it does not do.

‘Each season has its ending and beginning ; each age has its changes and transformations ; misery and happiness regularly alternate. Here our views are thwarted, and yet the result may afterwards have our approval ; there we insist on our own views, and looking at things differently from others, try to correct them, while we are in error ourselves. The case may be compared to that of a great marsh, in which all its various vegetation finds a place, or we may look at it as a great hill, where trees and rocks are found on the same terrace. Such may be a description of what is intended by “The Talk of the Hamlets and Villages.”’

Shào Kih said, ‘Well, is it sufficient to call it (an expression of) the Tào ?’ Thài-kung Thiào said, ‘It is not so. If we reckon up the number of things,

they are not 10,000 merely. When we speak of them as "the Myriad Things," we simply use that large number by way of accommodation to denominate them. In this way Heaven and Earth are the greatest of all things that have form; the Yin and Yang are the greatest of all elemental forces. But the Táo is common to them. Because of their greatness to use the Táo or (Course) as a title and call it "the Great Táo" is allowable. But what comparison can be drawn between it and "the Talk of the Hamlets and Villages?" To argue from this that it is a sufficient expression of the Táo, is like calling a dog and a horse by the same name, while the difference between them is so great.'

11. Sháo Kih said, 'Within the limits of the four cardinal points, and the six boundaries of space, how was it that there commenced the production of all things?' Thái-kung Thiáo replied, 'The Yin and Yang reflected light on each other, covered each other, and regulated each the other; the four seasons gave place to one another, produced one another, and brought one another to an end. Likings and dislikings, the avoidings of this and movements towards that, then arose (in the things thus produced), in their definite distinctness; and from this came the separation and union of the male and female. Then were seen now security and now insecurity, in mutual change; misery and happiness produced each other; gentleness and urgency pressed on each other; the movements of collection and dispersion were established:—these names and processes can be examined, and, however minute, can be recorded. The rules determining the order in which they follow one another, their mutual influence

now acting directly and now revolving, how, when they are exhausted, they revive, and how they end and begin again ; these are the properties belonging to things. Words can describe them and knowledge can reach to them ; but with this ends all that can be said of things. Men who study the Táo do not follow on when these operations end, nor try to search out how they began :—with this all discussion of them stops.’

Sháo K’ih said, ‘*K’i K’án*¹ holds that (the Táo) forbids all action, and *K’ieh-ze*¹ holds that it may perhaps allow of influence. Which of the two is correct in his statements, and which is one-sided in his ruling?’ Thái-kung Thiáo replied, ‘Cocks crow and dogs bark ;—this is what all men know. But men with the greatest wisdom cannot describe in words whence it is that they are formed (with such different voices), nor can they find out by thinking what they wish to do. We may refine on this small point ; till it is so minute that there is no point to operate on, or it may become so great that there is no embracing it. “Some one caused it ;” “No one did it ;” but we are thus debating about things ; and the end is that we shall find we are in error. “Some one caused it ;”—then there was a real Being. “No one did it ;”—then there was mere vacancy. To have a name and a real existence,—that is the condition of a thing. Not to have a name, and not

¹ Two masters of schools of Táoism. Who the former was I do not know ; but Sze-mâ K’ien in the seventy-fourth Book of his Records mentions several Táoist masters, and among them *K’ieh-ze*, a native of *K’hi*, ‘a student of the arts of the Táo and its Characteristics, as taught by Hwang-T’i and Láo-ze, and who also published his views on the subject.’

to have real being;—that is vacancy and no thing. We may speak and we may think about it, but the more we speak, the wider shall we be of the mark. Birth, before it comes, cannot be prevented; death, when it has happened, cannot be traced farther. Death and life are not far apart; but why they have taken place cannot be seen. That some one has caused them, or that there has been no action in the case are but speculations of doubt. When I look for their origin, it goes back into infinity; when I look for their end, it proceeds without termination. Infinite, unceasing, there is no room for words about (the Tâo). To regard it as in the category of things is the origin of the language that it is caused or that it is the result of doing nothing; but it would end as it began with things. The Tâo cannot have a (real) existence; if it has, it cannot be made to appear as if it had not. The name Tâo is a metaphor, used for the purpose of description¹. To say that it causes or does nothing is but to speak of one phase of things, and has nothing to do with the Great Subject. If words were sufficient for the purpose, in a day's time we might exhaust it; since they are not sufficient, we may speak all day, and only exhaust (the subject of) things. The Tâo is the extreme to which things conduct us. Neither speech nor silence is sufficient to convey the notion of it. Neither by speech nor by silence can our thoughts about it have their highest expression.

¹ A very important statement with regard to the meaning of the name Tâo.

BOOK XXVI.

PART III. SECTION IV.

Wâi Wû, or 'What comes from Without'.¹

1. What comes from without cannot be determined beforehand. So it was that Lung-fǎng² was killed; Pi-kan immolated; and the count of K'î (made to feign himself) mad, (while) O-lâi died³, and Kieh and K'âu both perished. Rulers all wish their ministers to be faithful, but that faithfulness may not secure their confidence; hence Wû Yün became a wanderer along the K'iang⁴, and K'hang Hung died in Shû, where (the people) preserved his blood for three years, when it became changed into green jade⁵. Parents all wish their sons to be filial, but that filial duty may not secure their love; hence

¹ See vol. xxxix, p. 155.

² The name of Kwan Lung-fǎng, a great officer of Kieh, the tyrant of Hsiâ;—see Bk. IV, par. 1, et al.

³ A scion of the line of K'hin whose fortunes culminated in Shih Hwang-Tî. O-lâi assisted the tyrant of Shang, and was put to death by king Wû of K'âu.

⁴ The famous Wû 3ze-hstü, the hero of Revenge, who made his escape along the K'iang, in about B. C. 512, to Wû, after the murder of his father and elder brother by the king of K'hiu.

⁵ See Bk. X, par. 2. In the 3o-kwan, under the third year of duke Âi, it is related that the people of K'âu killed K'hang Hung; but nothing is said of this being done in Shû, or of his blood turning to green jade! This we owe to the K'zun K'hiu of Lü.

Hsião-~~ki~~¹ had to endure his sorrow, and ǰǰng Shǎn his grief².

When wood is rubbed against wood, it begins to burn; when metal is subjected to fire, it (melts and) flows. When the Yin and Yang act awry, heaven and earth are greatly perturbed; and on this comes the crash of thunder, and from the rain comes fire, which consumes great locust trees³. (The case of men) is still worse. They are troubled between two pitfalls⁴, from which they cannot escape. Chrysalis-like, they can accomplish nothing. Their minds are as if hung up between heaven and earth. Now comforted, now pitied, they are plunged in difficulties. The ideas of profit and of injury rub against each other, and produce in them a very great fire. The harmony (of the mind) is consumed in the mass of men. Their moonlike intelligence cannot overcome the (inward) fire. They thereupon fall away more and more, and the Course (which they should pursue) is altogether lost.

2. The family of *Kwang Káu* being poor, he went to ask the loan of some rice from the Marquis Superintendent of the Ho⁵, who said, 'Yes, I shall be

¹ Said to have been 'the eldest son of king Wû Ting or Kão Jung of the Yin dynasty. I do not know the events in his experience to which our author must be referring.

² The well-known disciple of Confucius, famous for his filial piety.

³ The lightning accompanying a thunderstorm.

⁴ The ideas of profit and injury immediately mentioned.

⁵ In another version of this story, in Liû Hsiang's *Shwo Yüan*, XI, art. 13, the party applied to is 'duke Wǎn of Wei;' but this does not necessarily conflict with the text. The genuineness of the paragraph is denied by Lin Hsi-kung and others; but I seem to see the hand of *Kwang-ǰze* in it.

getting the (tax-) money from the people (soon), and I will then lend you three hundred ounces of silver;—will that do?’ *Kwang K’au* flushed with anger, and said, ‘On the road yesterday, as I was coming here, I heard some one calling out. On looking round, I saw a goby in the carriage rut, and said to it, “Goby fish, what has brought you here?” The goby said, “I am Minister of Waves in the Eastern Sea. Have you, Sir, a gallon or a pint of water to keep me alive?” I replied, “Yes, I am going south to see the kings of *Wû* and *Yüeh*, and I will then lead a stream from the Western *Kiang* to meet you;—will that do?” The goby flushed with anger, and said, “I have lost my proper element, and I can here do nothing for myself; but if I could get a gallon or a pint of water, I should keep alive. Than do what you propose, you had better soon look for me in a stall of dry fish.”’

3. A son of the duke of *Zăn*¹, having provided himself with a great hook, a powerful black line, and fifty steers to be used as bait, squatted down on (mount) *Kwâi K’i*, and threw the line into the Eastern Sea. Morning after morning he angled thus, and for a whole year caught nothing. At the end of that time, a great fish swallowed the bait, and dived down, dragging the great hook with him. Then it rose to the surface in a flurry, and flapped with its fins, till the white waves rose like hills, and the waters were lashed into fury. The noise was like that of imps and spirits, and spread terror

¹ I suppose this was merely a district of *K’û*, and the duke of it merely the officer in charge of it;—according to the practice of the rulers of *K’û*, after they usurped the title of King.

for a thousand li. The prince having got such a fish, cut it in slices and dried them. From the *Keh* river¹ to the east, and from *Ṣhang-wû*² to the north, there was not one who did not eat his full from that fish; and in subsequent generations, story-tellers of small abilities have all repeated the story to one another with astonishment. (But) if the prince had taken his rod, with a fine line, and gone to pools and ditches, and watched for minnows and gobies, it would have been difficult for him to get a large fish. Those who dress up their small tales to obtain favour with the magistrates are far from being men of great understanding; and therefore one who has not heard the story of this scion of *Zăn* is not fit to take any part in the government of the world;—far is he from being so³.

4. Some literati, students of the Odes and Ceremonies, were breaking open a mound over a grave⁴. The superior among them spoke down to the others, 'Day is breaking in the east; how is the thing going on?' The younger men replied, 'We have not yet opened his jacket and skirt, but there is a pearl in the mouth. As it is said in the Ode,

"The bright, green grain
Is growing on the sides of the mound.

¹ The 制河 of the text = the 浙江, still giving its name to the province so called.

² Where Shun was buried.

³ This last sentence is difficult to construe, and to understand.—The genuineness of this paragraph is also questioned, and the style is inferior to that of the preceding.

⁴ I can conceive of *Kwang-ze* telling this story of some literati who had been acting as resurrectionists, as a joke against their class; but not of his writing it to form a part of his work.

While living, he gave nothing away;
 Why, when dead, should he hold a pearl in his
 mouth¹?"'

Thereupon they took hold of the whiskers and pulled at the beard, while the superior introduced a piece of fine steel into the chin, and gradually separated the jaws, so as not to injure the pearl in the mouth.

5. A disciple of Láo Lái-ze², while he was out gathering firewood, met with Kung-ní. On his return, he told (his master), saying, 'There is a man there, the upper part of whose body is long and the lower part short. He is slightly hump-backed, and his ears are far back. When you look at him, he seems occupied with the cares of all within the four seas; I do not know whose son he is.' Láo Lái-ze said, 'It is K'hiû; call him here;' and when Kung-ní came, he said to him, 'K'hiû, put away your personal conceit, and airs of wisdom, and show yourself to be indeed a superior man.' Kung-ní bowed and was retiring, when he abruptly changed his manner, and asked, 'Will the object I am pursuing be thereby advanced?' Láo Lái-ze replied, 'You cannot bear the sufferings of this one age, and are stubbornly regardless of the

¹ This verse is not found, so far as I know, anywhere else.

² Láo Lái-ze appears here as a contemporary of Confucius, and the master of a Táoistic school, and this also is the view of him which we receive from the accounts in Sze-mâ K'ien and Hwang-fû Mí. Sze-mâ says he published a work in fifteen sections on the usefulness of Táoism. Some have imagined that he was the same as Láo-ze himself, but there does not appear any ground for that opinion. He is one of the twenty-four examples of Filial Piety so celebrated among the Chinese; but I suspect that the accounts of him as such are fabrications. He certainly lectures Confucius here in a manner worthy of Láo Tan.

evils of a myriad ages :—is it that you purposely make yourself thus unhappy? or is it that you have not the ability to comprehend the case? Your obstinate purpose to make men rejoice in a participation of your joy is your life-long shame, the procedure of a mediocre man. You would lead men by your fame; you would bind them to you by your secret art. Than be praising Yáo and condemning Kieh, you had better forget them both, and shut up your tendency to praise. If you reflect on it, it does nothing but injury; your action in it is entirely wrong. The sage is full of anxiety and indecision in undertaking anything, and so he is always successful. But what shall I say of your conduct? To the end it is all affectation.'

6. The ruler Yüan of Sung¹ (once) dreamt at midnight that a man with dishevelled hair peeped in on him at a side door and said, 'I was coming from the abyss of 3âi-lû, commissioned by the Clear Kiang to go to the place of the Earl of the Ho; but the fisherman Yü 3ü has caught me.' When the ruler Yüan awoke, he caused a diviner to divine the meaning (of the dream), and was told, 'This is a marvellous tortoise.' The ruler asked if among the fishermen there was one called Yü 3ü, and being told by his attendants that there was, he gave orders that he should be summoned to court. Accordingly the man next day appeared at court, and the ruler said, 'What have you caught (lately) in fishing?' The reply was, 'I have caught in my net a white tortoise, sieve-like, and five cubits round.' 'Present the prodigy here,' said the ruler; and, when it came, once and

¹ Compare in Bk. XXI, par. 7.

again he wished to kill it, once and again he wished to keep it alive. Doubting in his mind (what to do), he had recourse to divination, and obtained the answer, 'To kill the tortoise for use in divining will be fortunate.' Accordingly they cut the creature open, and perforated its shell in seventy-two places, and there was not a single divining slip which failed¹.

Kung-nt said, 'The spirit-like tortoise could show itself in a dream to the ruler *Yüan*, and yet it could not avoid the net of *Yü 3ü*. Its wisdom could respond on seventy-two perforations without failing in a single divination, and yet it could not avoid the agony of having its bowels all scooped out. We see from this that wisdom is not without its perils, and spirit-like intelligence does not reach to everything. A man may have the greatest wisdom, but there are a myriad men scheming against him. Fishes do not fear the net, though they fear the pelican. Put away your small wisdom, and your great wisdom will be bright; discard your skilfulness, and you will become naturally skilful. A child when it is born needs no great master, and yet it becomes able to speak, living (as it does) among those who are able to speak.'

7. *Hui-ze* said to *Kwang-ze*, 'You speak, Sir, of what is of no use.' The reply was, 'When a man knows what is not useful, you can then begin to speak to him of what is useful. The earth for instance is certainly spacious and great; but what a

¹ The story of this wonderful tortoise is found at much greater length, and with variations, in *Sze-mâ K'ien's* Records, Bk. LXVIII, q. v. The moral of it is given in the concluding remarks from *Confucius*.

man uses of it is only sufficient ground for his feet. If, however, a rent were made by the side of his feet, down to the yellow springs, could the man still make use of it?' Hui-ze said, 'He could not use it,' and K'wang-ze rejoined, 'Then the usefulness of what is of no use is clear ¹.'

8. K'wang-ze said, 'If a man have the power to enjoy himself (in any pursuit), can he be kept from doing so? If he have not the power, can he so enjoy himself? There are those whose aim is bent on concealing themselves, and those who are determined that their doings shall leave no trace. Alas! they both shirk the obligations of perfect knowledge and great virtue. The (latter) fall, and cannot recover themselves; the (former) rush on like fire, and do not consider (what they are doing). Though men may stand to each other in the relation of ruler and minister, that is but for a time. In a changed age, the one of them would not be able to look down on the other. Hence it is said, "The Perfect man leaves no traces of his conduct."

'To honour antiquity and despise the present time is the characteristic of learners ²; but even the disciples of K'ih-wei ³ have to look at the present age; and who can avoid being carried along by its course? It is only the Perfect man who is able to enjoy himself in the world, and not be deflected from the right,

¹ See Bk. I, par. 6, and XXIV, par. 14. The conversations between our author and Hui-ze often turned on this subject.

² Does our author mean by 'learners' the literati, the disciples of Confucius?

³ K'ih-wei,—see Bk. VI, par. 7. Perhaps 'the disciples of K'ih-wei' are those who in our author's time called themselves such, but were not.

to accommodate himself to others and not lose himself. He does not learn their lessons ; he only takes their ideas into consideration, and does not discard them as different from his own.

9. 'It is the penetrating eye that gives clear vision, the acute ear that gives quick hearing, the discriminating nose that gives discernment of odours, the practised mouth that gives the enjoyment of flavours, the active mind that acquires knowledge, and the far-reaching knowledge that constitutes virtue. In no case does the connexion with what is without like to be obstructed ; obstruction produces stoppage ; stoppage, continuing without intermission, arrests all progress ; and with this all injurious effects spring up.

'The knowledge of all creatures depends on their breathing¹. But if their breath be not abundant, it is not the fault of Heaven, which tries to penetrate them with it, day and night without ceasing ; but men notwithstanding shut their pores against it. The womb encloses a large and empty space ; the heart has its spontaneous and enjoyable movements. If their apartment be not roomy, wife and mother-in-law will be bickering ; if the heart have not its spontaneous and enjoyable movements, the six faculties of perception² will be in mutual collision. That

¹ There seems to underlie this statement the Tâoist dogma about the regulation of the 'breath,' as conducive to long life and mental cultivation.

² Probably what in Buddhist literature are called 'the Six Entrances (六入),' what Mayers denominates 'The Six Organs of Admittance, or Bodily Sensations,' the *Shaḍāyatana*, the eye, ear, nose, mouth, body, and mind,—one of the twelve *Nidānas* in the Buddhist system.

the great forests, the heights and hills, are pleasant to men, is because their spirits cannot overcome (those distracting influences). Virtue overflows into (the love of) fame; (the love of) fame overflows into violence; schemes originate in the urgency (of circumstances); (the show of) wisdom comes from rivalry; the fuel (of strife) is produced from the obstinate maintenance (of one's own views); the business of offices should be apportioned in accordance with the approval of all. In spring, when the rain and the sunshine come seasonably, vegetation grows luxuriantly, and sickles and hoes begin to be prepared. More than half of what had fallen down becomes straight, and we do not know how.

10. 'Stillness and silence are helpful to those who are ill; rubbing the corners of the eyes is helpful to the aged; rest serves to calm agitation; but they are the toiled and troubled who have recourse to these things. Those who are at ease, and have not had such experiences, do not care to ask about them. The spirit-like man has had no experience of how it is that the sagely man keeps the world in awe, and so he does not inquire about it; the sagely man has had no experience of how it is that the man of ability and virtue keeps his age in awe, and so he does not inquire about it; the man of ability and virtue has had no experience of how it is that the superior man keeps his state in awe, and so he does not inquire about it. The superior man has had no experience of how it is that the small man keeps himself in agreement with his times that he should inquire about it.'

11. The keeper of the Yen Gate¹, on the death of

¹ The name of one of the gates in the wall of the capital of Sung.

his father, showed so much skill in emaciating his person¹ that he received the rank of 'Pattern for Officers.' Half the people of his neighbourhood (in consequence) carried their emaciation to such a point that they died. When Yâo wished to resign the throne to Hsü Yû, the latter ran away. When Thang offered his to Wû Kwang², Wû Kwang became angry. When Kî Thâ³ heard it, he led his disciples, and withdrew to the river Kho, where the feudal princes came and condoled with him, and after three years, Shăn Thû-tî⁴ threw himself into the water. Fishing-stakes⁵ are employed to catch fish; but when the fish are got, the men forget the stakes. Snares are employed to catch hares, but when the hares are got, men forget the snares. Words are employed to convey ideas; but when the ideas are apprehended, men forget the words. Fain would I talk with such a man who has forgot the words!

¹ The abstinences and privations in mourning were so many that there was a danger of their seriously injuring the health;—which was forbidden.

² See Bk. VI, par. 3; but in the note there, Wû Kwang is said to have been of the time of Hwang-Tî; which is probably an error.

³ See IV, par. 3; but I do not know who Kî Thâ was, nor can I explain what is said of him here.

⁴ See again IV, par. 3.

⁵ According to some, 'baskets.' This illustration is quoted in the Inscription on the Nestorian Monument, II, 7.

BOOK XXVII.

PART III. SECTION V.

Yü Yen, or 'Metaphorical Language'¹.

1. Of my sentences nine in ten are metaphorical ; of my illustrations seven in ten are from valued writers. The rest of my words are like the water that daily fills the cup, tempered and harmonised by the Heavenly element in our nature².

The nine sentences in ten which are metaphorical are borrowed from extraneous things to assist (the comprehension of) my argument. (When it is said, for instance), 'A father does not act the part of matchmaker for his own son,' (the meaning is that) 'it is better for another man to praise the son than for his father to do so.' The use of such metaphorical language is not my fault, but the fault of men (who would not otherwise readily understand me).

Men assent to views which agree with their own, and oppose those which do not so agree. Those which agree with their own they hold to be right, and those which do not so agree they hold to be wrong. The seven out of ten illustrations taken from valued writers are designed to put an end to disputations. Those writers are the men of hoary eld, my predecessors in time. But such as are un-

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 155, 156.

² See Bk. II, par. 10.

versed in the warp and woof, the beginning and end of the subject, cannot be set down as of venerable eld, and regarded as the predecessors of others. If men have not that in them which fits them to precede others, they are without the way proper to man, and they who are without the way proper to man can only be pronounced defunct monuments of antiquity.

Words like the water that daily issues from the cup, and are harmonised by the Heavenly Element (of our nature), may be carried on into the region of the unlimited, and employed to the end of our years. But without words there is an agreement (in principle). That agreement is not effected by words, and an agreement in words is not effected by it. Hence it is said, 'Let there be no words.' Speech does not need words. One may speak all his life, and not have spoken a (right) word; and one may not have spoken all his life, and yet all his life been giving utterance to the (right) words. There is that which makes a thing allowable, and that which makes a thing not allowable. There is that which makes a thing right, and that which makes a thing not right. How is a thing right? It is right because it is right. How is a thing wrong? It is wrong because it is wrong. How is a thing allowable? It is allowable because it is so. How is a thing not allowable? It is not allowable because it is not so. Things indeed have what makes them right, and what makes them allowable. There is nothing which has not its condition of right; nothing which has not its condition of allowability. But without the words of the (water-) cup in daily use, and harmonised by the Heavenly Element (in our

nature), what one can continue long in the possession of these characteristics ?

All things are divided into their several classes, and succeed to one another in the same way, though of different bodily forms. They begin and end as in an unbroken ring, though how it is they do so be not apprehended. This is what is called the Lathe of Heaven ; and the Lathe of Heaven is the Heavenly Element in our nature.

2. *Kwang-ze* said to *Hui-ze*, 'When Confucius was in his sixtieth year, in that year his views changed¹. What he had before held to be right, he now ended by holding to be wrong ; and he did not know whether the things which he now pronounced to be right were not those which he had for fifty-nine years held to be wrong.' *Hui-ze* replied, 'Confucius with an earnest will pursued the acquisition of knowledge, and acted accordingly.' *Kwang-ze* rejoined, 'Confucius disowned such a course, and never said that it was his. He said, "Man receives his powers from the Great Source² (of his being), and he should restore them to their (original) intelligence in his life. His singing should be in accordance with the musical tubes, and his speech a model for imitation. When profit and righteousness are set before him, and his liking (for the latter) and dislike (of the

¹ Compare this with the same language about *Kü Po-yü* in Bk. XXV, par. 8. There is no proof to support our author's assertion that the views of Confucius underwent any change.

² 'The Great Source (Root)' here is generally explained by 'the Grand Beginning.' It is not easy to say whether we are to understand an ideal condition of man designed from the first, or the condition of every man as he is born into the world. On the 'powers' received by man, see *Mencius* VI, i, 6.

former), his approval and disapproval, are manifested, that only serves to direct the speech of men (about him). To make men in heart submit, and not dare to stand up in opposition to him; to establish the fixed law for all under heaven:—ah! ah! I have not attained to that.”’

3. *Ǟng-ze* twice took office, and on the two occasions his state of mind was different. He said, ‘While my parents were alive I took office, and though my emolument was only three *fû*¹ (of grain), my mind was happy. Afterwards when I took office, my emolument was three thousand *kung*²; but I could not share it with my parents, and my mind was sad.’ The other disciples asked *Kung-ni*, saying, ‘Such an one as *Shăn* may be pronounced free from all entanglement:—is he to be blamed for feeling as he did³?’ The reply was, ‘But he was subject to entanglement⁴. If he had been free from it, could he have had that sadness? He would have looked on his three *fû* and three thousand *kung* no more than on a heron or a mosquito passing before him.’

4. Yen *Khăng Ǟze-yû* said to Tung-kwo *Ǟze-khi*⁵, ‘When I (had begun to) hear your instructions, the first year, I continued a simple rustic; the second

¹ A *fû* = ten *tâu* and four *shing*, or sixty-four *shing*, the *shing* at present being rather less than an English pint.

² A *kung* = sixty-four *tâu*; but there are various accounts of its size.

³ This sentence is difficult to construe.

⁴ But Confucius could not count his love for his parents an entanglement.

⁵ We must suppose this master to be the same as the Nan-kwo *Ǟze-khi* of Bk. II.

year, I became docile; the third year, I comprehended (your teaching); the fourth year, I was (plastic) as a thing; the fifth year, I made advances; the sixth year, the spirit entered (and dwelt in me); the seventh year, (my nature as designed by) Heaven was perfected; the eighth year, I knew no difference between death and life; the ninth year, I attained to the Great Mystery¹.

‘Life has its work to do, and death ensues, (as if) the common character of each were a thing prescribed. Men consider that their death has its cause; but that life from (the operation of) the Yang has no cause. But is it really so? How does (the Yang) operate in this direction? Why does it not operate there?’

‘Heaven has its places and spaces which can be calculated; (the divisions of) the earth can be assigned by men. But how shall we search for and find out (the conditions of the Great Mystery)? We do not know when and how (life) will end, but how shall we conclude that it is not determined (from without)? and as we do not know when and how it begins, how should we conclude that it is not (so) determined?’

‘In regard to the issues of conduct which we deem appropriate, how should we conclude that there are no spirits presiding over them; and where those issues seem inappropriate, how should we conclude that there are spirits presiding over them?’

¹ In illustration of the text here Lû Shû-kih refers to the use of Miào (妙), in the account of the term ‘Spirit,’ in the fifth Appendix to the Yî, par. 10, as meaning ‘the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things.’ 3ze-yü’s further exposition of his attainments is difficult to understand fully.

5. The penumbræ (once) asked the shadow¹, saying, 'Formerly you were looking down, and now you are looking up; formerly you had your hair tied up, and now it is dishevelled; formerly you were sitting, and now you have risen up; formerly you were walking, and now you have stopped:—how is all this?' The shadow said, 'Venerable Sirs, how do you ask me about such small matters? These things all belong to me, but I do not know how they do so. I am (like) the shell of a cicada or the cast-off skin of a snake²;—like them, and yet not like them. With light and the sun I make my appearance; with darkness and the night I fade away. Am not I dependent on the substance from which I am thrown? And that substance is itself dependent on something else! When it comes, I come with it; when it goes, I go with it. When it comes under the influence of the strong Yang, I come under the same. Since we are both produced by that strong Yang, what occasion is there for you to question me?'

6. Yang 3ze-kü³ had gone South to Phei⁴, while Láo Tan was travelling in the west in K'zin⁵. (He thereupon) asked (Láo-3ze) to come to the border (of Phei), and went himself to Liang, where he met him. Láo-3ze stood in the middle of the way, and, looking up to heaven, said with a sigh, 'At first I thought that you might be taught, but now I see that you cannot be.' Yang 3ze-kü made no reply;

¹ Compare Bk. II, par. 11.

² Such is the reading of Jiáo Hung.

³ No doubt the Yang K'ü of Lieh-3ze and Mencius.

⁴ See in XIV, 26 b.

⁵ In the borders of Phei; can hardly be the great State.

and when they came to their lodging-house, he brought in water for the master to wash his hands and rinse his mouth, along with a towel and comb. He then took off his shoes outside the door, went forward on his knees, and said, 'Formerly, your disciple wished to ask you, Master, (the reason of what you said); but you were walking, and there was no opportunity, and therefore I did not presume to speak. Now there is an opportunity, and I beg to ask why you spoke as you did.' Láo-ze replied, 'Your eyes are lofty, and you stare;—who would live with you? The purest carries himself as if he were soiled; the most virtuous seems to feel himself defective.' Yang 3ze-kü looked abashed and changed countenance, saying, 'I receive your commands with reverence.'

When he first went to the lodging-house, the people of it met him and went before him. The master of it carried his mat for him, and the mistress brought the towel and comb. The lodgers left their mats, and the cook his fire-place (as he passed them). When he went away, the others in the house would have striven with him about (the places for) their mats¹.

¹ So had his arrogant superciliousness given place to humility.

BOOK XXVIII.

PART III. SECTION VI.

Zang Wang, or 'Kings who have wished to resign the Throne¹.'

1. Yáo proposed to resign the throne to Hsü Yü, who would not accept it. He then offered it to 3ze-káu K'ih-fû², but he said, 'It is not unreasonable to propose that I should occupy the throne, but I happen to be suffering under a painful sorrow and illness. While I am engaged in dealing with it, I have not leisure to govern the kingdom.' Now the throne is the most important of all positions, and yet this man would not occupy it to the injury of his life; how much less would he have allowed any other thing to do so! But only he who does not care to rule the kingdom is fit to be entrusted with it.

Shun proposed to resign the throne to 3ze-káu K'ih-po², who declined in the very same terms as K'ih-fû had done. Now the kingdom is the greatest of all concerns, and yet this man would not give his life in exchange for the throne. This shows how they who possess the Táo differ from common men.

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 156, 157.

² We know nothing of this man but what is related here. He is, no doubt, a fictitious character. K'ih-fû and K'ih-po are supposed to be the same individual. See Hwang-fû Mí, I, 7.

Shun proposed to resign the throne to Shan K'üan¹, who said, 'I am a unit in the midst of space and time. In winter I wear skins and furs; in summer, grass-cloth and linen; in spring I plough and sow, my strength being equal to the toil; in autumn I gather in my harvest, and am prepared to cease from labour and eat. At sunrise I get up and work; at sunset I rest. So do I enjoy myself between heaven and earth, and my mind is content:—why should I have anything to do with the throne? Alas! that you, Sir, do not know me better!' Thereupon he declined the proffer, and went away, deep among the hills, no man knew where.

Shun proposed to resign the throne to his friend, a farmer of Shih-hü². The farmer, however, said (to himself), 'How full of vigour does our lord show himself, and how exuberant is his strength! If Shun with all his powers be not equal (to the task of government, how should I be so?).' On this he took his wife on his back, led his son by the hand, and went away to the sea-coast, from which to the end of his life he did not come back.

When Thâi-wang Than-fü³ was dwelling in Pin³, the wild tribes of the North attacked him. He tried to serve them with skins and silks, but they were not satisfied. He tried to serve them with dogs and horses, but they were not satisfied, and then

¹ Nor do we know more of Shan K'üan, though Mî relates a visit of Yâo to him.

² Name of a place; where it was is very uncertain.

³ An ancestor of the House of K'âu, who about B.C. 1325 removed from Pin (in the present small department so called of Shen-hsi), and settled in the district of K'hi-shan, department of Fäng-kiang. He was the grandfather of king Wăn.

with pearls and jade, but they were not satisfied. What they sought was his territory. Thâi-wang Than-fû said (to his people), 'To dwell with the elder brother and cause the younger brother to be killed, or with the father and cause the son to be killed,—this is what I cannot bear to do. Make an effort, my children, to remain here. What difference is there between being my subjects, or the subjects of those wild people? And I have heard that a man does not use that which he employs for nourishing his people to injure them.' Thereupon he took his staff and switch and left, but the people followed him in an unbroken train, and he established a (new) state at the foot of mount *K'hi*¹. Thus Thâi-wang Than-fû might be pronounced one who could give its (due) honour to life. Those who are able to do so, though they may be rich and noble, will not, for that which nourishes them, injure their persons; and though they may be poor and mean, will not, for the sake of gain, involve their bodies (in danger). The men of the present age who occupy high offices and are of honourable rank all lose these (advantages) again, and in the prospect of gain lightly expose their persons to ruin:—is it not a case of delusion?

The people of Yüeh three times in succession killed their ruler, and the prince Sâu², distressed by it, made his escape to the caves of Tan, so that Yüeh was left without a ruler. The people sought

¹ See note 3, p. 150.

² Sze-mâ *K'hiên* takes up the history of Yüeh at a later period, and we have from him no details of this prince Sâu. Tan-hsüeh was the name of a district in the south of Yüeh, in which was a valley with caves containing cinnabar;—the fabled home of the phoenix.

for the prince, but could not find him, till (at last) they followed him to the cave of Tan. The prince was not willing to come out to them, but they smoked him out with moxa, and made him mount the royal chariot. As he took hold of the strap, and mounted the carriage, he looked up to heaven, and called out, 'O Ruler, O Ruler, could you not have spared me this?' Prince Sâu did not dislike being ruler;—he disliked the evil inseparable from being so. It may be said of him that he would not for the sake of a kingdom endanger his life; and this indeed was the reason why the people of Yüeh wanted to get him for their ruler.

2. Han¹ and Wei¹ were contending about some territory which one of them had wrested from the other. 3ze-hwâ 3ze² went to see the marquis K'ao-hsi (of Han)³, and, finding him looking sorrowful, said, 'Suppose now that all the states were to sign an agreement before you to the effect that "Whoever should with his left hand carry off (the territory in dispute) should lose his right hand, and whoever should do so with his right hand should lose his left hand, but that, nevertheless, he who should carry it off was sure to obtain the whole kingdom;" would your lordship feel yourself able to carry it off?' The marquis said, 'I would not carry it off,' and 3ze-hwâ rejoined, 'Very good. Looking at the thing from this point of view, your two arms are of more value to you than the whole kingdom. But

¹ Two of the three states into which the great state of 3in was divided about the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

² A native, we may call him a philosopher, of Wei.

³ Began his rule in B.C. 359.

your body is of more value than your two arms, and Han is of much less value than the whole kingdom. The territory for which you are now contending is further much less important than Han :—your lordship, since you feel so much concern for your body, should not be endangering your life by indulging your sorrow.'

The marquis *K'ao-hsi* said, 'Good! Many have given me their counsel about this matter; but I never heard what you have said.' *3ze-hwâ 3ze* may be said to have known well what was of great importance and what was of little.

3. The ruler of *Lû*, having heard that *Yen Ho*¹ had attained to the *T'ao*, sent a messenger, with a gift of silks, to prepare the way for further communication with him. *Yen Ho* was waiting at the door of a mean house, in a dress of coarse hempen cloth, and himself feeding a cow². When the messenger arrived, *Yen Ho* himself confronted him. 'Is this,' said the messenger, 'the house of *Yen Ho*?' 'It is,' was the reply; and the other was presenting the silks to him, when he said, 'I am afraid you heard (your instructions) wrongly, and that he who sent you will blame you. You had better make sure.' The messenger on this returned, and made sure that he was right; but when he came back, and sought for *Yen Ho*, he was not to be found.

Yes; men like *Yen Ho* do of a truth dislike riches and honours. Hence it is said, 'The true

¹ Perhaps the *Yen Ho* of IV, 5.

² The same thing is often seen at the present day. The party in charge of the cow pours its prepared food down its throat from a joint of bamboo.

object of the Tào is the regulation of the person. Quite subordinate to this is its use in the management of the state and the clan; while the government of the kingdom is but the dust and refuse of it.' From this we may see that the services of the Tis and Kings are but a surplusage of the work of the sages, and do not contribute to complete the person or nourish the life. Yet the superior men of the present age will, most of them, throw away their lives for the sake of their persons, in pursuing their (material) objects;—is it not cause for grief? Whenever a sage is initiating any movement, he is sure to examine the motive which influences him, and what he is about to do. Here, however, is a man, who uses a pearl like that of the marquis of Sui¹ to shoot a bird at a distance of 10,000 feet. All men will laugh at him; and why? Because the thing which he uses is of great value, and what he wishes to get is of little. And is not life of more value than the pearl of the marquis of Sui?

4. 3ze² Lieh-3ze² was reduced to extreme poverty, and his person had a hungry look. A visitor mentioned the case to 3ze-yang, (the premier) of Kǎng, saying, 'Lieh Yü-khâu, I believe, is a scholar who has attained to the Tào. Is it because our ruler does not love (such) scholars, that he should be living in his state in such poverty?' 3ze-yang immediately ordered an officer to send to him a supply of grain.

¹ Sui was a small feudal state, a dependency of Wei. Its name remains in the Sui-kâu, Teh-an department, Hû-pei. The story is that one of its lords having healed a wounded snake, the creature one night brought him a large pearl in its mouth.

² The phraseology is peculiar. See Introductory Note on Bk. XXXII.

When Lieh-ze saw the messenger, he bowed to him twice, and declined the gift, on which the messenger went away. On Lieh-ze's going into the house, his wife looked to him and beat her breast, saying, 'I have heard that the wife and children of a possessor of the Táo all enjoy plenty and ease, but now we look starved. The ruler has seen his error, and sent you a present of food, but you would not receive it; —is it appointed (for us to suffer thus)?' Ze Lieh-ze laughed and said to her, 'The ruler does not himself know me. Because of what some one said to him, he sent me the grain; but if another speak (differently) of me to him, he may look on me as a criminal. This was why I did not receive the grain.'

In the end it did come about, that the people, on an occasion of trouble and disorder, put Ze-yang to death.

5. When king Káo of K'û¹ lost his kingdom, the sheep-butcher Yüeh followed him in his flight. When the king (recovered) his kingdom and returned to it, and was going to reward those who had followed him, on coming to the sheep-butcher Yüeh, that personage said, 'When our Great King lost his kingdom, I lost my sheep-killing. When his majesty got back his kingdom, I also got back my sheep-killing. My income and rank have been recovered; why speak further of rewarding me?' The king, (on hearing of this reply), said, 'Force him (to take the reward);' but Yüeh said, 'It was not through any crime of mine that the king lost his kingdom,

¹ B.C. 515-489. He was driven from his capital by an invasion of Wú, directed by Wú Ze-hsi.

and therefore I did not dare to submit to the death (which would have been mine if I had remained in the capital). And it was not through any service of mine that he recovered his kingdom, and therefore I do not dare to count myself worthy of any reward from him.'

The king (now) asked that the butcher should be introduced to him, but Yüeh said, 'According to the law of *K'ü*, great reward ought to be given to great service, and the recipient then be introduced to the king; but now my wisdom was not sufficient to preserve the kingdom, nor my courage sufficient to die at the hands of the invaders. When the army of *Wü* entered, I was afraid of the danger, and got out of the way of the thieves;—it was not with a distinct purpose (of loyalty) that I followed the king. And now he wishes, in disregard of the law, and violations of the conditions of our social compact, to see me in court;—this is not what I would like to be talked of through the kingdom.' The king said to *3ze-k'ü*, the Minister of War, 'The position of the sheep-butcher Yüeh is low and mean, but his setting forth of what is right is very high; do you ask him for me to accept the place of one of my three most distinguished nobles¹.' (This being communicated to Yüeh), he said, 'I know that the place of such a distinguished noble is nobler than a sheep-butcher's stall, and that the salary of 10,000 *lung* is more than its profits. But how should I, through my greed of rank and emolument, bring on our ruler the name of an unlawful dispensation of his gifts? I dare not

¹ Literally, 'My three banners or flags,' emblems of the favour of the sovereign.

respond to your wishes, but desire to return to my stall as the sheep-butcher.' Accordingly he did not accept (the proffered reward).

6. Yüan Hsien¹ was living in Lû. His house, whose walls were only a few paces round, looked as if it were thatched with a crop of growing grass; its door of brushwood was incomplete, with branches of a mulberry tree for its side-posts; the window of each of its two apartments was formed by an earthenware jar (in the wall), which was stuffed with some coarse serge. It leaked above, and was damp on the ground beneath; but there he sat composedly, playing on his guitar. 3ze-kung, in an inner robe of purple and an outer one of pure white, riding in a carriage drawn by two large horses, the hood of which was too high to get into the lane (leading to the house), went to see him. Yüan Hsien, in a cap made of bark, and slippers without heels, and with a stalk of hellebore for a staff, met him at the door. 'Alas! Master,' said 3ze-kung, 'that you should be in such distress!' Yüan Hsien answered him, 'I have heard that to have no money is to be poor, and that not to be able to carry one's learning into practice is to be distressed. I am poor but not in distress.' 3ze-kung shrank back, and looked ashamed, on which the other laughed and said, 'To act with a view to the world's (praise); to pretend to be public-spirited and yet be a partisan; to learn in order to please men; to teach for the sake of one's own gain; to conceal one's wickedness under the garb of

¹ A disciple of Confucius, called also Yüan Sze;—see Confucian Analects VI, iii, 3. With the description of his house or hut, compare in the Lî K'î, XXVIII, 10.

benevolence and righteousness; and to be fond of the show of chariots and horses:—these are things which Hsien cannot bear to do.'

ǜäng-ze was residing in Wei. He wore a robe quilted with hemp, and had no outer garment; his countenance looked rough and emaciated; his hands and feet were horny and callous; he would be three days without lighting a fire; in ten years he did not have a new suit; if he put his cap on straight, the strings would break; if he drew tight the overlap of his robe, his elbow would be seen; in putting on his shoes, the heels would burst them. Yet dragging his shoes along, he sang the 'Sacrificial Odes of Shang' with a voice that filled heaven and earth as if it came from a bell or a sounding stone. The Son of Heaven could not get him to be a minister; no feudal prince could get him for his friend. So it is that he who is nourishing his mind's aim forgets his body, and he who is nourishing his body discards all thoughts of gain, and he who is carrying out the Tâo forgets his own mind.

Confucius said to Yen Hui, 'Come here, Hui. Your family is poor, and your position is low; why should you not take office?' Hui replied, 'I have no wish to be in office. Outside the suburban district I possess fields to the extent of fifty acres, which are sufficient to supply me with congee; and inside it I have ten acres, which are sufficient to supply me with silk and flax. I find my pleasure in playing on my lute, and your doctrines, Master, which I study, are sufficient for my enjoyment; I do not wish to take office.' Confucius looked sad, changed countenance, and said, 'How good is the mind of Hui! I have heard that he who is con-

tented will not entangle himself with the pursuit of gain, that he who is conscious of having gained (the truth) in himself is not afraid of losing other things, and that he who cultivates the path of inward rectification is not ashamed though he may have no official position. I have long been preaching this; but to-day I see it realised in Hui :—this is what I have gained.'

7. Prince Mâu¹ of *Kung-shan*¹ spoke to *Kan-ze*², saying, 'My body has its place by the streams and near the sea, but my mind dwells at the court of Wei ;—what have you to say to me in the circumstances ?' *Kan-ze* replied, 'Set the proper value on your life. When one sets the proper value on his life, gain seems to him unimportant.' The prince rejoined, 'I know that, but I am not able to overcome (my wishes).' The reply was, 'If you cannot master yourself (in the matter), follow (your inclinations so that) your spirit may not be dissatisfied. When you cannot master yourself, and try to force yourself where your spirit does not follow, this is what is called doing yourself a double injury; and those who so injure themselves are not among the long-lived.'

Mâu of Wei was the son of a lord of ten thousand chariots. For him to live in retirement among crags and caves was more difficult than for a scholar who had not worn the dress of office. Although he

¹ Prince Mâu was a son of the marquis of Wei, and had been appointed to the appanage of *Kung-shan*,—corresponding to part of the present Ting Kâu in Pei Kih-lî.

² A worthy officer or thinker of Wei. One is not sure that his advice was altogether good.

had not attained to the Tâo, he may be said to have had some idea of it.

8. When Confucius was reduced to extreme distress between *Khăn* and *Zhâi*, for seven days he had no cooked meat to eat, but only some soup of coarse vegetables without any rice in it. His countenance wore the appearance of great exhaustion, and yet he kept playing on his lute and singing inside the house. Yen Hui (was outside), selecting the vegetables, while *Ze-lû* and *Ze-kung* were talking together, and said to him, 'The Master has twice been driven from *Lû*; he had to flee from *Wei*; the tree (beneath which he rested) was cut down in *Sung*; he was reduced to extreme distress in *Shang* and *Kâu*; he is held in a state of siege here between *Khăn* and *Zhâi*; any one who kills him will be held guiltless; there is no prohibition against making him a prisoner. And yet he keeps playing and singing, thrumming his lute without ceasing. Can a superior man be without the feeling of shame to such an extent as this?' Yen Hui gave them no reply, but went in and told (their words) to Confucius, who pushed aside his lute, and said, '*Yû* and *Zhze* are small men. Call them here, and I will explain the thing to them.'

When they came in, *Ze-lû* said, 'Your present condition may be called one of extreme distress.' Confucius replied, 'What words are these! When the Superior man has free course with his principles, that is what we call his success; when such course is denied, that is what we call his failure. Now I hold in my embrace the principles of benevolence and righteousness, and with them meet the evils of a disordered age;—where is the proof of my being

in extreme distress? Therefore looking inwards and examining myself, I have no difficulties about my principles; though I encounter such difficulties (as the present), I do not lose my virtue. It is when winter's cold is come, and the hoar-frost and snow are falling, that we know the vegetative power of the pine and cypress. This strait between *Khăn* and *Zhâi* is fortunate for me.' He then took back his lute so that it emitted a twanging sound, and began to play and sing. (At the same time) *3ze-lû*, hurriedly, seized a shield, and began to dance, while *3ze-kung* said, 'I did not know (before) the height of heaven nor the depth of the earth.'

The ancients who had got the *Tâo* were happy when reduced to extremity, and happy when having free course. Their happiness was independent of both these conditions. The *Tâo* and its characteristics!—let them have these and distress and success come to them as cold and heat, as wind and rain in the natural order of things. Thus it was that *Hsü Yû* found pleasure on the north of the river *Ying*, and that the earl of *Kung* enjoyed himself on the top of mount (*Kung*)¹.

9. *Shun* proposed to resign the throne to his friend, the Northerner *Wû-k'ai*², who said, 'A strange man you are, O sovereign! You (first) lived among the channeled fields, and then your

¹ This takes us to the famous *Kung-ho* period (B.C. 842–828), but our author evidently follows the account of it found in the 'Bamboo Books';—see the prolegomena to the *Shû King*, p. 154.

² We found, in Book XXI (see vol. xxxix, p. 133), *Wû-k'ai* as the name of *Thien 3ze-fang*. Here is the same name belonging to a much earlier man, 'a man of the north.'

place was in the palace of Yáo. And not only so:—you now further wish to extend to me the stain of your disgraceful doings. I am ashamed to see you.' And on this he threw himself into the abyss of *K'ing-lăng*¹.

When Thang was about to attack *Kieh*, he took counsel with Pien Sui, who said, 'It is no business of mine.' Thang then said, 'To whom should I apply?' And the other said, 'I do not know.' Thang then took counsel with Wû Kwang, who gave the same answer as Pien Sui; and when asked to whom he should apply, said in the same way, 'I do not know.' 'Suppose,' Thang then said, 'I apply to Í Yin, what do you say about him?' The reply was, 'He has a wonderful power in doing what is disgraceful, and I know nothing more about him!'

Thang thereupon took counsel with Í Yin, attacked *Kieh*, and overcame him, after which he proposed to resign the throne to Pien Sui, who declined it, saying, 'When you were about to attack *Kieh*, and sought counsel from me, you must have supposed me to be prepared to be a robber. Now that you have conquered *Kieh*, and propose to resign the throne to me, you must consider me to be greedy. I have been born in an age of disorder, and a man without principle twice comes, and tries to extend to me the stain of his disgraceful proceedings!—I cannot bear to hear the repetition of his proposals.' With this he threw himself into the *K'âu*² water and died.

¹ At the foot of a hill in the present department of Nan-yang, Ho-nan.

² The reading uncertain.

Thang further made proffer of the throne to Wû Kwang¹, saying, 'The wise man has planned it; the martial man has carried it through; and the benevolent man should occupy it:—this was the method of antiquity. Why should you, Sir, not take the position?' Wû Kwang refused the proffer, saying, 'To depose the sovereign is contrary to right; to kill the people is contrary to benevolence. When another has encountered the risks, if I should accept the gain of his adventure, I should violate my disinterestedness. I have heard it said, "If it be not right for him to do so, one should not accept the emolument; in an age of unprincipled (government), one should not put foot on the soil (of the) country:"—how much less should I accept this position of honour! I cannot bear to see you any longer.' And with this he took a stone on his back, and drowned himself in the Lü water².

10. Formerly, at the rise of the *Kâu* dynasty, there were two brothers who lived in *Kû-kû*³, and were named *Po-i* and *Shû-khi*. They spoke together and said, 'We have heard that in the west there is one who seems to rule according to the Right Way; let us go and see.' (Accordingly) they came to the south of (mount) *K'hi*; and when king Wû heard of them, he sent (his brother) *Shû Tan* to see them, and make a covenant with them, engaging that their wealth should be second (only to that of the king), and that their offices should be of the first rank,

¹ Not elsewhere heard of, save in the same connexion.

² In the west of Lião-tung.

³ A small principality, in the present Lwan-kâu, department of Yung-phing *K'ih-lí*.

and instructing him to bury the covenant with the blood of the victim after they had smeared the corners of their mouths with it¹. The brothers looked at each other and laughed, saying, 'Ah! How strange! This is not what we call the Right Way. Formerly, when Shăn Năng had the kingdom, he offered his sacrifices at the proper seasons and with the utmost reverence, but without praying for any blessing. Towards men he was leal-hearted and sincere, doing his utmost in governing them, but without seeking anything for himself. When it was his pleasure to use administrative measures, he did so; and a sterner rule when he thought that would be better. He did not by the ruin of others establish his own power; he did not exalt himself by bringing others low; he did not, when the time was opportune, seek his own profit. But now *Kâu*, seeing the disorder of Yin, has suddenly taken the government into its hands; with the high it has taken counsel, and with those below employed bribes; it relies on its troops to maintain the terror of its might; it makes covenants over victims to prove its good faith; it vaunts its proceedings to please the masses; it kills and attacks for the sake of gain:—this is simply overthrowing disorder and changing it for tyranny. We have heard that the officers of old, in an age of good government, did not shrink from their duties, and in an age of disorder did not recklessly seek to remain in office. Now the kingdom is in a state of darkness; the virtue of *Kâu* is decayed. Than to join with it and

¹ According to the usual forms in which a covenant was made and established. The translation is free and diffuse.

lay our persons in the dust, it is better for us to abandon it, and maintain the purity of our conduct.'

The two princes then went north to the hill of Shâu-yang¹, where they died of starvation. If men such as they, in the matter of riches and honours, can manage to avoid them, (let them do so); but they must not depend on their lofty virtue to pursue any perverse course, only gratifying their own tendencies, and not doing service in their time:—this was the style of these two princes.

¹ In the present department of Phû-kau, Shan-hsi,

BOOK XXIX.

PART III. SECTION VII.

Táo Kih, or 'The Robber Kih¹.'

1. Confucius was on terms of friendship with Liû-hsiâ Kî², who had a brother named Táo Kih. This Táo Kih had 9,000 followers, who marched at their will through the kingdom, assailing and oppressing the different princes. They dug through walls and broke into houses; they drove away people's cattle and horses; they carried off people's wives and daughters. In their greed to get, they forgot the claims of kinship, and paid no regard to their parents and brethren. They did not sacrifice to their ancestors. Wherever they passed through the country, in the larger states the people guarded their city walls, and in the smaller the people took to their strongholds. All were distressed by them.

Confucius spoke to Liû-hsiâ Kî, saying, 'Fathers should be able to lay down the law to their sons,

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 157, 158.

² Better known as Liû-hsiâ Hui, under which designation he is mentioned both in the Confucian Analects and in Mencius, but it is an anachronism to say that Confucius was on terms of friendship with him. He was a scion of the distinguished family of Kan in Lô, and was called Kan Hwo and Kan K'in. We find, in the 30 Kwan, a son of his employed in an important expedition in B.C. 634, so that he, probably, had passed away before Confucius was born in B.C. 551, and must certainly have deceased before the death of 3ze-lû (480), which is mentioned in the Book.

and elder to instruct their younger brothers. If they are unable to do so, they do not fulfil the duties of the relationships which they sustain. You, Sir, are one of the most talented officers of the age, and your younger brother is this Robber Kih. He is a pest in the kingdom, and you are not able to instruct him better; I cannot but be ashamed of you, and I beg to go for you and give him counsel.' Liû-hsiâ Kî replied, 'You say, Sir, that fathers must be able to lay down the law to their sons, and elder to instruct their younger brothers, but if sons will not listen to the orders of their fathers, nor the younger receive the lessons of their elder brothers, though one may have your powers of persuasion, what is to be done? And, moreover, Kih is a man whose mind is like a gushing fountain, and his will like a whirlwind; he is strong enough to resist all enemies, and clever enough to gloss over his wrong-doings. If you agree with him, he is glad; if you oppose him, he is enraged; and he readily meets men with the language of abuse. You must not go to him.'

Confucius, however, did not attend to this advice. With Yen Hui as his charioteer, and 3ze-kung seated on the right, he went to see Tào Kih, whom he found with his followers halted on the south of Thâi-shan, and mincing men's livers, which he gave them to eat. Confucius alighted from his carriage, and went forward, till he saw the usher, to whom he said, 'I, Khung K'hiû of Lû, have heard of the general's lofty righteousness,' bowing twice respectfully to the man as he said so. The usher went in and announced the visitor. But when Tào Kih heard of the arrival, he flew into a great

rage; his eyes became like blazing stars, and his hair rose up and touched his cap. 'Is not this fellow,' said he, 'Khung *K'ziû*, that artful hypocrite of Lû? Tell him from me, "You invent speeches and babble away, appealing without ground to (the examples of) Wăn and Wû. The ornaments on your cap are as many as the branches of a tree, and your girdle is (a piece of skin) from the ribs of a dead ox. The more you talk, the more nonsense you utter. You get your food without (the labour of) ploughing, and your clothes without (that of) weaving. You wag your lips and make your tongue a drum-stick. You arbitrarily decide what is right and what is wrong, thereby leading astray the princes throughout the kingdom, and making its learned scholars not occupy their thoughts with their proper business. You recklessly set up your filial piety and fraternal duty, and curry favour with the feudal princes, the wealthy and the noble. Your offence is great; your crime is very heavy. Take yourself off home at once. If you do not do so, I will take your liver, and add it to the provision for to-day's food."'

But Confucius sent in another message, saying, 'I enjoy the good will of (your brother) *K'î*, and I wish and hope to tread the ground beneath your tent¹. When the usher had communicated this message, Tâo *K'ih* said, 'Make him come forward.' On this Confucius hastened forwards. Declining to take a mat, he drew hastily back, and bowed twice to Tâo *K'ih*, who in a great rage stretched

¹ That is, I wish to have an interview with you, to see and speak to you face to face.

his legs apart, laid his hand on his sword, and with glaring eyes and a voice like the growl of a nursing tigress, said, 'Come forwards, *K'hiû*. If what you say be in accordance with my mind, you shall live; but, if it be contrary to it, you shall die.' Confucius replied, 'I have heard that everywhere under the sky there are three (most excellent) qualities. To be naturally tall and large, to be elegant and handsome without a peer, so that young and old, noble and mean, are pleased to look upon him;—this is the highest of those qualities. To comprehend both heaven and earth in his wisdom, and to be able to speak eloquently on all subjects;—this is the middle one of them. To be brave and courageous, resolute and daring, gathering the multitudes round him, and leading on his troops;—this is the lowest of them. Whoever possesses one of these qualities is fit to stand with his face to the south¹, and style himself a Prince. But you, General, unite in yourself all the three. Your person is eight cubits and two inches in height; there is a brightness about your face and a light in your eyes; your lips look as if stained with vermilion; your teeth are like rows of precious shells; your voice is attuned to the musical tubes, and yet you are named "The Robber *K'ih*." I am ashamed of you, General, and cannot approve of you. If you are inclined to listen to me, I should like to go as your commissioner to Wû and Yüeh in the south; to *K'hi* and Lû in the north; to Sung and Wei in the east; and to Jin and *K'hi* in the west. I will get them to build for you a great city several hundred li in size, to

¹ To take the position of a ruler in his court.

establish under it towns containing several hundred thousands of inhabitants, and honour you there as a feudal lord. The kingdom will see you begin your career afresh; you will cease from your wars and disband your soldiers; you will collect and nourish your brethren, and along with them offer the sacrifices to your ancestors¹:—this will be a course befitting a sage and an officer of ability, and will fulfil the wishes of the whole kingdom.'

'Come forward, *K'hiu*,' said Táo *K'ih*, greatly enraged. 'Those who can be persuaded by considerations of gain, and to whom remonstrances may be addressed with success, are all ignorant, low, and ordinary people. That I am tall and large, elegant and handsome, so that all who see me are pleased with me;—this is an effect of the body left me by my parents. Though you were not to praise me for it, do I not know it myself? And I have heard that he who likes to praise men to their face will also like to speak ill of them behind their back. And when you tell me of a great wall and a multitudinous people, this is to try to persuade me by considerations of gain, and to cocker me as one of the ordinary people. But how could such advantages last for long? Of all great cities there is none so great as the whole kingdom, which was possessed by Yáo and Shun, while their descendants (now) have not so much territory as would admit an awl². Thang and Wû were both set up as the Sons of Heaven, but in after ages (their posterity) were cut

¹ It is said near the beginning that *K'ih* and his followers had ceased to offer such sacrifices;—they had no religion.

² The descendants of those worthies were greatly reduced; but they still had a name and a place.

off and extinguished ;—was not this because the gain of their position was so great a prize¹?

‘And moreover I have heard that anciently birds and beasts were numerous, and men were few, so that they lived in nests in order to avoid the animals. In the daytime they gathered acorns and chestnuts, and in the night they roosted on the trees ; and on account of this they are called the people of the Nest-builder. Anciently the people did not know the use of clothes. In summer they collected great stores of faggots, and in winter kept themselves warm by means of them ; and on account of this they are called the people who knew how to take care of their lives. In the age of Shǎn Nǎng, the people lay down in simple innocence, and rose up in quiet security. They knew their mothers, but did not know their fathers. They dwelt along with the elks and deer. They ploughed and ate ; they wove and made clothes ; they had no idea of injuring one another :—this was the grand time of Perfect virtue². Hwang-Ti, however, was not able to perpetuate this virtuous state. He fought with K’ih-yü³ in the wild of K’o-lü⁴ till the blood flowed over a hundred li. When Yáo and Shun arose, they instituted their crowd of ministers. Thang banished his lord. King Wü killed K’áu. Since that time the strong have oppressed the weak, and the many tyrannised over the few. From Thang and Wü downwards, (the

¹ See note 2, p. 170.

² Compare the description of this primeval time in Book X, par. 4.

³ Commonly spoken of as ‘the first rebel.’ See Mayers’s Manual, p. 36.

⁴ Perhaps in the present Páo-an K’áu, department of Hsüan-hwá, K’ih-li.

rulers) have all been promoters of disorder and confusion. You yourself now cultivate and inculcate the ways of Wăn and Wû; you handle whatever subjects are anywhere discussed for the instruction of future ages. With your peculiar robe and narrow girdle, with your deceitful speech and hypocritical conduct, you delude the lords of the different states, and are seeking for riches and honours. There is no greater robber than you are;—why does not all the world call you the Robber *Khîu*, instead of styling me the Robber *Kih*?

‘You prevailed by your sweet speeches on 3ze-lû, and made him your follower; you made him put away his high cap, lay aside his long sword, and receive your instructions, so that all the world said, “Khung *Khîu* is able to arrest violence and repress the wrong-doer;” but in the end, when 3ze-lû wished to slay the ruler of Wei, and the affair proved unsuccessful, his body was exhibited in pickle over the eastern gate of the capital;—so did your teaching of him come to nothing.

‘Do you call yourself a scholar of talent, a sage? Why, you were twice driven out of Lû; you had to run away from Wei; you were reduced to extremity in *Khî*; you were held in a state of siege between *Khân* and 3hâi; there is no resting-place for your person in the kingdom; your instructions brought 3ze-lû to pickle. Such have been the misfortunes (attending your course). You have done no good either for yourself or for others;—how can your doctrines be worth being thought much of?

‘There is no one whom the world exalts so much as it does Hwang-Tî, and still he was not able to perfect his virtue, but fought in the wilderness of

Ko-lû, till the blood flowed over a hundred li. *Yáo* was not kind to his son¹. *Shun* was not filial². *Yü* was paralysed on one side³. *Thang* banished his sovereign. King *Wû* smote *Káu*. King *Wăn* was imprisoned in *Yü-li*⁴. These are the six men of whom the world thinks the most highly, yet when we accurately consider their history, we see that for the sake of gain they all disallowed their true (nature), and did violence to its proper qualities and tendencies:—their conduct cannot be thought of but with deep shame.

‘Among those whom the world calls men of ability and virtue were (the brothers) *Po-Í* and *Shû-khi*. They declined the rule of *Kû-kû*, and died of starvation on the hill of *Sháu-yang*, leaving their bones and flesh unburied. *Pão 3iáo* vaunted his conduct, and condemned the world, but he died with his arms round a tree⁵. When *Shăn-thû* *Ti*’s remonstrances were not listened to, he fastened a stone on his back, and threw himself into the *Ho*, where he was eaten by the fishes and turtles⁶. *Kieh 3ze-thui* was the most devoted (of followers), and cut a piece from his thigh as food for duke *Wăn*. But when the duke afterwards overlooked him (in

¹ Referring to his setting aside his unworthy son, *Tan-kû*, and giving the throne to *Shun*.

² See in *Mencius*, V, i, 1. 3, 4.

³ This, I think, is the meaning; the fact was highly honourable to *Yü*, and brought on by his devotion to his labours.

⁴ In the present district of *Thang-yin*, department *Khang-teh*, *Ho-nan*. There king *Wăn* pursued his labours on the *Yi* King.

⁵ A recluse of the time of *Confucius*, according to *Han Ying* (I, art. 27). After a dispute with *3ze-kung*, he committed suicide in the way described.

⁶ See art. 26, in the same *Book of Han Ying*.

his distribution of favours), he was angry, and went away, and was burned to death with a tree in his arms¹. Wei Shǎng had made an appointment with a girl to meet him under a bridge; but when she did not come, and the water rose around him, he would not go away, and died with his arms round one of the pillars². (The deaths of) these four men were not different from those of the dog that is torn in pieces, the pig that is borne away by a current, or the beggar (drowned in a ditch) with his alms-gourd in his hand. They were all caught as in a net by their (desire for) fame, not caring to nourish their life to its end, as they were bound to do.

‘Among those whom the world calls faithful ministers there have been none like the prince Pī-kan and Wú 3ze-hsü. But 3ze-hsü’s (dead) body was cast into the Kiang, and the heart of Pī-kan was cut out. These two were what the world calls loyal ministers, but the end has been that everybody laughs at them. Looking at all the above cases, down to those of 3ze-hsü and Pī-kan, there is not one worthy to be honoured; and as to the admonitions which you, K’hiū, wish to impress on me, if you tell me about the state of the dead, I am unable to know anything about it; if you tell me about the things of men (alive), they are only such as I have stated, what I have heard and know all about. I will now tell you, Sir, my views about the condition of man. The eyes wish to look on beauty; the ears to hear music; the mouth to enjoy flavours; the will to be gratified. The greatest longevity man

¹ See Mayers’s Manual, p. 80.

² Supposed to be the same with the Wei-shǎng Káo, mentioned in Analects, V, 23;—see Mayers’s Manual, p. 251.

can reach is a hundred years; a medium longevity is eighty years; the lowest longevity is sixty. Take away sickness, pining, bereavement, mourning, anxieties, and calamities, the times when, in any of these, one can open his mouth and laugh, are only four or five days in a month. Heaven and earth have no limit of duration, but the death of man has its (appointed) time. Take the longest amount of a limited time, and compare it with what is unlimited, its brief existence is not different from the passing of a crevice by one of king Mû's horses¹. Those who cannot gratify their will and natural aims, and nourish their appointed longevity, are all unacquainted with the (right) Way (of life). I cast from me, *K'hiû*, all that you say. Be quick and go. Hurry back and say not a word more. Your Way is only a wild recklessness, deceitful, artful, vain, and hypocritical. It is not available to complete the true (nature of man); it is not worth talking about!

Confucius bowed twice, and hurried away. He went out at the door, and mounted his carriage. Thrice he missed the reins as he tried to take hold of them. His eyes were dazed, and he could not see; and his colour was that of slaked lime. He laid hold of the cross-bar, holding his head down, and unable to draw his breath. When he got back, outside the east gate of (the capital of) Lû, he encountered Liû-hsiâ *Kî*, who said to him, 'Here you are, right in the gate. For some days I have not seen you. Your carriage and horses are travel-stained;—have you not been to see Tão *Kîh*?' Con-

¹ King Mû had eight famous horses, each having its own name. The name of only one—*K'hih-ti*—is given here. See Bk. XVII, par. 5.

fucius looked up to heaven, sighed, and said, 'Yes.' The other went on, 'And did he not set himself in opposition to all your views, as I said he would do?' 'He did. My case has been that of the man who cauterised himself without being ill. I rushed away, stroked the tiger's head, played with his whiskers, and narrowly escaped his mouth.'

2. *3ze-kang*¹ asked *Mân Kâu-teh*², saying, 'Why do you not pursue a (righteous) course? Without such a course you will not be believed in; unless you are believed in, you will not be employed in office; and if not employed in office, you will not acquire gain. Thus, if you look at the matter from the point of reputation, or estimate it from the point of gain, a righteous course is truly the right thing. If you discard the thought of reputation and gain, yet when you think over the thing in your own mind, you will see that the scholar should not be a single day without pursuing a (righteous) course.' *Mân Kâu-teh* said, 'He who has no shame becomes rich, and he in whom many believe becomes illustrious. Thus the greatest fame and gain would seem to spring from being without shame and being believed in. Therefore if you look at the matter from the point of reputation, or estimate it from the point of gain, to be believed in is the right thing. If you discard the thought of fame and gain, and think over the thing in your own mind, you will see that the scholar in the course which he pursues is (simply) holding fast his Heavenly (nature, and gaining nothing).'

¹ We are told (*Analects*, II, 18) that *3ze-kang* 'studied with a view to official emolument.' This is, probably, the reason why he appears as interlocutor in this paragraph.

² A fictitious name, meaning, 'Full of gain recklessly got.'

3ze-kang said, 'Formerly Kieh and Kâu each enjoyed the honour of being the sovereign, and all the wealth of the kingdom was his; but if you now say to a (mere) money-grabber, "Your conduct is like that of Kieh or Kâu," he will look ashamed, and resent the imputation:—(these two sovereigns) are despised by the smallest men. Kung-ní and Mo Tí (on the other hand) were poor, and common men; but if you say to a Prime Minister that his conduct is like that of Kung-ní or Mo Tí, then he will be put out and change countenance, and protest that he is not worthy (to be so spoken of):—(these two philosophers) are held to be truly noble by (all) scholars. Thus it is that the position of sovereign does not necessarily connect with being thought noble, nor the condition of being poor and of common rank with being thought mean. The difference of being thought noble or mean arises from the conduct being good or bad.' Mân Kâu-teh replied, 'Small robbers are put in prison; a great robber becomes a feudal lord; and in the gate of the feudal lord your righteous scholars will be found. For instance, Hsiáo-po¹, the duke Hwan, killed his elder brother, and took his sister-in-law to himself, and yet Kwan Kung became his minister; and Thien K'hang, styled K'hang-ze, killed his ruler, and usurped the state², and yet Confucius received a present of silks from him. In their discussions they would condemn the men, but

¹ The name of duke Hwan.

² Compare the account of the same transaction in Book X, par. 1. See also Analects, XIV, 22. But there is no evidence but rather the contrary, that Confucius ever received a gift from Thien or K'han Hăng.

in their conduct they abased themselves before them. In this way their words and actions must have been at war together in their breasts;—was it not a contradiction and perversity? As it is said in a book, “Who is bad? and who is good? The successful is regarded as the Head, and the unsuccessful as the Tail.”’

3ze-kang said, ‘If you do not follow the usual course of what is held to be right, but observe no distinction between the near and remote degrees of kin, no difference between the noble and the mean, no order between the old and the young, then how shall a separation be made of the fivefold arrangement (of the virtues), and the six parties (in the social organisation)?’ Mân Kâu-teh replied, ‘Yáo killed his eldest son, and Shun banished his half-brother¹:—did they observe the rules about the different degrees of kin? Thang deposed Kieh; king Wû overthrew Kâu:—did they observe the righteousness that should obtain between the noble and the mean? King Kî took the place of his elder brother², and the duke of Kâu killed his³:—did they observe the order that should obtain between the elder and the younger? The Literati make hypocritical speeches; the followers of Mo hold that all should be loved equally:—do we find in them the separation of the fivefold arrangement (of the

¹ Exaggerations or misrepresentations.

² King Kî was the so-called king Kî-lî, the father of king Wân. His elder brother, that the state of Kâu might descend to him, left it, and withdrew south to what was then the wild region of Wû. See Analects, VIII, 1; the Shih King, III, i, Ode 7. 3, 4.

³ Who had joined with Wû-käng, son of the tyrant of Yin, in rebellion, thus threatening the stability of the new dynasty of Kâu.

virtues)¹, and the six parties (in the social organisation)²? And further, you, Sir, are all for reputation, and I am all for gain; but where the actual search for reputation and gain may not be in accordance with principle and will not bear to be examined in the light of the right way, let me and you refer the matter to-morrow³ to the decision of Wû-yo⁴.

(This Wû-yo) said, 'The small man pursues after wealth; the superior man pursues after reputation. The way in which they change their feelings and alter their nature is different; but if they were to cast away what they do, and replace it with doing nothing, they would be the same. Hence it is said, "Do not be a small man;—return and pursue after the Heavenly in you. Do not be a superior man;—follow the rule of the Heavenly in you. Be it crooked, be it straight, view the thing in the light of Heaven as revealed in you. Look all round on every side of it, and as the time indicates, cease your endeavours. Be it right, be it wrong, hold fast the ring in yourself in which all conditions converge. Alone by yourself, carry out your idea; ponder over the right way. Do not turn your course; do not try to complete your righteousness. You will fail in what you do. Do not haste to be rich; do not follow after your perfection. If you do, you will lose the heavenly in you."

¹ Probably what are called 'the five constant virtues.'

² The parties in the 'Three Bonds of Society,' or Three Cardinal Objects of Duty.

³ So Lû Shû-ñih (日 = 明日).

⁴ If we take Wû-yo as a name, which is the simplest construction, we must still recognise its meaning as denoting 'one who is unbound by the conventionalities of opinion.' Much of what he is made to say is in rhyme, and might also be so translated.

‘Pi-kan had his heart cut out; 3ze-hsü had his eyes gouged out:—such were the evil consequences of their loyalty. The upright person¹ bore witness against his father; Wei Shǎng was drowned:—such were the misfortunes of good faith. Pao-3ze stood till he was dried up; Shǎn-3ze would not defend himself²:—such were the injuries brought on by disinterestedness. Confucius did not see his mother³; Khwang-3ze⁴ did not see his father:—such were the failures of the righteous. These are instances handed down from former ages, and talked about in these later times. They show us how superior men, in their determination to be correct in their words and resolute in their conduct, paid the penalty of these misfortunes, and were involved in these distresses.’

3. Mr. Dissatisfied⁵ asked Mr. Know-the-Mean⁵, saying, ‘There is no man after all who does not strive for reputation and pursue after gain. When men are rich, then others go to them. Going to them, they put themselves beneath them. In that position they do honour to them as nobler than themselves. But to

¹ See the Analects, XIII, 18.

² The reading of the name here is not certain. The best identification perhaps is with Shan Shǎng (申生), the eldest son of duke Hsien of Jin, who was put to death on a false charge of having put poison into his father’s food, from which he would not defend himself.

³ A false charge.

⁴ The Khwang K’ang of Mencius, IV, ii, 30, q.v.

⁵ Both of these names are fictitious. About the meaning of the first, there can be no difference of opinion. I have given that of the second according to my understanding of it,—see in the *Lí K’i*, Book XXVIII, section I.

see others taking that position and doing honour to us is the way to prolong life, and to secure the rest of the body and the satisfaction of the mind. You alone, Sir, however, have no idea of this. Is it that your knowledge is deficient? Is it that you have the knowledge, but want the strength to carry it into practice? Or is it that your mind is made up to do what you consider right, and never allow yourself to forget it?' Know-the-Mean replied, 'Here now is this man judging of us, his contemporaries, and living in the same neighbourhood as himself, that we consider ourselves scholars who have abjured all vulgar ways and risen above the world. He is entirely without the thought of submitting to the rule of what is right. He therefore studies ancient times and the present, and the differing questions about the right and wrong, and agrees with the vulgar ideas and influences of the age, abandoning what is most important and discarding what is most honourable, in order to be free to act as he does. But is he not wide of the mark when he thinks that this is the way to promote long life, and to secure the rest of the body and the satisfaction of the mind? He has his painful afflictions and his quiet repose, but he does not inquire how his body is so variously affected; he has his apprehensive terrors, and his happy joys, but he does not inquire how his mind has such different experiences. He knows how to pursue his course, but he does not know why he does so. Even if he had the dignity of the Son of Heaven, and all the wealth of the kingdom were his, he would not be beyond the reach of misfortunes and evils.' Dissatisfied rejoined, 'But riches are in every way advantageous to man.

With them his attainment of the beautiful and mastery of every art become what the perfect man cannot obtain nor the sagely man reach to; his appropriation of the bravery and strength of others enables him to exercise a powerful sway; his availing himself of the wisdom and plans of others makes him be accounted intelligent and discriminating; his taking advantage of the virtues of others makes him be esteemed able and good. Though he may not be the holder of a state, he is looked to with awe as a ruler and father. Moreover, music, beauty, with the pleasures of the taste and of power, are appreciated by men's minds and rejoiced in without any previous learning of them; the body reposes in them without waiting for the example of others. Desire and dislike, avoidance and pursuit, do not require any master;—this is the nature of man. Though the world may condemn one's indulgence of them, who can refrain from it?' Know-the-Mean replied, 'The action of the wise is directed for the good of the people, but they do not go against the (proper) rule and degree. Therefore when they have enough, they do not strive (for more); they have no further object, and so they do not seek for one. When they have not enough, they will seek for it; they will strive for it in every quarter, and yet not think of themselves as greedy. If they have (already) a superfluity, they will decline (any more); they will decline the throne, and yet not think of themselves as disinterested:—the conditions of disinterestedness and greediness are (with them) not from the constraint of anything external. Through their exercise of introspection, their power may be that of the sovereign, but they will not in

their nobility be arrogant to others; their wealth may be that of the whole kingdom, but they will not in their possession of it make a mock of others. They estimate the evils to which they are exposed, and are anxious about the reverses which they may experience. They think how their possessions may be injurious to their nature, and therefore they will decline and not accept them;—but not because they seek for reputation and praise.

‘Yáo and Shun were the sovereigns, and harmony prevailed. It did so, not because of their benevolence towards the people;—they would not, for what was (deemed) admirable, injure their lives. Shan Küan and Hsü Yü might have been the sovereigns, but they would not receive the throne;—not that they declined it without purpose, but they would not by its occupancy injure themselves. These all followed after what was advantageous to them, and declined what was injurious, and all the world celebrates their superiority. Thus, though they enjoy the distinction, they did what they did, not for the sake of the reputation and praise.’

Dissatisfied (continued his argument), saying, ‘In thus thinking it necessary for their reputation, they bitterly distressed their bodies, denied themselves what was pleasant, and restricted themselves to a bare sustenance in order to sustain their life; but so they had life-long distress, and long-continued pressure till their death arrived.’ Know-the-Mean replied, ‘Tranquil ease is happiness; a superfluity is injurious:—so it is with all things, and especially it is so, where the superfluity is of wealth. The ears of the rich are provided with the music of bells, drums, flageolets and flutes; and their mouths are

stuffed with the flesh of fed beasts and with wine of the richest flavour ; so are their desires satisfied, till they forget their proper business :—theirs may be pronounced a condition of disorder. Sunk deeply in their self-sufficiency, they resemble individuals ascending a height with a heavy burden on their backs :—their condition may be pronounced one of bitter suffering. They covet riches, thinking to derive comfort from them ; they covet power, and would fain monopolise it ; when quiet and retired, they are drowned in luxurious indulgence ; their persons seem to shine, and they are full of boasting :—they may be said to be in a state of disease. In their desire to be rich and striving for gain, they fill their stores, and, deaf to all admonition, refuse to desist from their course. They are even more elated, and hold on their way :—their conduct may be pronounced disgraceful. When their wealth is amassed till they cannot use it, they clasp it to their breasts and will not part with it ; when their hearts are distressed with their very fulness, they still seek for more and will not desist :—their condition may be said to be sad. In-doors they are apprehensive of pilfering and begging thieves, and out-of-doors they are afraid of being injured by plundering robbers ; in-doors they have many chambers and partitions, and out-of-doors they do not dare to go alone :—they may be said to be in a state of (constant) alarm.

‘ These six conditions are the most deplorable in the world, but they forget them all, and have lost their faculty of judgment. When the evil comes, though they begged it with all the powers of their nature, and by the sacrifice of all their wealth, they could

not bring back one day of untroubled peace. When they look for their reputation, it is not to be seen; when they seek for their wealth, it is not to be got. To task their thoughts, and destroy their bodies, striving for (such an end as) this;—is it not a case of great delusion?’

BOOK XXX.

PART III. SECTION VIII.

Yüeh Kien, or 'Delight in the Sword-fight'¹.

Formerly, king Wăn of K'ao² delighted in the sword-fight. More than three thousand men, masters of the weapon, appeared as his guests, lining the way on either side of his gate, and fighting together before him day and night. Over a hundred of them would die or be (severely) wounded in the course of a year, but he was never weary of looking on (at their engagements), so fond was he of them. The thing continued for three years, when the kingdom began to decay, and other states to plan measures against it.

The crown-prince Khwei³ was distressed, and laid the case before his attendants, saying, 'If any one can persuade the king, and put an end to these swordsmen, I will give him a thousand ounces of

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 158, 159.

² Probably king Hui-wăn (B. C. 298-265) of K'ao, one of the states into which the great state of Jin was subdivided, and which afterwards all claimed the sovereignty of the kingdom. In this Book Kwang-ze appears as a contemporary of king Wăn, which makes the 'formerly' with which the paragraph commences seem strange.

³ Sze-mâ K'ien says nothing of king Wăn's love of the sword-fight, nor of this son Khwei. He says that in 265 Wăn was succeeded by his son Tan (丹), who appears to have been quite young.

silver.' His attendants said, '(Only) *Kwang-ze* is able to do this.' Thereupon the prince sent men with a thousand ounces of silver to offer to *Kwang-ze*, who, however, would not accept them, but went with the messengers. When he saw the prince, he said, 'O prince, what have you to say to *K'âu*, and why would you give me the silver?' The prince replied, 'I have heard that you, master, are sagacious and sage. I sent you respectfully the thousand ounces of silver, as a prelude to the silks and other gifts¹. But as you decline to receive them, how dare I now tell you (what I wished from you)?' *Kwang-ze* rejoined, 'I have heard, O prince, that what you wanted me for was to wean the king from what is his delight. Suppose that in trying to persuade his Majesty I should offend him, and not fulfil your expectation, I shall be punished with death;—and could I then enjoy this silver? Or suppose that I shall succeed in persuading his Majesty, and accomplish what you desire, what is there in the kingdom of *K'áo* that I might ask for which I would not get?'

The crown-prince said, 'Yes; but my (father), the king, will see none but swordsmen.' *Kwang-ze* replied, 'I know; but I am expert in the use of the sword.' 'That is well,' observed the prince; 'but the swordsmen whom his Majesty sees all have their hair in a tangle, with whiskers projecting out. They wear slouching caps with coarse and unornamented tassels, and their coats are cut short behind. They have staring eyes, and talk about the hazards of

¹ This, I think, is the meaning. It may possibly mean 'for presents to your followers in attendance on you.'

their game. The king is delighted with all this; but now you are sure to present yourself to him in your scholar's dress, and this will stand greatly in the way of your success.'

Kwang-tze said, 'I will then, with your leave, get me a swordsman's dress.' This was ready in three days, and when he appeared in it before the prince, the latter went with him to introduce him to the king, who then drew his sword from its scabbard and waited for him. When *Kwang-tze* entered the door of the hall, he did not hurry forward, nor, when he saw the king, did he bow. The king asked him, 'What do you want to teach me, Sir, that you have got the prince to mention you beforehand?' The reply was, 'I have heard that your Majesty is fond of the sword-fight, and therefore I have sought an interview with you on the ground of (my skill in the use of) the sword.' 'What can you do with your sword against an opponent?' 'Let me meet with an opponent every ten paces, my sword would deal with him, so that I should not be stopped in a march of a thousand li.' The king was delighted with him, and said, 'You have not your match in the kingdom.' *Kwang-tze* replied, 'A good swordsman first makes a feint (against his opponent), then seems to give him an advantage, and finally gives his thrust, reaching him before he can return the blow. I should like to have an opportunity to show you my skill.' The king said, 'Stop (for a little), Master. Go to your lodging, and wait for my orders. I will make arrangements for the play, and then call you.'

The king accordingly made trial of his swordsmen for seven days, till more than sixty of them were

killed, or (severely) wounded. He then selected five or six men, and made them bring their swords and take their places beneath the hall, after which he called *Kwang-3ze*, and said to him, 'To-day I am going to make (you and) these men show what you can do with your swords.' 'I have long been looking for the opportunity,' replied *Kwang-3ze*. The king then asked him what would be the length of the sword which he would use; and he said, 'Any length will suit me, but I have three swords, any one of which I will use, as may please your Majesty. Let me first tell you of them, and then go to the arena.' 'I should like to hear about the three swords,' said the king; and *Kwang-3ze* went on, 'There is the sword of the Son of Heaven; the sword of a feudal prince; and the sword of a common man.'

'What about the sword of the Son of Heaven?'

'This sword has *Yen-khi*¹ and *Shih-khang*² for its point; *Khi* and (Mount) *Tai*³ for its edge; *3in* and *Wei* for its back; *Kau* and *Sung* for its hilt; *Han* and *Wei* for its sheath. It is embraced by the wild tribes all around; it is wrapped up in the four seasons; it is bound round by the Sea of *Po*⁴; and its girdle is the enduring hills. It is regulated by the five elements; its wielding is by means of Punishments and Kindness; its unsheathing is like that of

¹ Some noted place in the state of Yen, the capital of which was near the site of the present Peking.

² A wall, north of Yen, built as a barrier of defence against the northern tribes.

³ Mount *Thai*.

⁴ A region lying along the present gulf of *Kih-lí*, between the *Pei-ho* and the *K'ing-ho* in Shan-tung.

the Yin and Yang ; it is held fast in the spring and summer ; it is put in action in the autumn and winter. When it is thrust forward, there is nothing in front of it ; when lifted up, there is nothing above it ; when laid down, there is nothing below it ; when wheeled round, there is nothing left on any side of it ; above, it cleaves the floating clouds ; and below, it penetrates to every division of the earth. Let this sword be once used, and the princes are all reformed, and the whole kingdom submits. This is the sword of the Son of Heaven ¹.

King Wăn looked lost in amazement, and said again, 'And what about the sword of a feudal lord ?' (*Kwang-ze*) replied, 'This sword has wise and brave officers for its point ; pure and disinterested officers for its edge ; able and honourable officers for its back ; loyal and sage officers for its hilt ; valiant and eminent officers for its sheath. When this sword is thrust directly forward, as in the former case, there is nothing in front of it ; when directed upwards, there is nothing above it ; when laid down, there is nothing below it ; when wheeled round, there is nothing on any side of it. Above, its law is taken from the round heaven, and is in accordance with the three luminaries ; below, its law is taken from the square earth, and is in accordance with the four seasons ; between, it is in harmony with the minds of the people, and in all the parts of the state there is peace. Let this sword be once used, and you seem to hear the crash of the thunder-peal. Within

¹ By this sword *Kwang-ze* evidently means the power of the sovereign, supported by the strength of the kingdom, and directed by good government.

the four borders there are none who do not respectfully submit, and obey the orders of the ruler. This is the sword of the feudal lord.'

'And what about the sword of the common man?' asked the king (once more). (*Kwang-ze*) replied, 'The sword of the common man (is wielded by) those who have their hair in a tangle, with whiskers projecting out; who wear slouching caps with coarse and unornamented tassels, and have their coats cut short behind; who have staring eyes, and talk (only) about the hazards (of their game). They hit at one another before you. Above, the sword slashes through the neck; and below, it scoops out the liver and lungs. This is the sword of the common man. (The users of it) are not different from fighting cocks; any morning their lives are brought to an end; they are of no use in the affairs of the state. Your Majesty occupies the seat of the Son of Heaven, and that you should be so fond of the swordsmanship of such common men, is unworthy, as I venture to think, of your Majesty.'

On this the king drew *Kwang-ze* with him, and went up to the top of the hall, where the cook set forth a meal, which the king walked round three times (unable to sit down to it). *Kwang-ze* said to him, 'Sit down quietly, Great King, and calm yourself. I have said all I wished to say about swords.' King Wăn, thereafter, did not quit the palace for three months, and the swordsmen all killed themselves in their own rooms¹.

¹ *Kwang-ze's* parables had had their intended effect. It was not in his mind to do anything for the swordsmen. The commentators say:—'Indignant at not being treated as they had been before, they all killed themselves.'

BOOK XXXI.

PART III. SECTION IX.

Yü-fû, or 'The Old Fisherman'.¹

Confucius, rambling in the forest of 3ze-wei², stopped and sat down by the Apricot altar. The disciples began to read their books, while he proceeded to play on his lute, singing as he did so. He had not half finished his ditty when an old fisherman stepped

¹ See vol. xxxix, p. 159.

² A forest or grove in the neighbourhood of the capital of Lû. 3ze-wei means 'black silken curtains;' and I do not know why the forest was so denominated. That I have correctly determined its position, however, may be inferred from a quotation in the Khang-hsî dictionary under the character thân (= 'altar') to the effect that 'Confucius, leaving (the capital of) Lû by the eastern gate, on passing the old apricot altar, said, "This is the altar reared by 3ang Wăn-kung to solemnise covenants.'" Dr. Morrison under the same thân defines the second phrase—hsing thân—as 'The place where Confucius taught,' which Dr. Williams, under hsing, has amplified into 'The place where Confucius had his school.' But the text does not justify so definite a conclusion. The picture which the Book raises before my mind is that of a forest, with a row or clump of apricot trees, along which was a terrace, having on it the altar of 3ang Wăn-kung, and with a lake or at least a stream near to it, to which the ground sloped down. Here the writer introduces us to the sage and some of his disciples, on one occasion, when they were attracted from their books and music by the appearance of the old fisherman. I visited in 1873, not far from the Confucian cemetery, a ruined building called 'the College of K'û-Sze,' which was pointed out as the site of the School of Confucius. The place would suit all the demands of the situation in this Book.

down from his boat, and came towards them. His beard and eyebrows were turning white; his hair was all uncombed; and his sleeves hung idly down. He walked thus up from the bank, till he got to the dry ground, when he stopped, and, with his left hand holding one of his knees, and the right hand at his chin, listened. When the ditty was finished, he beckoned to 3ze-kung and 3ze-lû, who both responded and went to him. Pointing to Confucius, he said, 'Who is he?' 3ze-lû replied, 'He is the Superior Man of Lû.' 'And of what family is he?' 'He is of the Khung family.' 'And what is the occupation of this Mr. Khung?' To this question 3ze-lû gave no reply, but 3ze-kung replied, 'This scion of the Khung family devotes himself in his own nature to leal-heartedness and sincerity; in his conduct he manifests benevolence and righteousness; he cultivates the ornaments of ceremonies and music; he pays special attention to the relationships of society; above, he would promote loyalty to the hereditary lords; below, he seeks the transformation of all classes of the people; his object being to benefit the kingdom:—this is what Mr. Khung devotes himself to.'

The stranger further asked, 'Is he a ruler possessed of territory?' 'No,' was 3ze-kung's reply. 'Is he the assistant of any prince or king?' 'No;' and on this the other began to laugh and to retrace his steps, saying as he went, 'Yes, benevolence is benevolence! But I am afraid he will not escape (the evils incident to humanity). By embittering his mind and toiling his body, he is imperilling his true (nature)! Alas! how far removed is he from the proper way (of life)!'

3ze-kung returned, and reported (what the man had said) to Confucius, who pushed his lute aside, and arose, saying, 'Is he not a sage?' and down the slope he went in search of him. When he reached the edge of the lake, there was the fisherman with his pole, dragging the boat towards him. Turning round and seeing Confucius, he came back towards him and stood up. Confucius then drew back, bowed to him twice, and went forward. 'What do you want with me, Sir?' asked the stranger. The reply was, 'A little while ago, my Master, you broke off the thread of your remarks and went away. Inferior to you, I do not know what you wished to say, and have ventured here to wait for your instructions, fortunate if I may but hear the sound of your words to complete the assistance that you can give me!' 'Ah!' responded the stranger, 'how great is your love of learning!'

Confucius bowed twice, and then rose up, and said, 'Since I was young, I have cultivated learning till I am now sixty-nine years old; but I have not had an opportunity of hearing the perfect teaching;—dare I but listen to you with a humble and unprejudiced mind?' The stranger replied, 'Like seeks to like, and (birds) of the same note respond to one another;—this is a rule of Heaven. Allow me to explain what I am in possession of, and to pass over (from its standpoint) to the things which occupy you. What you occupy yourself with are the affairs of men. When the sovereign, the feudal lords, the great officers, and the common people, these four classes, do what is correct (in their several positions), we have the beauty of good order; and when they leave their proper duties, there ensues the greatest

disorder. When the officials attend to their duties, and the common people are anxiously concerned about their business, there is no encroachment on one another's rights.

'Fields running to waste; leaking rooms; insufficiency of food and clothing; taxes unprovided for; want of harmony among wives and concubines; and want of order between old and young;—these are the troubles of the common people.

'Incompetency for their charges; inattention to their official business; want of probity in conduct; carelessness and idleness in subordinates; failure of merit and excellence; and uncertainty of rank and emolument:—these are the troubles of great officers.

'No loyal ministers at their courts; the clans in their states rebellious; want of skill in their mechanics; articles of tribute of bad quality; late appearances at court in spring and autumn; and the dissatisfaction of the sovereign:—these are the troubles of the feudal lords.

'Want of harmony between the Yin and Yang; unseasonableness of cold and heat, affecting all things injuriously; oppression and disorder among the feudal princes, their presuming to plunder and attack one another, to the injury of the people; ceremonies and music ill-regulated; the resources for expenditure exhausted or deficient; the social relationships uncared for; and the people abandoned to licentious disorder:—these are the troubles of the Son of Heaven and his ministers.

'Now, Sir, you have not the high rank of a ruler, a feudal lord, or a minister of the royal court, nor are you in the inferior position of a great minister, with his departments of business, and yet you take

it on you to regulate ceremonies and music, and to give special attention to the relationships of society, with a view to transform the various classes of the people :—is it not an excessive multiplication of your business ?

‘And moreover men are liable to eight defects, and (the conduct of) affairs to four evils ; of which we must by all means take account.

‘To take the management of affairs which do not concern him is called monopolising. To bring forward a subject which no one regards is called loquacity. To lead men on by speeches made to please them is called sycophancy. To praise men without regard to right or wrong is called flattery. To be fond of speaking of men’s wickedness is called calumny. To part friends and separate relatives is called mischievousness. To praise a man deceitfully, or in the same way fix on him the character of being bad, is called depravity. Without reference to their being good or bad, to agree with men with double face, in order to steal a knowledge of what they wish, is called being dangerous. Those eight defects produce disorder among other men and injury to one’s self. A superior man will not make a friend of one who has them, nor will an intelligent ruler make him his minister.

‘To speak of what I called the four evils :—To be fond of conducting great affairs, changing and altering what is of long-standing, to obtain for one’s self the reputation of meritorious service, is called ambition ; to claim all wisdom and intrude into affairs, encroaching on the work of others, and representing it as one’s own, is called greediness ; to see his errors without changing them, and to go on

more resolutely in his own way when remonstrated with, is called obstinacy; when another agrees with himself, to approve of him, and, however good he may be, when he disagrees, to disapprove of him, is called boastful conceit. These are the four evils. When one can put away the eight defects, and allow no course to the four evils, he begins to be capable of being taught.'

Confucius looked sorrowful and sighed. (Again) he bowed twice, and then rose up and said, 'I was twice driven from Lû. I had to flee from Wei; the tree under which I rested was cut down in Sung; I was kept in a state of siege between K'zân and Zhâi. I do not know what errors I had committed that I came to be misrepresented on these four occasions (and suffered as I did).' The stranger looked grieved (at these words), changed countenance, and said, 'Very difficult it is, Sir, to make you understand. There was a man who was frightened at his shadow and disliked to see his footsteps, so that he ran to escape from them. But the more frequently he lifted his feet, the more numerous his footprints were; and however fast he ran, his shadow did not leave him. He thought he was going too slow, and ran on with all his speed without stopping, till his strength was exhausted and he died. He did not know that, if he had stayed in a shady place, his shadow would have disappeared, and that if he had remained still, he would have lost his footprints:—his stupidity was excessive! And you, Sir, exercise your judgment on the questions about benevolence and righteousness; you investigate the points where agreement and difference touch; you look at the changes from

movement to rest and from rest to movement ; you have mastered the rules of receiving and giving ; you have defined the feelings of liking and disliking ; you have harmonised the limits of joy and anger :—and yet you have hardly been able to escape (the troubles of which you speak). If you earnestly cultivated your own person, and carefully guarded your (proper) truth, simply rendering to others what was due to them, then you would have escaped such entanglements. But now, when you do not cultivate your own person, and make the cultivation of others your object, are you not occupying yourself with what is external ?’

Confucius with an air of sadness said, ‘ Allow me to ask what it is that you call my proper Truth.’ The stranger replied, ‘ A man’s proper Truth is pure sincerity in its highest degree ;—without this pure sincerity one cannot move others. Hence if one (only) forces himself to wail, however sadly he may do so, it is not (real) sorrow ; if he forces himself to be angry, however he may seem to be severe, he excites no awe ; if he forces himself to show affection, however he may smile, he awakens no harmonious reciprocation. True grief, without a sound, is yet sorrowful ; true anger, without any demonstration, yet awakens awe ; true affection, without a smile, yet produces a harmonious reciprocation. Given this truth within, it exercises a spiritual efficacy without, and this is why we count it so valuable. In our relations with others, it appears according to the requirements of each case :—in the service of parents, as gentle, filial duty ; in the service of rulers, as loyalty and integrity ; in festive drinking, as pleasant enjoyment ; in the performance

of the mourning rites, as sadness and sorrow. In loyalty and integrity, good service is the principal thing ; in festive drinking, the enjoyment ; in the mourning rites, the sorrow ; in the service of parents, the giving them pleasure. The beauty of the service rendered (to a ruler) does not require that it always be performed in one way ; the service of parents so as to give them pleasure takes no account of how it is done ; the festive drinking which ministers enjoyment does not depend on the appliances for it ; the observance of the mourning rites with the proper sorrow asks no questions about the rites themselves. Rites are prescribed for the practice of the common people ; man's proper Truth is what he has received from Heaven, operating spontaneously, and unchangeable. Therefore the sages take their law from Heaven, and prize their (proper) Truth, without submitting to the restrictions of custom. The stupid do the reverse of this. They are unable to take their law from Heaven, and are influenced by other men ; they do not know how to prize the proper Truth (of their nature), but are under the dominion of ordinary things, and change according to the customs (around them) :—always, consequently, incomplete. Alas for you, Sir, that you were early steeped in the hypocrisies of men, and have been so late in hearing about the Great Way !'

(Once more), Confucius bowed twice (to the fisherman), then rose again, and said, 'That I have met you to-day is as if I had the happiness of getting to heaven. If you, Master, are not ashamed, but will let me be as your servant, and continue to teach me, let me venture to ask where your dwelling is. I will

then beg to receive your instructions there, and finish my learning of the Great Way.' The stranger replied, 'I have heard the saying, "If it be one with whom you can walk together, go with him to the subtlest mysteries of the Táo. If it be one with whom you cannot walk together and he do not know the Táo, take care that you do not associate with him, and you will yourself incur no responsibility." Do your utmost, Sir. I must leave you,—I must leave you!' With this he shoved off his boat, and went away among the green reeds.

Yen Yüan (now) returned to the carriage, where 3ze-lû handed to him the strap; but Confucius did not look round, (continuing where he was), till the wavelets were stilled, and he did not hear the sound of the pole, when at last he ventured to (return and) take his seat. 3ze-lû, by his side in the carriage, asked him, saying, 'I have been your servant for a long time, but I have never seen you, Master, treat another with the awe and reverence which you have now shown. I have seen you in the presence of a Lord of ten thousand chariots or a Ruler of a thousand, and they have never received you in a different audience-room, or treated you but with the courtesies due to an equal, while you have still carried yourself with a reserved and haughty air; but to-day this old fisherman has stood erect in front of you with his pole in his hand, while you, bent from your loins in the form of a sounding-stone, would bow twice before you answered him;—was not your reverence of him excessive? Your disciples will all think it strange in you, Master. Why did the old fisherman receive such homage from you?'

Confucius leant forward on the cross-bar of the

carriage, heaved a sigh, and said, 'Difficult indeed is it to change you, O Yû! You have been trained in propriety and righteousness for long, and yet your servile and mean heart has not been taken from you. Come nearer, that I may speak fully to you. If you meet one older than yourself, and do not show him respect, you fail in propriety. If you see a man of superior wisdom and goodness, and do not honour him, you want the great characteristic of humanity. If that (fisherman) did not possess it in the highest degree, how could he make others submit to him? And if their submission to him be not sincere, they do not attain to the truth (of their nature), and inflict a lasting injury on their persons. Alas! there is no greater calamity to man than the want of this characteristic; and you, O Yû, you alone, would take such want on yourself.

'Moreover, the Tâo is the course by which all things should proceed. For things to fail in this is death; to observe it, is life. To oppose it in practice is ruin; to conform it, is success. Therefore wherever the sagely man finds the Tâo, he honours it. And that old fisherman to-day might be said to possess it;—dared I presume not to show him reverence?'

BOOK XXXII.

PART III. SECTION X.

Lieh Yü-khâu¹.

1. Lieh Yü-khâu had started to go to *Khi*, but came back when he was half-way to it. He met Po-hwăn Wû-zăn², who said, 'Why have you come back?' His reply was, 'I was frightened.' 'What frightened you?' 'I went into ten soup-shops³ to get a meal, and in five of them the soup was set before me before (I had paid for it)⁴.' 'But what was there in that to frighten you?' (Lieh-ze) said, 'Though the inward and true purpose be not set forth, the body like a spy gives some bright display of it. And this outward demonstration overawes men's minds, and makes men on light grounds treat one as noble or as aged, from which evil to him will be produced. Now vendors of soup supply their commodity simply as a matter of business, and however much they may dispose of, their profit is but little,

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 160-162.

² The same teacher, no doubt, who is mentioned in II, par. 2, and XXI, par. 2, though the Wû in Wû-zăn is here 務, and there 無.

³ Like the tea and congee shanties, I suppose, which a traveller in China finds still on the road-side.

⁴ The meaning is not plain. There must have been something in the respect and generosity of the attendants which made Lieh-ze feel that his manner was inconsistent with his profession of Táoism.

and their power is but slight; and yet they treated me as I have said :—how much more would the lord of ten thousand chariots do so ! His body burdened with (the cares of his) kingdom, and his knowledge overtaken by its affairs, he would entrust those affairs to me, and exact from me the successful conduct (of its government). It was this which frightened me.’ Po-hwăn Wû-zăn replied, ‘Admirable perspicacity ! But if you carry yourself as you do, men will flock to you for protection.’

Not long after, Po-hwăn Wû-zăn went (to visit Lieh-ze), and found the space outside his door full of shoes¹. There he stood with his face to the north, holding his staff upright, and leaning his chin on it till the skin was wrinkled. After standing so for some time, and without saying a word, he was going away, when the door-keeper² went in, and told Lieh-ze. The latter (immediately) took up his shoes, and ran barefoot after the visitor. When he overtook him at the (outer) gate, he said, ‘Since you, Sir, have come, are you going away without giving me some medicine³?’ The other replied, ‘It is of no use. I did tell you that men would flock to you, and they do indeed do so. It is not that you can cause men to flock to you, but you cannot keep them from not so coming ;—of what use is (all my warning)? What influences them and makes them glad is the display of your extraordinary (qualities); but you must also be influ-

¹ See the *Lî Kî* (vol. xxvii, pp. 70, 71). It is still the custom in Japan for visitors to leave their shoes outside, in order not to soil the mats.

² Whose business it was to receive and announce the guests.

³ Good advice.

enced in your turn, and your proper nature be shaken, and no warning can be addressed to you. Those who associate with you do not admonish you of this. The small words which they speak are poison to a man. You perceive it not; you understand it not;—how can you separate yourself from them?

‘The clever toil on, and the wise are sad. Those who are without ability seek for nothing. They eat to the full, and wander idly about. They drift like a vessel loosed from its moorings, and aimlessly wander about¹.’

2. A man of *K'ang*, called Hwan, learned² his books in the neighbourhood of *K'hiu-shih*³, and in no longer time than three years became a Confucian scholar, benefiting the three classes of his kindred⁴ as the Ho extends its enriching influence for nine li. He made his younger brother study (the principles of) Mo⁵, and then they two—the scholar and the Mohist—disputed together (about their respective systems), and the father took the side of the younger⁶. After ten years Hwan killed himself. (By and by) he appeared to his father in a dream, saying, ‘It was I who made your son become a

¹ Was this then Wû-zăn's idea of how the Taoist should carry himself? From ‘those who associate with you’ Wû-zăn's address might be rhymed.

² Read them aloud, and so committed them to memory;—as Chinese schoolboys do still.

³ The name of a place, or, perhaps, of Hwan's schoolmaster.

⁴ Probably, the kindred of his father, mother, and wife;—through his getting office as a scholar.

⁵ Or Mih Tî;—Mencius's heresiarch.

⁶ Literally, ‘of Tî,’ as if that had been the name of the younger brother, as it was that of the heresiarch.

Mohist; why did you not recognise that good service¹? I am become (but) the fruit of a cypress in autumn².’ But the Creator³, in apportioning the awards of men, does not recompense them for their own doings, but recompenses them for the (use of the) Heavenly in them. It was thus that Hwan’s brother was led to learn Mohism. When this Hwan thought that it was he who had made his brother different from what he would have been, and proceeded to despise his father, he was like the people of *K’hi*, who, while they drank from a well, tried to keep one another from it. Hence it is said, ‘Now-a-days all men are Hwans⁴.’ From this we perceive that those who possess the characteristics (of the Tâo) consider that they do not know them; how much more is it so with those who possess the Tâo itself! The ancients called such (as Hwan) ‘men who had escaped the punishment of Heaven.’

3. The sagely man rests in what is his proper rest; he does not rest in what is not so;—the multitude of men rest in what is not their proper rest; they do not rest in their proper rest⁵.

4. *K’wang-ze* said, ‘To know the Tâo is easy; not to say (that you know it) is difficult. To know it and not to speak of it is the way to attain to the

¹ The character for this in the text (良) is explained as meaning ‘a grave,’ with special reference to this passage, in the *Khang-hsi* dictionary.

² The idea of a grave is suggested by the ‘cypress,’ and we need not try to find it in 良.

³ The creator was, in *K’wang-ze*’s mind, the Tâo.

⁴ Arrogating to themselves what was the work of the Tâo.

⁵ The best editions make this sentence a paragraph by itself.

Heavenly; to know and to speak of it, is the way to show the Human. The ancients pursued the Heavenly (belonging to them), and not the Human.'

5. *K'û Phing-man*¹ learned how to slaughter the dragon² from *K'ih-lí Yt*, expending (in doing so) all his wealth of a thousand ounces of silver. In three years he became perfect in the art, but he never exercised his skill.

6. The sage looks on what is deemed necessary as unnecessary, and therefore is not at war³ (in himself). The mass of men deem what is unnecessary to be necessary, and therefore they are often at war (in themselves). Therefore those who pursue this method of (internal) war, resort to it in whatever they seek for. But reliance on such war leads to ruin.

7. The wisdom of the small man does not go beyond (the minutiae of) making presents and writing memoranda, wearying his spirits out in what is trivial and mean. But at the same time he wishes to aid in guiding to (the secret of) the *Táo* and of (all) things in the incorporeity of the Grand Unity. In this way he goes all astray in regard to (the mysteries of) space and time. The fetters of embodied matter keep him from the knowledge of the Grand Beginning. (On the other hand), the perfect man directs the energy of his spirit to what was before the Beginning, and finds pleasure in the mysteriousness

¹ These are names fashioned by our author.

² 'Slaughtering the dragon' means 'learning the *Táo*,' by expending or putting away all doing and knowledge, till one comes to the perfect state of knowing the *Táo* and not speaking of it.

³ Being 'at war' here is not the conflict of arms, but of joy, anger, and desire in one's breast. See *Sião Hung* in loc.

belonging to the region of nothingness. He is like the water which flows on without the obstruction of matter, and expands into the Grand Purity.

Alas for what you do, (O men)! You occupy yourselves with things trivial as a hair, and remain ignorant of the Grand Rest!

8. There was a man of Sung, called ʒhào Shang, who was sent by the king of Sung on a mission to *Khin*. On setting out, he had several carriages with him; and the king (of *Khin*) was so pleased with him that he gave him another hundred. When he returned to Sung, he saw *Kwang-ze*, and said to him, 'To live in a narrow lane of a poor mean hamlet, wearing sandals amid distress of poverty, with a weazen neck and yellow face¹;—that is what I should find it difficult to do. But as soon as I come to an understanding with the Lord of a myriad carriages, to find myself with a retinue of a hundred carriages,—that is wherein I excel.' *Kwang-ze* replied, 'When the king of *Khân* is ill, the doctor whom he calls to open an ulcer or squeeze a boil receives a carriage; and he who licks his piles receives five. The lower the service, the more are the carriages given. Did you, Sir, lick his piles? How else should you have got so many carriages? Begone!'

9. Duke *Âi* of *Lû* asked *Yen Ho*, saying, 'If I employ *Kung-nî* as the support of my government, will the evils of the state be thereby cured?' The

¹ The character for 'face' generally means 'ears;' but the *Khang-hsi* dictionary, with special reference to this paragraph, explains it by 'face.'—The whole paragraph is smart and bitter, but *Lin Hsi-kung* thinks it too coarse to be from *Kwang-ze's* pencil.

reply was, ' (Such a measure) would be perilous ! It would be full of hazard ! *Kung-nî*, moreover, will try to ornament a feather and paint it ; in the conduct of affairs he uses flowery speeches. A (mere) branch is to him more admirable (than the root) ; he can bear to misrepresent their nature in instructing the people, and is not conscious of the unreality of his words. He receives (his inspiration) from his own mind, and rules his course from his own spirit ; —what fitness has he to be set over the people ? Is such a man suitable for you (as your minister) ? Could you give to him the nourishment (of the people) ? You would do so by mistake (but not on purpose, for a time, but not as a permanency). To make the people leave what is real, and learn what is hypocritical—that is not the proper thing to be shown to them ; if you take thought for future ages, your better plan will be to give up (the idea of employing Confucius). What makes government difficult, is the dealing with men without forgetting yourself ; this is not according to the example of Heaven in diffusing its benefits. Merchants and traffickers are not to be ranked (with administrative officers) ; if on an occasion you so rank them, the spirits (of the people) do not acquiesce in your doing so. The instruments of external punishment are made of metal and wood ; those of internal punishment are agitation (of the mind) and (the sense of) transgression. When small men become subject to the external punishment, the (instruments of) metal and wood deal with them ; when they become liable to the internal punishments, the Yin and Yang¹ con-

¹ Compare the use of 'the Yin and the Yang' in XXIII, par. 8.—Yen Ho does not flatter Confucius in his description of him.

sume them. It is only the true man who can escape both from the external and internal punishment.'

10. Confucius said, 'The minds of men are more difficult of approach than (the position defended by) mountains and rivers, and more difficult to know than Heaven itself. Heaven has its periods of spring and autumn, of winter and summer, and of morning and evening; but man's exterior is thickly veiled, and his feelings lie deep. Thus the demeanour of some is honest-like, and yet they go to excess (in what is mean); others are really gifted, and yet look to be without ability; some seem docile and impressible, but yet they have far-reaching schemes; others look firm, and yet may be twisted about; others look slow, and yet they are hasty. In this way those who hasten to do what is right as if they were thirsty will anon hurry away from it as if it were fire. Hence the superior man looks at them when employed at a distance to test their fidelity, and when employed near at hand to test their reverence. By employing them on difficult services, he tests their ability; by questioning them suddenly, he tests their knowledge; by appointing them a fixed time, he tests their good faith; by entrusting them with wealth, he tests their benevolence; by telling them of danger, he tests their self-command in emergencies; by making them drunk, he tests their tendencies¹; by placing them in a variety of society, he tests their chastity:—by these nine tests the inferior man is discovered.'

11. When Khâu-fû, the Correct², received the first

¹ Is this equivalent to the adage 'In vino veritas?'

² A famous ancestor of Confucius in the eighth century B. C.,

grade of official rank, he walked with head bowed down ; on receiving the second, with bent back ; on receiving the third, with body stooping, he ran and hurried along the wall :—who would presume not to take him as a model ? But one of those ordinary men, on receiving his first appointment, goes along with a haughty stride ; on receiving his second, he looks quite elated in his chariot ; and on receiving the third, he calls his uncles by their personal names ;—how very different from Hsü (Yü) in the time (of Yáo of) Thang !

Of all things that injure (men) there is none greater than the practising of virtue with the purpose of the mind, till the mind becomes supercilious. When it becomes so, the mind (only) looks inwards (on itself), and such looking into itself leads to its ruin. This evil quality has five forms, and the chief of them is that which is the central. What do we mean by the central quality ? It is that which appears in a man's loving (only) his own views, and reviling whatever he does not do (himself).

Limiting (men's advance), there are eight extreme conditions ; securing (that advance), there are three things necessary ; and the person has its six repositories. Elegance ; a (fine) beard ; tallness ; size ; strength ; beauty ; bravery ; daring ; and in all these excelling others :—(these are the eight extreme conditions) by which advance is limited. Depending on and copying others ; stooping in order to rise ; and being straitened by the fear of not equalling others :—

before the Khung family fled from Sung. See the account of him, with some verbal alterations, in the 30 *K'wan*, under the seventh year of duke *K'ao*.

these are the three things that lead to advancing. Knowledge seeking to reach to all that is external; bold movement producing many resentments; benevolence and righteousness leading to many requisitions; understanding the phenomena of life in an extraordinary degree; understanding all knowledge so as to possess an approach to it; understanding the great condition appointed for him, and following it, and the smaller conditions, and meeting them as they occur:—(these are the six repositories of the person)¹.

12. There was a man who, having had an interview with the king of Sung, and been presented by him with ten carriages, showed them boastfully to *Kwang-sze*, as if the latter had been a boy. *Kwang-sze* said to him, 'Near the Ho there was a poor man who supported his family by weaving rushes (to form screens). His son, when diving in a deep pool, found a pearl worth a thousand ounces of silver. The father said, "Bring a stone, and break it in pieces. A pearl of this value must have been in a pool nine *k'kung* deep², and under the chin of the Black Dragon. That you were able to get it must have been owing to your finding him asleep. Let him awake, and the consequences to you will not be small!" Now the kingdom of Sung is deeper than any pool of nine *k'kung*, and its king is fiercer than the Black Dragon. That you were able to get the

¹ These eight words are supplied to complete the structure of the paragraph; but I cannot well say what they mean, nor in what way the predicates in the six clauses that precede can be called 'the stores, or repositories of the body or person.'

² = in a pool deeper than any nine pools. Compare the expression 九重天.

chariots must have been owing to your finding him asleep. Let him awake, and you will be ground to powder¹.

13. Some (ruler) having sent a message of invitation to him, *Kwang-ze* replied to the messenger, 'Have you seen, Sir, a sacrificial ox? It is robed with ornamental embroidery, and feasted on fresh grass and beans. But when it is led into the grand ancestral temple, though it wished to be (again) a solitary calf, would that be possible for it²?'

14. When *Kwang-ze* was about to die, his disciples signified their wish to give him a grand burial. 'I shall have heaven and earth,' said he, 'for my coffin and its shell; the sun and moon for my two round symbols of jade; the stars and constellations for my pearls and jewels; and all things assisting as the mourners. Will not the provisions for my burial be complete? What could you add to them?' The disciples replied, 'We are afraid that the crows and kites will eat our master.' *Kwang-ze* rejoined, 'Above, the crows and kites will eat me; below, the mole-cricket and ants will eat me:—to take from those and give to these would only show your partiality³.'

The attempt, with what is not even, to produce what is even will only produce an uneven result; the attempt, with what is uncertain, to make the uncertain certain will leave the uncertainty as it

¹ Compare paragraph 8. But Lin again denies the genuineness of this.

² Compare XVII, par. 11.

³ We do not know whether *Kwang-ze* was buried according to his own ideal or not. In the concluding sentences we have a strange descent from the grandiloquence of what precedes.

was. He who uses only the sight of his eyes is acted on by what he sees ; it is the (intuition of the) spirit, that gives the assurance of certainty. That the sight of the eyes is not equal to that intuition of the spirit is a thing long acknowledged. And yet stupid people rely on what they see, and will have it to be the sentiment of all men ;—all their success being with what is external :—is it not sad ?

BOOK XXXIII.

PART III. SECTION XI.

Thien Hsiâ¹.

1. The methods employed in the regulation of the world² are many; and (the employers of them) think each that the efficiency of his own method leaves nothing to be added to it.

But where is what was called of old 'the method of the Táo²?' We must reply, 'It is everywhere.' But then whence does the spiritual³ in it come down? and whence does the intelligence⁴ in it come forth? There is that which gives birth to the Sage, and that which gives his perfection to the King:—the origin of both is the One⁵.

Not to be separate from his primal source constitutes what we call the Heavenly man; not to be separate from the essential nature thereof constitutes what we call the Spirit-like man; not to be separate from its real truth constitutes what we call the Perfect man⁶.

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 162, 163.

² All the methods of educational training and schemes of governmental policy, advocated by 'the hundred schools' of human wisdom in contradistinction from the method or art of the Táo. Fang Shû has little more meaning than our word 'nostrum.'

³ Which forms the sage.

⁴ Which forms the sage king.

⁵ Or, one and the same.

⁶ Compare the three definitions in Book I, par. 3.

To regard Heaven as his primal Source, Its Attributes as the Root (of his nature), and the Tâo as the Gate (by which he enters into this inheritance), (knowing also) the prognostics given in change and transformation, constitutes what we call the Sagely man¹.

To regard benevolence as (the source of all) kindness, righteousness as (the source of all) distinctions, propriety as (the rule of) all conduct, and music as (the idea of) all harmony, thus diffusing a fragrance of gentleness and goodness, constitutes what we call the Superior man².

To regard laws as assigning the different (social) conditions, their names as the outward expression (of the social duties), the comparison of subjects as supplying the grounds of evidence, investigation as conducting to certainty, so that things can be numbered as first, second, third, fourth (and so on):—(this is the basis of government). Its hundred offices are thus arranged; business has its regular course; the great matters of clothes and food are provided for; cattle are fattened and looked after; the (government) stores are filled; the old and weak, orphans and solitaries, receive anxious consideration:—in all these ways is provision made for the nourishment of the people.

How complete was (the operation of the Tâo) in the men of old! It made them the equals of spiritual beings, and subtle and all-embracing as heaven and earth. They nourished all things, and produced

¹ Here we have five definitions of the 'Man of Tâo.'

² Still within the circle of the Tâo, but inferior to the five above.

harmony all under heaven. Their beneficent influence reached to all classes of the people. They understood all fundamental principles, and followed them out to their graduated issues; in all the six directions went their penetration, and in the four quarters all things were open to them. Great and small, fine and coarse;—all felt their presence and operation. Their intelligence, as seen in all their regulations, was handed down from age to age in their old laws, and much of it was still to be found in the Historians. What of it was in the Shih, the Shû, the Lî, and the Yo, might be learned from the scholars of 3âu¹ and Lû¹, and the girdled members of the various courts. The Shih describes what should be the aim of the mind; the Shû, the course of events; the Lî is intended to direct the conduct; the Yo, to set forth harmony; the Yî, to show the action of the Yin and Yang; and the *Khun Khiú*, to display names and the duties belonging to them.

Some of the regulations (of these men of old), scattered all under heaven, and established in our Middle states, are (also) occasionally mentioned and described in the writings of the different schools.

There ensued great disorder in the world, and sages and worthies no longer shed their light on it. The Táo and its characteristics ceased to be regarded as uniform. Many in different places got

¹ These scholars were pre-eminently Confucius and Mencius. In this brief phrase is the one recognition, by our author, of the existence and work of Mencius, who was 'the scholar of 3âu.' But one is not prepared for the comparatively favourable judgment passed on those scholars, and on what we call the Confucian classics. The reading 3âu has not been challenged, and can only be understood of Mencius.

one glimpse of it, and plumed themselves on possessing it as a whole. They might be compared to the ear, the eye, the nose, or the mouth. Each sense has its own faculty, but their different faculties cannot be interchanged. So it was with the many branches of the various schools. Each had its peculiar excellence, and there was the time for the use of it; but notwithstanding no one covered or extended over the whole (range of truth). The case was that of the scholar of a corner who passes his judgment on all the beautiful in heaven and earth, discriminates the principles that underlie all things, and attempts to estimate the success arrived at by the ancients. Seldom is it that such an one can embrace all the beautiful in heaven and earth, or rightly estimate the ways of the spiritual and intelligent; and thus it was that the Táo, which inwardly forms the sage and externally the king¹, became obscured and lost its clearness, became repressed and lost its development. Every one in the world did whatever he wished, and was the rule to himself. Alas! the various schools held on their several ways, and could not come back to the same point, nor agree together. The students of that later age unfortunately did not see the undivided purity of heaven and earth, and the great scheme of truth held by the ancients. The system of the Táo was about to be torn in fragments all under the sky.

2. To leave no example of extravagance to future generations; to show no wastefulness in the use of

¹ Compare 'the spiritual' and 'the intelligence' near the commencement, and the notes 3 and 4.

anything; to make no display in the degree of their (ceremonial) observances; to keep themselves (in their expenditure) under the restraint of strict and exact rule, so as to be prepared for occurring emergencies;—such regulations formed part of the system of the Tâo in antiquity, and were appreciated by Mo Tî, and (his disciple) *K'hin Hwa-lî*¹. When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them; but they enjoined them in excess, and followed them themselves too strictly. (Mo) made the treatise 'Against Music,' and enjoined the subject of another, called 'Economy in Expenditure,' on his followers. He would have no singing in life, and no wearing of mourning on occasions of death. He inculcated Universal Love, and a Common Participation in all advantages, and condemned Fighting. His doctrine did not admit of Anger. He was fond also of Learning, and with it all strove not to appear different from others. Yet he did not agree with the former kings, but attacked the ceremonies and music of the ancients.

Hwang-Tî had his Hsien-*k'ih*; Yâo, his Tâ Kang; Shun, his Tâ Shâo; Yü, his Tâ Hsiâ; Thang, his Tâ Hû; king Wăn, his music of the Phi-yung²; and king Wû and the duke of Kâu made the Wû.

¹ Thus Mohism appears as an imperfect Taoism. Mo (or Meh) Tî was a great officer of the state of Sung, of the period between Confucius and Mencius. He left many treatises behind him, of which only a few, but the most important, survive. *K'hin Hwa-lî* seems to have been his chief disciple. He says, in one place, '*K'hin Hwa-lî* and my other disciples,—300 men.'

² The name of the great hall built by king Wăn, and still applied to the examination hall of the Han-lin graduates in Peking.

In the mourning rites of the ancients, the noble and mean had their several observances, the high and low their different degrees. The coffin of the Son of Heaven was sevenfold; of a feudal lord, fivefold; of a great officer, threefold; of other officers, twofold. But now Mo-ze alone, would have no singing during life, and no wearing of mourning after death. As the rule for all, he would have a coffin of elaeococca wood, three inches thick, and without any enclosing shell. The teaching of such lessons cannot be regarded as affording a proof of his love for men; his practising them in his own case would certainly show that he did not love himself; but this has not been sufficient to overthrow the views of Mo-ze. Notwithstanding, men will sing, and he condemns singing; men will wail, and he condemns wailing; men will express their joy, and he condemns such expression:—is this truly in accordance with man's nature? Through life toil, and at death niggardliness:—his way is one of great unkindliness. Causing men sorrow and melancholy, and difficult to be carried into practice, I fear it cannot be regarded as the way of a sage. Contrary to the minds of men everywhere, men will not endure it. Though Mo-ze himself might be able to endure it, how can the aversion of the world to it be overcome? The world averse to it, it must be far from the way of the (ancient) kings.

Mo-ze, in praise of his views, said, 'Anciently, when Yü was draining off the waters of the flood, he set free the channels of the *Kiang* and the *Ho*, and opened communications with them from the

What the special music made for it by Wăn was called, I do not know.

regions of the four Î and the nine provinces. The famous hills with which he dealt were 300, the branch streams were 3000, and the smaller ones innumerable. With his own hands he carried the sack and wielded the spade, till he had united all the streams of the country (conducting them to the sea). There was no hair left on his legs from the knee to the ankle. He bathed his hair in the violent wind, and combed it in the pelting rain, thus marking out the myriad states. Yü was a great sage, and thus he toiled in the service of the world.' The effect of this is that in this later time most of the Mohists wear skins and dolychos cloth, with shoes of wood or twisted hemp, not stopping day or night, but considering such toiling on their part as their highest achievement. They say that he who cannot do this is acting contrary to the way of Yü, and not fit to be a Mohist.

The disciples of *K'in* of Hsiang-lî¹, the followers of the various feudal lords²; and Mohists of the south, such as Khû Hu³, *Ki K'ih*³, and Täng Ling-ze³, all repeated the texts of Mo, but they differed in the objections which they offered to them, and in their deceitful glosses they called one another Mohists of different schools. They had their disputations, turning on 'what was hard,' and 'what was white,' what constituted 'sameness' and what 'difference,' and their expressions about the difference between 'the odd' and 'the even,' with which they answered one another. They regarded

¹ Some say this *K'in* was the preceptor of Mo Tî.

² Easily translated; but the statement has not been historically illustrated.

³ Known only by the mention of them here.

their most distinguished member as a sage, and wished to make him their chief, hoping that he would be handed down as such to future ages. To the present day these controversies are not determined.

The idea of Mo Tî and *K'in* Hwa-lî was good, but their practice was wrong. They would have made the Mohists of future ages feel it necessary to toil themselves, till there was not a hair on their legs, and still be urging one another on; (thus producing a condition) superior indeed to disorder, but inferior to the result of good government. Nevertheless, Mo-ze was indeed one of the best men in the world, which you may search without finding his equal. Decayed and worn (his person) might be, but he is not to be rejected,—a scholar of ability indeed!

3. To keep from being entangled by prevailing customs; to shun all ornamental attractions in one's self; not to be reckless in his conduct to others; not to set himself stubbornly against a multitude; to desire the peace and repose of the world in order to preserve the lives of the people; and to cease his action when enough had been obtained for the nourishment of others and himself, showing that this was the aim of his mind;—such a scheme belonged to the system of the Táo in antiquity¹, and it was appreciated by Sung Hsing² and Yin Wăn².

¹ It is difficult to understand the phases of the Táo here referred to.

² Both these men are said to have been of the time of king Hsüan of *K'hi*. In the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, Yin Wăn appears, but not among the Táoist writers, as the author

When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them. They made the Hwa-shan cap, and wore it as their distinguishing badge¹. In their intercourse with others, whatever their differences might be, they began by being indulgent to them. Their name for 'the Forbearance of the Mind' was 'the Action of the Mind.' By the warmth of affection they sought the harmony of joy, and to blend together all within the four seas; and their wish was to plant this everywhere as the chief thing to be pursued. They endured insult without feeling it a disgrace; they sought to save the people from fighting; they forbade aggression and sought to hush the weapons of strife, to save their age from war. In this way they went everywhere, counselling the high and instructing the low. Though the world might not receive them, they only insisted on their object the more strongly, and would not abandon it. Hence it is said, 'The high and the low might be weary of them, but they were strong to show themselves.'

Notwithstanding all this, they acted too much out of regard to others, and too little for themselves. It was as if they said, 'What we request and wish is simply that there may be set down for us five pints of rice;—that will be enough.' But I fear the Master would not get his fill from this; and the disciples, though famishing, would still have to be mindful of the world, and, never stopping day or night, have to say, 'Is it necessary I should preserve

of 'one Treatise.' He is said also to have been the preceptor of Kung-sun Lung.

¹ I cannot fashion the shape of this cap or of the Hwa mountain in my own mind,—'flat both above and below.'

my life? Shall I scheme how to exalt myself above the master, the saviour of the age?’

It was moreover as if they said, ‘The superior man does not censoriously scrutinize (the faults of others); he does not borrow from others to supersede his own endeavours; when any think that he is of no use to the world, he knows that their intelligence is inferior to his own; he considers the prohibition of aggression and causing the disuse of arms to be an external achievement, and the making his own desires to be few and slight to be the internal triumph.’ Such was their discrimination between the great and the small, the subtle and the coarse; and with the attainment of this they stopped.

4. Public-spirited, and with nothing of the partizan; easy and compliant, without any selfish partialities; capable of being led, without any positive tendencies; following in the wake of others, without any double mind; not looking round because of anxious thoughts; not scheming in the exercise of their wisdom; not choosing between parties, but going along with all;—all such courses belonged to the Tâoists of antiquity, and they were appreciated by Phăng Măng¹, Thien Phien¹, and Shăn Tâo¹. When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them. They considered that the first thing for them to do was to adjust the controversies about different things. They said, ‘Heaven can cover, but it cannot sustain; Earth can contain, but it can-

¹ Thien Phien is mentioned in the Han Catalogue, among the Tâoist writers, as a native of Kêi, and an author of twenty-five phien. Shăn Tâo also appears among the legal writers, as author of forty-two phien. He is mentioned by Han Fei.

not cover. The Great Tâo embraces all things, but It does not discriminate between them.'

They knew that all things have what they can do and what they cannot do. Hence it is said, 'If you select, you do not reach all; if you teach some things, you must omit the others; but the Tâo neglects none.' Therefore Shân Tâo discarded his knowledge and also all thought of himself, acting only where he had no alternative, and pursued it as his course to be indifferent and pure in his dealings with others. He said that the best knowledge was to have no knowledge, and that if we had a little knowledge it was likely to prove a dangerous thing. Conscious of his unfitness, he undertook no charge, and laughed at those who valued ability and virtue. Remiss and evasive, he did nothing, and disallowed the greatest sages which the world had known. Now with a hammer, now with his hand, smoothing all corners, and breaking all bonds, he accommodated himself to all conditions. He disregarded right and wrong, his only concern being to avoid trouble; he learned nothing from the wise and thoughtful, and took no note of the succession of events, thinking only of carrying himself with a lofty disregard of everything. He went where he was pushed, and followed where he was led, like a whirling wind, like a feather tossed about, like the revolutions of a grindstone.

What was the reason that he appeared thus complete, doing nothing wrong? that, whether in motion or at rest, he committed no error, and could be charged with no transgression? Creatures that have no knowledge are free from the troubles that arise from self-assertion and the entanglements that spring from the use of knowledge. Moving and at

rest, they do not depart from their proper course, and all their life long they do not receive any praise. Hence (Shăn Táo) said, 'Let me come to be like a creature without knowledge. Of what use are the (teachings of the) sages and worthies?' But a clod of earth never fails in the course (proper for it), and men of spirit and eminence laughed together at him, and said, 'The way of Shăn Táo does not describe the conduct of living men; that it should be predicable only of the dead is strange indeed!'

It was just the same with Thien Phien. He learned under Phăng Măng, but it was as if he were not taught at all. The master of Phăng Măng said, 'The Táoist professors of old came no farther than to say that nothing was absolutely right and nothing absolutely wrong.' His spirit was like the breath of an opposing wind; how can it be described in words? But he was always contrary to (the views of) other men, which he would not bring together to view, and he did not escape shaving the corners and bonds (of which I have spoken). What he called the Táo was not the true Táo, and what he called the right was really the wrong.

Phăng Măng, Thien Phien, and Shăn Táo did not in fact know the Táo; but nevertheless they had heard in a general way about it.

5. To take the root (from which things spring) as the essential (part), and the things as its coarse (embodiment); to see deficiency in accumulation; and in the solitude of one's individuality to dwell with the spirit-like and intelligent;—such a course belonged to the Táo of antiquity, and it was appre-

ciated by Kwan Yin¹ and Lâo Tan². When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them. They built their system on the assumption of an eternal non-existence, and made the ruling idea in it that of the Grand Unity. They made weakness and humility their mark of distinction, and considered that by empty vacuity no injury could be sustained, but all things be preserved in their substantiality.

Kwan Yin¹ says, 'To him who does not dwell in himself the forms of things show themselves as they are. His movement is like that of water; his stillness is like that of a mirror; his response is like that of the echo. His tenuity makes him seem to be disappearing altogether; he is still as a clear (lake), harmonious in his association with others, and he counts gain as loss. He does not take precedence of others, but follows them.' Lâo Tan² says, 'He knows his masculine power, but maintains his female weakness,—becoming the channel into which all streams flow. He knows his white purity, but keeps his disgrace,—becoming the valley of the world. Men all prefer to be first; he alone chooses to be last, saying, "I will receive the offscourings of the world." Men all choose fulness; he alone chooses emptiness. He does not store, and therefore he has a superabundance; he looks solitary, but has a multitude around him. In his conducting

¹ Kwan Yin;—see Book XIX, par. 2, and vol. xxxix, p. 35. In the Catalogue of the Han Library there is an entry of a work by Kwan Yin in nine *phien*; and there is still a work current in China, called *Kwan Yin-ze* in one *k'üan*, but it is not generally received as genuine.

² See the account of Lâo-ze in vol. xxxix, pp. 34-36.

of himself he is easy and leisurely and wastes nothing. He does nothing, and laughs at the clever and ingenious. Men all seek for happiness, but he feels complete in his imperfect condition, and says, "Let me only escape blame." He regards what is deepest as his root, and what is most restrictive as his rule; and says, "The strong is broken; the sharp and pointed is blunted¹." He is always generous and forbearing with others, and does not encroach on any man;—this may be pronounced the height (of perfection).'

O Kwan Yin, and Lâu Tan, ye were among the greatest men of antiquity; True men indeed!

6. That the shadowy and still is without bodily form; that change and transformation are ever proceeding, but incapable of being determined. What is death? What is life? What is meant by the union of Heaven and Earth? Does the spiritual intelligence go away? Shadowy, where does it go? Subtle, whither does it proceed? All things being arranged as they are, there is no one place which can be fitly ascribed to it. Such were the questions belonging to the scheme of Tâu in antiquity, and they were appreciated by Kwang Kâu. When he heard of such subjects, he was delighted with them. (He discussed them), using strange and mystical expressions, wild and extravagant words, and phrases to which no definite meaning could be assigned. He constantly indulged his own wayward ideas, but did not make himself a partisan, nor look at them as peculiar to himself. Considering that men were

¹ From the 'Lâu Tan says' down to this, may be said to be all quotation, with more or less exactness, from the Tâu Teh King. See chaps. 28, 22, et al.

sunk in stupidity and could not be talked to in dignified style, he employed the words of the cup of endless application, with important quotations to substantiate the truth, and an abundance of corroborative illustrations. He chiefly cared to occupy himself with the spirit-like operation of heaven and earth, and did not try to rise above the myriads of things. He did not condemn the agreements and differences of others, so that he might live in peace with the prevalent views. Though his writings may seem to be sparkling trifles, there is no harm in amusing one's self with them; though his phraseology be ever-varying, its turns and changes are worth being looked at;—the fulness and completeness of his ideas cannot be exhausted. Above he seeks delight in the Maker; below, he has a friendly regard to those who consider life and death as having neither beginning nor end. As regards his dealing with the Root (origin of all things), he is comprehensive and great, opening up new views, deep, vast, and free. As regards the Author and Master (the Great Táo Itself), he may be pronounced exact and correct, carrying our thoughts to range and play on high. Nevertheless on the subject of transformation, and the emancipation of that from (the thralldom of) things, his principles are inexhaustible, and are not derived from his predecessors. They are subtle and obscure, and cannot be fully explained¹.

¹ The question of the genuineness of this paragraph has been touched on in vol. xxxix, p. 163. Whether from himself or from some disciple, it celebrates Kwang-jze as the chief and most interesting of all ancient Táoist writers.

7. Hui Shih¹ had many ingenious notions. His writings would fill five carriages; but his doctrines were erroneous and contradictory, and his words were wide of their mark. Taking up one thing after another, he would say:—‘That which is so great that there is nothing outside it may be called the Great One; and that which is so small that there is nothing inside it may be called the Small One.’ ‘What has no thickness and will not admit of being repeated is 1000 li in size².’ ‘Heaven may be as low as the earth.’ ‘A mountain may be as level as a marsh.’ ‘The sun in the meridian may be the sun declining.’ ‘A creature may be born to life and may die at the same time.’ ‘(When it is said that) things greatly alike are different from things a little alike, this is what is called making little of agreements and differences; (when it is said that) all things are entirely alike or entirely different, this is what is called making much of agreements and differences.’ ‘The south is unlimited and yet has a limit.’ ‘I proceed to Yueh to-day and came to it yesterday.’ ‘Things which are joined together can be separated.’ ‘I know the centre of the world;—it is north of Yen or south of Yueh.’ ‘If all things be regarded with love, heaven and earth are of one body (with me).’

Hui Shih by such sayings as these made himself

¹ Introduced to us in the first Book of our author, and often mentioned in the intervening Books. He was not a Tâoist, but we are glad to have the account of him here given, as enabling us to understand better the intellectual life of China in Kwang-ze's time.

² It is of little use trying to find the answers to these sayings of Hui Shih and others. They are only riddles or paradoxes.

very conspicuous throughout the kingdom, and was considered an able debater. All other debaters vied with one another and delighted in similar exhibitions. (They would say), 'There are feathers in an egg.' 'A fowl has three feet.' 'The kingdom belongs to Ying.' 'A dog might have been (called) a sheep.' 'A tadpole has a tail.' 'Fire is not hot.' 'A mountain gives forth a voice.' 'A wheel does not tread on the ground.' 'The eye does not see.' 'The finger indicates, but needs not touch, (the object).' 'Where you come to may not be the end.' 'The tortoise is longer than the snake.' 'The carpenter's square is not square.' 'A compass should not itself be round.' 'A chisel does not surround its handle.' 'The shadow of a flying bird does not (itself) move.' 'Swift as the arrowhead is, there is a time when it is neither flying nor at rest.' 'A dog is not a hound.' 'A bay horse and a black ox are three.' 'A white dog is black.' 'A motherless colt never had a mother.' 'If from a stick a foot long you every day take the half of it, in a myriad ages it will not be exhausted.'—It was in this way that the debaters responded to Hui Shih, all their lifetime, without coming to an end.

Hwan Twan¹ and Kung-sun Lung² were true members of this class. By their specious representations they threw a glamour over men's minds and altered their ideas. They vanquished men in argument, but could not subdue their minds, only keeping them in the enclosure of their sophistry. Hui Shih daily used his own knowledge and the arguments of others to propose strange theses to all debaters;—

¹ Elsewhere unknown.

² See Book XVII, par. 10.

such was his practice. At the same time he would talk freely of himself, thinking himself the ablest among them, and saying, 'In heaven or earth who is my match?' Shih maintained indeed his masculine energy, but he had not the art (of controversy).

In the south there was a man of extraordinary views, named Hwang Lião¹, who asked him how it was that the sky did not fall nor the earth sink, and what was the cause of wind, rain, and the thunder's roll and crash. Shih made no attempt to evade the questions, and answered him without any exercise of thought, talking about all things, without pause, on and on without end; yet still thinking that his words were few, and adding to them the strangest observations. He thought that to contradict others was a real triumph, and wished to make himself famous by overcoming them; and on this account he was not liked by the multitude of debaters. He was weak in real attainment, though he might seem strong in comparison with others, and his way was narrow and dark. If we look at Hui Shih's ability from the standpoint of Heaven and Earth, it was only like the restless activity of a mosquito or gadfly; of what service was it to anything? To give its full development to any one capacity is a good thing, and he who does so is in the way to a higher estimation of the Táo; but Hui Shih could find no rest for himself in doing this. He diffused himself over the world of things without satiety, till in the end he had only the reputation of being a skilful debater. Alas! Hui Shih, with

¹ Elsewhere unknown.

all his talents, vast as they were, made nothing out; he pursued all subjects and never came back (with success). It was like silencing an echo by his shouting, or running a race with his shadow. Alas!

THE THÂI-SHANG
TRACTATE OF ACTIONS AND THEIR
RETRIBUTIONS.

THE THÂI-SHANG

TRACTATE OF ACTIONS AND THEIR RETRIBUTIONS¹.

1. The Thâi-Shang (Tractate) says, 'There are no special doors for calamity and happiness (in men's lot); they come as men themselves call them. Their recompenses follow good and evil as the shadow follows the substance².

The Thesis.

2. 'Accordingly, in heaven and earth³ there are spirits that take account of men's transgressions, and, according to the lightness or gravity of their offences, take away from their term of life⁴. When that term is curtailed, men become poor and reduced, and meet with many sorrows and afflictions. All (other) men hate them; punishments and calamities attend them; good luck and occasions for felicitation shun them;

Machinery
to secure
retribution.

¹ See vol. xxxix, pp. 38-40.

² This paragraph, after the first three characters, is found in the 30 *Khwan*, under the tenth and eleventh notices in the twenty-third year of duke Hsiang (B.C. 549),—part of an address to a young nobleman by the officer Min 3ze-mâ. The only difference in the two texts is in one character which does not affect the meaning. Thus the text of this Tâoist treatise is taken from a source which cannot be regarded as Tâoistic.

³ This seems equivalent to 'all through space.'

⁴ The swan in the text here seems to mean 'the whole of the allotted term of life.' Further on, the same character has the special meaning of 'a period of a hundred days.'

evil stars send down misfortunes on them¹. When their term of life is exhausted they die.

'There also are the Spirit-rulers in the three pairs of the Thái stars of the Northern Bushel² over men's heads, which record their acts of guilt and wickedness, and take away (from their term of life) periods of twelve years or of a hundred days.

'There also are the three Spirits of the recumbent body which reside within a man's person³. As each kǎng-shǎn⁴ day comes round, they forthwith ascend to the court of Heaven, and report men's deeds of guilt and transgression. On the last day of the moon, the spirit of the Hearth does the same⁵.

'In the case of every man's transgressions, when they are great, twelve years are taken from his term of life; when they are small, a hundred days.

'Transgressions, great and small, are seen in several hundred things. He who wishes to seek for long life⁶ must first avoid these.

¹ This and other passages show how Tâoism pressed astrology into its service.

² The Northern Peck or Bushel is the Chinese name of our constellation of the Great Bear, 'the Chariot of the Supreme Ruler.' The three pairs of stars, ι, κ; λ, μ; ν, ξ, are called the upper, middle, and lower Thái, or 'their three Eminences:'—see Reeves's *Names of Stars and Constellations*, appended to Morrison's *Dictionary*, part ii, vol. i.

³ The Khang-hsî Dictionary simply explains san shîh as 'the name of a spirit;' but the phrase is evidently plural. The names and places of the three spirits are given, and given differently. Why should we look for anything definite and satisfactory in a notion which is merely an absurd superstition?

⁴ Kǎng-shǎn is the name of the fifty-seventh term of the cycle, indicating every fifty-seventh day, or year. Here it indicates the day.

⁵ The name of this spirit of the fire-place is given by commentators with many absurd details which need not be touched on.

⁶ Long life is still the great quest of the Tâoist.

3. 'Is his way right, he should go forward in it; is it wrong, he should withdraw from it.

'He will not tread in devious by-ways; he will not impose on himself in any secret apartment. He will

The way of
a good man.

amass virtue and accumulate deeds of merit. He will feel kindly towards (all) creatures¹. He will be loyal, filial, loving to his younger brothers, and submissive to his elder. He will make himself correct and (so) transform others. He will pity orphans, and compassionate widows; he will respect the old and cherish the young. Even the insect tribes, grass, and trees he should not hurt.

'He ought to pity the malignant tendencies of others; to rejoice over their excellences; to help them in their straits; to rescue them from their perils; to regard their gains as if they were his own, and their losses in the same way; not to publish their shortcomings; not to vaunt his own superiorities; to put a stop to what is evil, and exalt and display what is good; to yield much, and take little for himself; to receive insult without resenting it, and honour with an appearance of apprehension; to bestow favours without seeking for a return, and give to others without any subsequent regret:—this is what is called a good man. All other men respect him; Heaven in its course protects him; happiness and emolument follow him; all evil things keep far from him; the spiritual Intelligences defend him; what he does is sure to succeed²;

¹ In its widest meaning:—Men, creatures, and all living things.

² Here are the happy issues of doing good in addition to long life;—compare the *Táo Teh King*, ch. 50, et al.

he may hope to become Immaterial and Immortal¹.

He who would seek to become an Immortal of Heaven¹ ought to give the proof of 1300 good deeds; and he who would seek to become an Immortal of Earth¹ should give the proof of three hundred.

Happy issues
of his course.

4. 'But if the movements (of a man's heart) are contrary to righteousness, and the (actions of his) conduct are in opposition to reason; if he regard his wickedness as a proof of his ability, and can bear to do what is cruel and injurious; if he secretly harms the honest and good; if he treats with clandestine slight his ruler or parents; if he is disrespectful to his elders and teachers²; if he disregards the authority of those whom he should serve; if he deceives the simple; if he calumniates his fellow-learners; if he vent baseless slanders, practise deception and hypocrisy,

The way of
a bad man.

¹ Here there appears the influence of Buddhism on the doctrine of the Tâo. The *Rîshis* of Buddhism are denoted in Chinese by Hsien Zân (仙人), which, for want of a better term, we translate by 'Immortals.' The famous Nâgârjuna, the fourteenth Buddhist patriarch, counts ten classes of these *Rîshis*, and ascribes to them only a temporary exemption for a million years from transmigration, but Chinese Buddhists and Tâoists view them as absolutely immortal, and distinguish five classes:—first, Deva *Rîshis*, or Heavenly Hsien, residing on the seven concentric rocks round Meru; second, Purusha, or Spirit-like Hsien, roaming through the air; third, Nara, or Human Hsien, dwelling among men; fourth, Bhûmi, or Earth Hsien, residing on earth in caves; and fifth, Preta, or Demon Hsien, roving demons. See Eitel's Handbook to Chinese Buddhism, second edition, p. 130. In this place three out of the five classes are specified, each having its own price in good deeds.

² Literally, 'those born before himself,' but generally used as a designation of teachers.

and attack and expose his kindred by consanguinity and affinity; if he is hard, violent, and without humanity; if he is ruthlessly cruel in taking his own way; if his judgments of right and wrong are incorrect; and his likings and aversions are in despite of what is proper; if he oppresses inferiors, and claims merit (for doing so); courts superiors by gratifying their (evil) desires; receives favours without feeling grateful for them; broods over resentments without ceasing; if he slights and makes no account of Heaven's people¹; if he trouble and throw into disorder the government of the state; bestows rewards on the unrighteous and inflicts punishments on the guiltless; kills men in order to get their wealth, and overthrows men to get their offices; slays those who have surrendered, and massacres those who have made their submission; throws censure on the upright, and overthrows the worthy; maltreats the orphan and oppresses the widow; if he casts the laws aside and receives bribes; holds the right to be wrong and the wrong to be right; enters light offences as heavy; and the sight of an execution makes him more enraged (with the criminal); if he knows his faults and does not change them, or knows what is good and does not do it; throws the guilt of his crimes on others; if he tries to hinder the exercise of an art (for a living); reviles and slanders the sage and worthy; and assails and oppresses (the principles of) reason and virtue²;

¹ A Confucian phrase. See the *Lî K'î*, III, v, 13.

² One is sorry not to see his way to translate here—'Assails and oppresses those who pursue the Táo and its characteristics.' Julien gives for it—'Insulter et traiter avec cruauté ceux qui se livrent à l'étude de la Raison et de la Vertu.' Waters

if he shoots birds and hunts beasts, unearths the burrowing insects and frightens roosting birds, blocks up the dens of animals and overturns nests, hurts the pregnant womb and breaks eggs; if he wishes others to have misfortunes and losses; and defames the merit achieved by others; if he imperils others to secure his own safety; diminishes the property of others to increase his own; exchanges bad things for good¹; and sacrifices the public weal to his private advantage; if he takes credit to himself for the ability of others; conceals the excellences of others; publishes the things discreditable to others; and searches out the private affairs of others; leads others to waste their property and wealth; and causes the separation of near relatives²; encroaches on what others love; and assists others in doing wrong; gives the reins to his will and puts on airs of majesty; puts others to shame in seeking victory for himself; injures or destroys the growing crops of others; and breaks up projected marriages; if becoming rich by improper means makes him proud; and by a peradventure escaping the consequences of his misconduct, he yet feels no shame; if he owns to favours (which he did not confer), and puts off his errors (on others); marries away (his own) calamity to another, and sells (for gain) his own wickedness; purchases for himself empty praise; and keeps hidden dangerous purposes in his heart; detracts from the excel-

has—'Insults and oppresses (those who have attained to the practice of) Truth and Virtue.'

¹ It is a serious mistranslation of this which Mr. Balfour gives:— 'returns evil for good,' as if it were the golden rule in its highest expression.

² Literally, 'separates men's bones and flesh.'

lences of others, and screens his own shortcomings ; if he takes advantage of his dignity to practise intimidation, and indulges his cruelty to kill and wound ; if without cause he (wastes cloth) in clipping and shaping it ; cooks animals for food, when no rites require it ; scatters and throws away the five grains ; and burdens and vexes all living creatures ; if he ruins the families of others, and gets possession of their money and valuables ; admits the water or raises fire in order to injure their dwellings ; if he throws into confusion the established rules in order to defeat the services of others ; and injures the implements of others to deprive them of the things they require to use ; if, seeing others in glory and honour, he wishes them to be banished or degraded ; or seeing them wealthy and prosperous, he wishes them to be broken and scattered ; if he sees a beautiful woman and forms the thought of illicit intercourse with her ; is indebted to men for goods or money, and wishes them to die ; if, when his requests and applications are not complied with, his anger vents itself in imprecations ; if he sees others meeting with misfortune, and begins to speak of their misdeeds ; or seeing them with bodily imperfections he laughs at them ; or when their abilities are worthy of praise, he endeavours to keep them back ; if he buries the image of another to obtain an injurious power over him¹ ; or employs poison to kill trees ; if he is indignant and angry with his instructors ; or opposes and thwarts his

¹ The crimes indicated here are said to have become rife under the Han dynasty, when the arts of sorcery and witchcraft were largely employed to the injury of men.

father and elder brother ; if he takes things by violence or vehemently demands them ; if he loves secretly to pilfer, and openly to snatch ; makes himself rich by plunder and rapine ; or by artifice and deceit seeks for promotion ; if he rewards and punishes unfairly ; if he indulges in idleness and pleasure to excess ; is exacting and oppressive to his inferiors ; and tries to frighten other men ; if he murmurs against Heaven and finds fault with men ; reproaches the wind and reviles the rain ; if he fights and joins in quarrels ; strives and raises litigations ; recklessly hurries to join associate fraternities ; is led by the words of his wife or concubine to disobey the instructions of his parents ; if, on getting what is new, he forgets the old ; and agrees with his mouth, while he dissents in his heart ; if he is covetous and greedy after wealth, and deceives and befools his superiors (to get it) ; if he invents wicked speeches to calumniate and overthrow the innocent ; defames others and calls it being straightforward ; reviles the Spirits and styles himself correct ; if he casts aside what is according to right, and imitates what is against it ; turns his back on his near relatives, and his face to those who are distant ; if he appeals to Heaven and Earth to witness to the mean thoughts of his mind ; or calls in the spiritual Intelligences to mark the filthy affairs of his life ; if he gives and afterwards repents that he has done so ; or borrows and does not return ; if he plans and seeks for what is beyond his lot ; or lays tasks (on people) beyond their strength ; if he indulges his lustful desires without measure ; if there be poison in his heart and mildness in his face ; if he gives others filthy food to eat ; or by corrupt doc-

trines deludes the multitude; if he uses a short cubit, a narrow measure, light weights, and a small pint; mixes spurious articles with the genuine; and (thus) amasses illicit gain; if he degrades (children or others of) decent condition to mean positions; or deceives and ensnares simple people; if he is insatiably covetous and greedy; tries by oaths and imprecations to prove himself correct; and in his liking for drink is rude and disorderly; if he quarrels angrily with his nearest relatives; and as a man he is not loyal and honourable; if a woman is not gentle and obedient; if (the husband) is not harmonious with his wife; if the wife does not reverence her husband; if he is always fond of boasting and bragging; if she is constantly jealous and envious; if he is guilty of improper conduct to his wife or sons; if she fails to behave properly to her parents-in-law; if he treats with slight and disrespect the spirits of his ancestors; if he opposes and rebels against the charge of his sovereign; if he occupies himself in doing what is of no use; and cherishes and keeps concealed a purpose other than what appears; if he utter imprecations against himself and against others (in the assertion of his innocence)¹; or is partial in his likes and dislikes; if he strides over the well or the hearth; leaps over the food, or over a man²; kills newly-born children or brings about abortions³; if he does many actions of secret depravity; if he sings and dances on the

¹ The one illustrative story given by Julien under this clause shows clearly that I have rightly supplemented it. He translates it:—*'Faire des imprécations contre soi-même et contre les autres.'*

² Trifling acts and villainous crimes are here mixed together.

last day of the moon or of the year; bawls out or gets angry on the first day of the moon or in the early dawn; weeps, spits, or urinates, when fronting the north; sighs, sings, or wails, when fronting the fire-place; and moreover, if he takes fire from the hearth to burn incense; or uses dirty firewood to cook with; if he rises at night and shows his person naked; if at the eight terms of the year¹ he inflicts punishments; if he spits at a shooting star; points at a rainbow; suddenly points to the three luminaries; looks long at the sun and moon; in the months of spring burns the thickets in hunting; with his face to the north angrily reviles others; and without reason kills tortoises and smites snakes²:—

‘In the case of crimes such as these, (the Spirits) presiding over the Life, according to their lightness or gravity, take away the culprit’s periods of twelve years or of one hundred days. When his term of life is exhausted, death ensues. If at death there remains guilt unpunished, judgment extends to his posterity³.

¹ The commencements of the four seasons, the equinoxes and solstices.

² Many of the deeds condemned in this long paragraph have a ground of reason for their condemnation; others are merely offences against prevailing superstitions.

³ The principle enunciated here is very ancient in the history of the ethical teaching of China. It appears in one of the Appendixes to the *Yî King* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xvi, p. 419), ‘The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness; the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery.’ We know also that the same view prevailed in the time of Confucius, though the sage himself does not expressly sanction it. This Tractate does not go for the issues of Retribution beyond the present life.

5. 'Moreover, when parties by wrong and violence take the money of others, an account is taken, and set against its amount, of their wives and children, and all the members of their families, when these gradually die. If they do not die, there are the disasters from water, fire, thieves, and robbers, from losses of property, illnesses, and (evil) tongues to balance the value of their wicked appropriations¹. Further, those who wrongfully kill men are (only) putting their weapons into the hands of others who will in their turn kill them².

Conclusion of
the whole
matter.

'To take to one's self unrighteous wealth is like satisfying one's hunger with putrid food³, or one's thirst with poisoned wine. It gives a temporary relief, indeed, but death also follows it.

'Now when the thought of doing good has arisen in a man's mind, though the good be not yet done, the good Spirits are in attendance on him. Or, if the thought of doing evil has arisen, though the evil be not yet done, the bad Spirits are in attendance on him.

'If one have, indeed, done deeds of wickedness, but afterwards alters his way and repents, resolved not to do anything wicked, but to practise reverently

¹ These sentences are rather weak. Nothing is said of any recompense to the parties who have been robbed. The thief is punished by the death of others, or the loss of property.

² A somewhat perplexing sentence. Julien gives for it:—'*Ceux qui font périr des hommes innocens ressemblent à des ennemis qui échangent leurs armes et se tuent les uns les autres*;' and Watters:—'*Those who put others to death wrongly are like men who exchange arms and slay each other.*'

³ Literally, 'soaked food that has been spoiled by dripping water.'

all that is good, he is sure in the long-run to obtain good fortune :—this is called changing calamity into blessing. Therefore the good man speaks what is good, contemplates what is good, and does what is good ; every day he has these three virtues :—at the end of three years Heaven is sure to send down blessing on him ¹. The bad man speaks what is wicked, contemplates what is wicked, and does what is wicked ; every day he has these three vices :—at the end of three years, Heaven is sure to send down misery on him ¹.—How is it that men will not exert themselves to do what is good ?'

¹ The effect of repentance and reformation is well set forth ; but the specification of three years, as the period within which the recompense or retribution will occur, is again an indication of the weakness in this concluding paragraph.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I.

Khing Kǎng King, or 'The Classic of Purity¹.'

So I must translate the title of this brochure, as it appears in the 'Collection of the Most Important Treatises of the Táoist Fathers' (vol. xxxix, p. xvii), in which alone I have had an opportunity of perusing and studying the Text. The name, as given by Wylie (Notes, p. 178), Balfour (Táoist Texts), and Faber (China Review, vol. xiii, p. 246), is *Khing King King*², and signifies 'The Classic of Purity and Rest.' The difference is in the second character, but both *Khing Kǎng* and *Khing King* are well-known combinations in Táoist writings; and it will be seen, as the translation of the Text is pursued, that neither of them is unsuitable as the title of the little Book.

It is, as Dr. Faber says, one of the 'mystical canons' of Táoism; but the mysticism of Táoism is of a nature peculiar to itself, and different from any mental exercises which have been called by that name in connexion with Christianity or Mohammedanism. It is more vague and shadowy than any theosophy or Sûfism, just as the idea of the Táo differs from the apprehension of a personal God, however uncertain and indefinite that apprehension may be. Mr. Wylie says the work 'treats under very moderate limits of the subjection of the mental faculties.' This indeed is the consummation to which it conducts the student; a

清淨經.

清靜經.

condition corresponding to the nothingness which Láo-ze contended for as antecedent to all positive existence, and out of which he said that all existing being came, though he does not indicate how.

I give to the Treatise the first place among our appendixes here because of the early origin ascribed to it. It is attributed to Ko Yüan (or Hsüan)¹, a Taoist of the Wü dynasty (A. D. 222-277), who is fabled to have attained to the state of an Immortal, and is generally so denominated². He is represented as a worker of miracles; as addicted to intemperance, and very eccentric in his ways. When shipwrecked on one occasion, he emerged from beneath the water with his clothes unwet, and walked freely on its surface. Finally he ascended to the sky in bright day³. All these accounts may safely be put down as the figments of a later time.

It will be seen that the Text ascribes the work to Láo-ze himself, and I find it impossible to accept the account of its origin which is assigned by Lî Hsi-yüeh to Ko Hsüan. As quoted by Lî in the first of some notes subjoined to his Commentary, Ko is made to say, 'When I obtained the true Táo, I had recited this *K'ing* ten thousand times. It is what the Spirits of heaven practise, and had not been communicated to scholars of this lower world. I got it from the Divine Ruler of the eastern Hwa; he received it from the Divine Ruler of the Golden Gate; he received it from the Royal-mother of the West. In all these cases it was transmitted from mouth to mouth, and was not committed to writing. I now, while I am in the world, have written it out in a book. Scholars of the highest order, understanding it, ascend and become officials of Heaven; those of the middle order, cultivating it, are ranked among the Immortals of the Southern Palace; those of the lowest order, possessing it, get long years of life in the world, roam

¹ 葛元 or 葛玄.

² 葛仙公.

³ See the Accounts of Ko in the Biographical Dictionary of Hsiáo K'ih-han (1793), and Wang K'ü's supplement to the great work of Mâ Twan-lin, ch. 242.

through the Three Regions¹, and (finally) ascend to, and enter, the Golden Gate.'

This quotation would seem to be taken from the preface to our little classic by Ho Hsüan. If there were indeed such a preface during the time of the Wû dynasty, the corruption of the old Tâoism must have been rapid. The Hsi Wang-mû, or Royal-mother of the West, is mentioned once in *Kwang-ze* (Bk. VI, par. 7); but no 'Divine Ruler' disfigures his pages. Every reader must feel that in the *Classic of Purity* he has got into a different region of thought from that which he has traversed in the *Tâo Teh King* and in the writings of *Kwang-ze*.

With these remarks I now proceed to the translation and explanation of the text of our *King*.

Ch. 1. 1. Lâo the Master¹ said, The Great² Tâo has no bodily form, but It produced and nourishes heaven and earth³. The Great Tâo has no passions⁴, but It causes the sun and moon to revolve as they do.

The Great² Tâo has no name⁵, but It effects the growth and maintenance of all things³.

I do not know its name, but I make an effort, and call It the Tâo⁶.

¹ The name here is Lâo Kün (老君). I have stated (vol. xxxix, p. 40) that, with the addition of Thâi Shang, this is the common designation of Lâo-ze as the Father of Tâoism and deifying him, and that it originated probably in the Thang dynasty. It might seem to be used simply here by Ko Hsüan with the same high application; and since in his preface he refers to different 'Divine Rulers,' it may be contended that we ought to translate Lâo Kün by 'Lâo the Ruler.' But I am unwilling to think that the deification of Lâo-ze

¹ 'The three regions (三界)' here can hardly be the trilokya of the Buddhists, the ethical categories of desire, form, and formlessness. They are more akin to the Brahmanic bhuvanatraya, the physical or cosmological categories of bhûr or earth, bhuvaḥ or heaven, and svar or atmosphere.

had taken place so early. The earliest occurrence of the combination *Láo Kün* which has attracted my notice is in the history of Khung Yung, a descendant of Confucius in the twentieth generation,—the same who is celebrated in the *San 3ze King*, for his fraternal deference at the age of four, and who met with a violent death in A. D. 208. While still only a boy, wishing to obtain an interview with a representative of the *Láo* family, he sent in this message to him, 'My honoured predecessor and the honoured *Láo*, the predecessor of your *Lî* family, equally virtuous and righteous, were friends and teachers of each other.' The epithet *Kün* is equally applied to Confucius and *Láo-3ze*, and the combination *Láo Kün* implies no exaltation of the latter above the other.

² See *Táo Teh King*, chaps. 18, 25, 53.

³ *T. T. K.*, chaps. 1, 51, et al.

⁴ See *Kwang-3ze*, Bk. II, par. 2. 'Passions,' that is, feelings, affections; as in the first of the thirty-nine Articles.

⁵ *T. T. K.*, chaps. 1, 25, 32, 51.

⁶ *T. T. K.*, ch. 25.

2. Now, the *Táo* (shows itself in two forms); the Pure and the Turbid, and has (the two conditions of) Motion and Rest¹. Heaven is pure and earth is turbid; heaven moves and earth is at rest. The masculine is pure and the feminine is turbid; the masculine moves and the feminine is still². The radical (Purity) descended, and the (turbid) issue flowed abroad; and thus all things were produced¹.

The pure is the source of the turbid, and motion is the foundation of rest.

If man could always be pure and still, heaven and earth would both revert (to non-existence)³.

¹ This paragraph is intended to set forth 'the production of all things;' but it does so in a way that is hardly intelligible. Comparing what is said here with the utterances in the former paragraph, *Táo* would seem to be used in two

senses; first as an Immaterial Power or Force, and next as the Material Substance, out of which all things come. Lî Hsi-yüeh says that in the first member of par. 1 we have 'the Unlimited (or Infinite) producing the Grand (or Primal) Finite.' On the Táo in par. 2 he says nothing. The fact is that the subject of creation in the deepest sense of the name is too high for the human mind.

² Compare T. T. K., ch. 61.

³ I do not understand this, but I cannot translate the Text otherwise. Mr. Balfour has:—'If a man is able to remain pure and motionless, Heaven and Earth will both at once come and dwell in him.' Lî explains thus:—天清地靜一齊返入於無矣. Compare T. T. K., ch. 16, and especially Ho-shang Kung's title to it,—歸根.

3. Now the spirit of man loves Purity, but his mind¹ disturbs it. The mind of man loves stillness, but his desires draw it away¹. If he could always send his desires away, his mind would of itself become still. Let his mind be made clean, and his spirit will of itself become pure.

As a matter of course the six desires² will not arise, and the three poisons³ will be taken away and disappear.

¹ Táoism thus recognises in man the spirit, the mind, and the body.

² 'The six desires' are those which have their inlets in the eyes, ears, nostrils, the tongue, the sense of touch, and the imagination. The two last are expressed in Chinese by shān, 'the body,' and í, 'the idea, or thought.'

³ 'The three poisons' are greed, anger, and stupidity;—see the Khang-hsi Thesaurus, under 毒.

4. The reason why men are not able to attain to this, is because their minds have not been cleansed, and their desires have not been sent away.

If one is able to send the desires away, when he then looks in at his mind, it is no longer his; when he looks out at his body, it is no longer his; and when he looks farther off at external things, they are things which he has nothing to do with.

When he understands these three things, there will appear to him only vacancy. This contemplation of vacancy will awaken the idea of vacuity. Without such vacuity there is no vacancy.

The idea of vacuous space having vanished, that of nothingness itself also disappears; and when the idea of nothingness has disappeared, there ensues serenely the condition of constant stillness.

In this paragraph we have what Mr. Wylie calls 'the subjection of the mental faculties;' and I must confess myself unable to understand what it is. It is probably another way of describing the Táoist trance which we find once and again in *K'wang-¿ze*, 'when the body becomes like a withered tree, and the mind like slaked lime' (Bk. II, par. 1, et al.). But such a sublimation of the being, as the characteristic of its serene stillness and rest, is to me inconceivable.

5. In that condition of rest independently of place how can any desire arise? And when no desire any longer arises, there is the True stillness and rest.

That True (stillness) becomes (a) constant quality, and responds to external things (without error); yea, that True and Constant quality holds possession of the nature.

In such constant response and constant stillness there is the constant Purity and Rest.

He who has this absolute Purity enters gradually into the (inspiration of the) True Táo. And

having entered thereinto, he is styled Possessor of the T'ao.

Although he is styled Possessor of the T'ao, in reality he does not think that he has become possessed of anything. It is as accomplishing the transformation of all living things, that he is styled Possessor of the T'ao.

He who is able to understand this may transmit to others the Sacred T'ao.

This is the consummation of the state of Purity. In explaining the former sentence of the fifth member, Lî Hsî-yüeh uses the characters of T. T. K., ch. 4, 道冲而用之或不盈, with some variation, 一冲而用之, 不自满假.

2. 1. L'ao the Master said, Scholars of the highest class do not strive (for anything); those of the lowest class are fond of striving¹. Those who possess in the highest degree the attributes (of the T'ao) do not show them; those who possess them in a low degree hold them fast (and display them)². Those who so hold them fast and display them are not styled (Possessors of) the T'ao and Its attributes².

¹ Compare the T. T. K., ch. 41, 1.

² Compare the T. T. K., ch. 38, 1.

2. The reason why all men do not obtain the True T'ao is because their minds are perverted. Their minds being perverted, their spirits become perturbed. Their minds being perturbed, they are attracted towards external things. Being attracted towards external things, they begin to seek for them greedily. This greedy quest leads to perplexities and annoyances; and these again result in disordered

thoughts, which cause anxiety and trouble to both body and mind. The parties then meet with foul disgraces, flow wildly on through the phases of life and death, are liable constantly to sink in the sea of bitterness, and for ever lose the True Táo.

3. The True and Abiding Táo! They who understand it naturally obtain it. And they who come to understand the Táo abide in Purity and Stillness.

Our brief Classic thus concludes, and our commentator Lî thus sums up his remarks on it:—‘The men who understand the Táo do so simply by means of the Absolute Purity, and the acquiring this Absolute Purity depends entirely on the Putting away of Desire, which is the urgent practical lesson of the Treatise.’

I quoted in my introductory remarks Lî’s account of the origin of the Classic by its reputed author Ko Hsüan. I will now conclude with the words which he subjoins from ‘a True Man, 3o Hsüan:’—‘Students of the Táo, who keep this Classic in their hands and croon over its contents, will get good Spirits from the ten heavens to watch over and protect their bodies, after which their spirits will be preserved by the seal of jade, and their bodies refined by the elixir of gold. Both body and spirit will become exquisitely ethereal, and be in true union with the Táo!’

Of this ‘True Man, 3o Hsüan,’ I have not been able to ascertain anything. The Divine Ruler of the eastern Hwa, referred to on p. 248, is mentioned in the work of Wang K’i (ch. 241, p. 21^b), but with no definite information about him. The author says his surname was Wang, but he knows neither his name nor when he lived.

APPENDIX II.

Yin Fû King, or 'Classic of the Harmony of the Seen and the Unseen.'

In the *K'ien-lung* Catalogue of the Imperial Library, ch. 146, Part iii, this Book occupies the first place among all Tâoist works, with three notices, which all precede the account of Ho-shang Kung's Commentary on the Tâo Teh King. From the work of Lâo-ze we are conducted along the course of Tâoist literature to the year 1626, when the catalogue of what is called 'the Tâoist Canon'¹ appeared. Ch. 147 then returns to the Yin Fû King, and treats of nine other works upon it, the last being the Commentary of Lî Kwang-lî, one of the principal ministers and great scholars in the time of *K'ien-lung*'s grandfather, known as Khang-hsî from the name of his reign.

In the first of these many notices it is said that the preface of an old copy assigns the composition of the work to Hwang-Tî (in the 27th century B.C.), and says that commentaries on it had been made by Thâi-kung (12th century B.C.), Fan Lî (5th century B.C.), the Recluse of the Kwei Valley (4th century B.C.), Kang Liang (died B.C. 189), Kû Ko Liang (A. D. 181-234), and Lî K'wan of the Thang dynasty (about the middle of our 8th century)². Some writers, going back to the time of Hwang-Tî for the composition of our small classic, attribute it not to that sovereign himself, but to his teacher Kwang K'ăng-ze³;

¹ 道藏目錄詳註.

² See also Mâ Twan-lin's great work, ch. 211, p. 18^a.

³ See Kwang-ze, Bk. XI, par. 4.

and many of them hold that this Kwang *Kháng-jze* was an early incarnation of *Láo-jze* himself, so that the *Yin Fû* might well be placed before the *Táo Teh King*! *Lî Hsi-yüeh* is one of the scholars who adopt this view.

I will not say that under the *Káu* dynasty there was no book called *Yin Fû*, with a commentary ascribed to *Thái-kung*¹, for *Sze-mâ Khien*, in his biography of *Sû Khin* (Bk. lxi), relates how that adventurer obtained 'the *Yin Fû* book of *Káu*,' and a passage in the 'Plans of the Warring States' tells us that the book contained 'the schemes of *Thái-kung*¹.' However this may have been, no such work is now extant. Of all the old commentaries on it mentioned in the *Khien-lung* Catalogue, the only one remaining is the last,—that of *Lî Khwan*; and the account which we have of it is not to be readily accepted and relied on.

The story goes that in A. D. 441 *Khâu Khien-kih*, who had usurped the dignity and title of Patriarch from the *Kang* family, deposited a copy of the *Yin Fû King* in a mountain cave. There it remained for about three centuries and a half, till it was discovered by *Lî Khwan*, a Taoist scholar, not a little damaged by its long exposure. He copied it out as well as he could, but could not understand it, till at last, wandering in the distant West, he met with an old woman, who made the meaning clear to him, at the foot of mount *Lî*; after which he published the Text with a Commentary, and finally died, a wanderer among the hills in quest of the *Táo*; but the place of his death was never known².

The Classic, as it now exists, therefore cannot be traced higher than our eighth century; and many critics hold that, as the commentary was made by *Lî Khwan*, so the text was forged by him. All that *Hsi-yüeh* has to say in reply to this is that, if the classic be the work of *Lî Khwan*, then

¹ See the *Khang-hsî* Thesaurus under the combination *Yin Fû*.

² See the account of *Lî Khwan* in Wang *Khi*'s continuation of *Mâ Twan-lin*'s work, ch. 242; and various items in the *Khien-lung* Catalogue.

he must think of him as another Kwang *Khǎng-ze*; but this is no answer to the charge of forgery.

As to the name of the Treatise, the force of *Fû* has been set forth in vol. xxxix, p. 133, in connexion with the title of *Kwang-ze's* fifth Book. The meaning which I have given of the whole is substantially that of *Lî Hsî-yüeh*, who says that the Yin must be understood as including Yang, and grounds his criticism on the famous dictum in the Great Appendix to the *Yi King* (vol. xvi, p. 355), 'The successive movement of the Yin and Yang (their rest and active operation) constitutes what is called the course (of things).' Mr. Balfour translates the title by 'The Clue to the Unseen,' which is ingenious, but may be misleading. The writer reasons rather from the Unseen to the Seen than from the Seen to the Unseen.

Mr. Wylie gives his view of the object of the Treatise in these words:—'This short Treatise, which is not entirely free from the obscurity of Tâoist mysticism, professes to reconcile the decrees of Heaven with the current of mundane affairs.' To what extent the Book does this, and whether successfully or not, the reader will be able to judge for himself from the translation which will be immediately subjoined. *Lî Hsî-yüeh*, looking at it simply from its practical object, pronounces it '*hsiû lien kîh Shû*, a Book of culture and refining¹.' This language suggests the idea of a Tâoist devotee, who has sublimated himself by the study of this Book till he is ready to pass into the state of an Immortal. I must be permitted to say, however, that the whole Treatise appears to me to have come down to us in a fragmentary condition, with passages that are incapable of any satisfactory explanation.

Ch. 1. 1. If one observes the Way of Heaven¹, and maintains Its doings (as his own)², all that he has to do is accomplished.

¹ Dr. Williams explains '*hsiû lien* (修鍊 or 修煉)' as meaning 'becoming religious, as a recluse or ascetic.'

¹ To explain 'the Way of Heaven,' Lî Hsi-yüeh adduces the last sentence of the T. T. K., ch. 9, 'When the work is done, and one's name has become distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the Way of Heaven.'

² To explain 'the doings of Heaven,' he adduces the first paragraph of the symbolism of the first hexagram of the Yî, 'Heaven in its motion gives the idea of strength. In accordance with this, the superior man nerves himself to ceaseless activity.'

2. To Heaven there belong the five (mutual) foes¹, and he who sees them (and understands their operation) apprehends how they produce prosperity. The same five foes are in the mind of man, and when he can set them in action after the manner of Heaven, all space and time are at his disposal, and all things receive their transformations from his person².

¹ The startling name thieves (= foes, robbers) here is understood to mean the 'five elements,' which pervade and indeed make up the whole realm of nature, the heaven of the text including also earth, the other term in the binomial combination of 'heaven and earth.' According to the Taoist teaching, the element of Earth generates Metal, and overcomes Water; Metal generates Water, and overcomes Wood; Water generates Wood, and overcomes Fire; Wood generates Fire, and overcomes Earth. These elements fight and strive together, now overcoming, now overcome, till by such interaction a harmony of their influences arises, and production goes on with vigour and beauty.

² It is more difficult to give an account of the operation of the five elements in the mind of man, though I have seen them distributed among the five viscera, and the five virtues of Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Knowledge, and Faith. Granting, however, their presence and operation in the mind, what shall be said on the two concluding members of the paragraph? There underlies them

the doctrine of the three coordinate Powers;—Heaven, Earth, and Man, which I have never been able to comprehend clearly.

3. The nature of Heaven belongs (also) to Man; the mind of Man is a spring (of power). When the Way of Heaven is established, the (Course of) Man is thereby determined.

These short and enigmatic sentences seem merely to affirm the general subject of the Treatise,—the harmony between the unseen and the seen.

4. When Heaven puts forth its power of putting to death, the stars and constellations lie hidden in darkness. When Earth puts forth its power of putting to death, dragons and serpents appear on the dry ground. When Man puts forth his power of putting to death, Heaven and Earth resume their (proper course). When Heaven and Man exert their powers in concert, all transformations have their commencements determined.

'The power of putting to death here' seems merely to indicate the 'rest' which succeeds to movement. The paragraph is intended to show us the harmony of the Three Powers, but one only sees its meaning darkly. The language of the third sentence about the influence of Man on Heaven and Earth finds its explanation from the phraseology of the *thwan* of the twenty-fourth hexagram of the *Yi* (vol. xvi, pp. 107, 108).

5. The nature (of man) is here clever and there stupid; and the one of these qualities may lie hidden in the other. The abuse of the nine apertures is (chiefly) in the three most important, which may be now in movement and now at rest. When fire arises in wood, the evil, having once begun, is sure to go on to the destruction of the wood. When

calamity arises in a state, if thereafter movement ensue, it is sure to go to ruin.

When one conducts the work of culture and refining wisely we call him a Sage.

The constitution of man is twofold ;—his mental constitution, quiet and restful, and his physical constitution, restless and fond of movement. The nine apertures are the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and the lower parts, and of these the eyes, ears, and mouth are the most important ; but they all need to be kept in subjection and under restraint. If indulged beyond reason, the ruin of themselves and of the mind and body to which they belong is sure to ensue.

2. 1. For Heaven now to give life and now to take it away is the method of the T'ao. Heaven and Earth are the despoilers of all things ; all things are the despoilers of Man ; and Man is the despoiler of all things. When the three despoilers act as they ought to do, as the three Powers, they are at rest. Hence it is said, 'During the time of nourishment, all the members are properly regulated ; when the springs of motion come into play, all transformations quietly take place.'

Compare ch. I, par. 2. The mutual contention of the five elements in nature only conduces to the nourishment of all its parts ; and so man, as one of the three Powers, consumes only to increase his store, and throws down only to build up.

Where the concluding quotation is taken from is not known. Of course any quotation is inconsistent with the idea of the early origin of the Treatise.

2. Men know the mysteriousness of the Spirit's (action), but they do not know how what is not Spiritual comes to be so. The sun and moon have their definite times, and their exact measures as

large and small. The service of the sages here-upon arises, and the spiritual intelligence becomes apparent.

Compare par. 10 in the fifth Appendix to the *Yi King*.

3. The spring by which the despoilers are moved is invisible and unknown to all under the sky. When the superior man has got it, he strengthens his body by it; when the small man has got it, he makes light of his life.

The thing is good in itself, but its effect will be according to the character of its user, and of the use which is made of it.

3. 1. The blind hear well, and the deaf see well. To derive all that is advantageous from one source is ten times better than the employment of a host; to do this thrice in a day and night is a myriad times better.

That the loss of one sense may be in a manner compensated for by the greater cultivation of another,—in the case especially of the two senses specified,—is a fact; but I fail to perceive how this is illustrated by what follows in the rest of the paragraph. The illustration is taken from the seventh of the hexagrams in the *Yi*, but I have not discovered the nexus of it in the text of that classic or in the Appendixes on the *thwan* or *hsiang* of the hexagram.

It must be from this paragraph that the bearing of the *Treatise on the conduct of military operations* has been maintained.

2. The mind is quickened (to activity) by (external) things, and dies through (excessive pursuit of) them. The spring (of the mind's activity) is in the eyes.

Heaven has no (special feeling of) kindness, but so it is that the greatest kindness comes from It.

The crash of thunder and the blustering wind both come without design.

Mr. Balfour translates the first member here by—'The mind is produced from matter and dies with matter; the working faculty is in the eye;' and says that it embodies a bold denial of any future life, or the existence of spirit, apart from matter. The meaning of the Text, however, is only what I have given;—is moral and not metaphysical. The eye is singled out from the three most important apertures of the body in ch. I, par. 5.

The rest of the paragraph has its parallelisms in *Lão-ze* and *Kwang-ze*.

3. Perfect enjoyment is the overflowing satisfaction of the nature. Perfect stillness is the entire disinterestedness of it. When Heaven seems to be most wrapt up in Itself, Its operation is universal in its character.

A sequel to the preceding paragraph. *Lî Hsi-yüeh* observes that the having no feeling of kindness is equivalent to *Lão-ze*'s 'doing nothing.' See the *T. T. K.*, ch. 35, 'The *Táo* does nothing, and so there is nothing which It does not do.'

4. It is by its breath that we control whatever creature we grasp. Life is the root of death, and death is the root of life. Kindness springs from injury, and injury springs from kindness. He who sinks himself in water or enters amidst fire brings destruction on himself.

The first member of this paragraph is very difficult to construe. Mr. Balfour gives for it:—'The Laws affecting the animal creation reside in the Breath or Vital Fluid.' The first character of it properly denotes 'birds.' It is often found with another denoting 'quadrupeds;' and again it is found alone denoting both birds and beasts. It is also interchanged with another of the same name, denoting 'to

seize or grasp,' in which meaning I have taken it ; but the bearing of the saying on the general meaning of the Treatise I have not apprehended.

The next four sayings are illustrations of Láo-¿ze's 'contraries' of Táoism. The final saying is a truism ;— is it introduced here as illustrating that whatever is done with design is contrary to the Táo?

5. The stupid man by studying the phenomena and laws of heaven and earth becomes sage ; I by studying their times and productions become intelligent. He in his stupidity is perplexed about sageness ; I in my freedom from stupidity am the same. He considers his sageness as being an extraordinary attainment ; I do not consider mine so.

Some scholars have expunged this paragraph as not being genuine ; it is certainly difficult to construe and to understand.

6. The method of spontaneity proceeds in stillness, and so it was that heaven, earth, and all things were produced. The method of heaven and earth proceeds gently and gradually, and thus it is that the Yin and Yang overcome (each other by turns). The one takes the place of the other, and so change and transformation proceed accordingly.

K'ü Hsí praises this paragraph as very good, and the use of the character 3in ('proceeds gently and gradually') as exquisite. After all, what do we learn from it? That Creation proceeded without striving or crying? And that the same Creative Power continues to act in the same way?

7. Therefore the sages, knowing that the method of spontaneity cannot be resisted, take action accordingly and regulate it (for the purpose of culture). The way of perfect stillness cannot be subjected to numerical calculations ; but it would seem that there

is a wonderful machinery, by which all the heavenly bodies are produced, the eight diagrams, and the sexagenary cycle; spirit-like springs of power, and hidden ghostlinesses; the arts of the Yin and Yang in the victories of the one over the other:—all these come brightly forward into visibility.

I cannot say that I fully understand this concluding paragraph of the Yin Fû King. One thing is plain from it,—how the Yî King was pressed into the service of the Tāoism that prevailed when it was written. I leave it with the judgment on it, quoted by Lî Hsî-yüeh from a Lû 3hien-hsü. 'The subject-matter of the Yin Fû and Tāo Teh is all intended to set forth the action by contraries of the despoiling powers in nature and society. As to finding in them directions for the government of states, the conduct of war, and the mastery of the kingdom, with such expressions as those about a wonderful machinery by which the heavenly bodies are produced, the eight diagrams, the cycle, spirit-like springs, and hidden ghostlinesses:—they all have a deep meaning, but men do not know it. They who go to the Yin Fû for direction in war and use Lāo-ṣze for guidance in government go far astray from the meaning of both.'

APPENDIX III.

Yü Shû King, or 'The Classic of the Pivot of Jade.'

Mr. Wylie says (Notes, p. 179) that the Pivot of Jade is much used in the ritual services of Tâoism, meaning that it is frequently read in the assemblies of its monks. The object of the Treatise, according to Lî Hsi-yüeh, is 'to teach men to discipline and refine their spirit;' and he illustrates the name by referring to the North Star, which is called 'the Pivot of the Sky,' revolving in its place, and carrying round with it all the other heavenly bodies. So the body of man is carried round his spirit and by it, and when the spirit has been disciplined and refined, till it is freed from every obscuring influence, and becomes solid, soft, and strong as jade, the name, 'the Pivot of Jade,' is appropriate to it.

The name of the Treatise, when given at full length, is—'The True Classic of the Pivot of Jade, delivered by the Heaven-Honoured One, Who produces Universal Transformation by the Sound of His Thunder.' To this personage, as Wylie observes, the Tâoists attribute a fabulous antiquity, but there is little doubt that the author was a Hsüan-yang 3ze, about the time of the Yüan dynasty (A. D. 1280-1367). From the work of Wang K'î (ch. 243), we learn that this Hsüan-yang 3ze was the denomination of Âu-yang Yü-yüen, a scion of the famous Âu-yang family. What he says is to the following effect:—

1. The Heaven-honoured One says, 'All you, Heaven-endowed men, who wish to be instructed \

about the Perfect Táo, the Perfect Táo is very recondite, and by nothing else but Itself can it be described. Since ye wish to hear about it, ye cannot do so by the hearing of the ear :—that which eludes both the ears and eyes is the True Táo ; what can be heard and seen perishes, and only this survives. There is (much) that you have not yet learned, and especially you have not acquired this ! Till you have learned what the ears do not hear, how can the Táo be spoken about at all ?’

‘Heaven-honoured (Thien 3un)’ is a title given by the Táoists to the highest objects of their reverence and worship. Chalmers translates it by ‘Celestial Excellency,’ and observes that it is given to ‘all the Three Pure Ones ;’ but its application is much more extensive, as its use in this Treatise sufficiently proves. No doubt it was first adopted after the example of the Buddhists, by whom Buddha is styled ‘World-honoured,’ or ‘Ever-honoured’ (Shih 3un).

The phrase Thien Zăn, which I have translated here ‘Heaven-endowed Men,’ is common to the three religions of China ; but the meaning of it is very different in each. See the Confucian and the Táoist significations of it in the Khang-hsi Thesaurus, under the phrase. Here it means ‘the men possessed by the Táo ;—Táo-Zăn of the highest class.’ In a Buddhist treatise the meaning would be ‘Ye, devas and men.’

2. The Heaven-honoured One says, ‘Sincerity is the first step towards (the knowledge of) the Táo ; it is by silence that that knowledge is maintained ; it is with gentleness that (the Táo) is employed. The employment of sincerity looks like stupidity ; the employment of silence looks like difficulty of utterance ; the employment of gentleness looks like want of ability. But having attained to this, you may

forget all bodily form ; you may forget your personality ; you may forget that you are forgetting.'

'All this,' says Lî Hst-yüeh, 'is the achievement of vacuity, an illustration of the freedom from purpose which is characteristic of the Táo.' Compare par. 14 in the sixth Book of *Kwang-ïze*.

3. 'He who has taken the first steps towards (the knowledge of) the Táo knows where to stop ; he who maintains the Táo in himself knows how to be diligently vigilant ; he who employs It knows what is most subtle.

'When one knows what is most subtle, the light of intelligence grows (around him) ; when he can know how to be diligently vigilant, his sage wisdom becomes complete ; when he knows where to stop, he is grandly composed and restful.

'When he is grandly composed and restful, his sage wisdom becomes complete ; when his sage wisdom becomes complete, the light of intelligence grows (around him) ; when the light of intelligence grows around him, he is one with the Táo.

'This is the condition which is styled the True Forgetfulness ;—a forgetting which does not forget ; a forgetting of what cannot be forgotten.

'That which cannot be forgotten is the True Táo. The Táo is in heaven and earth, but heaven and earth are not conscious of It. Whether It seem to have feelings or to be without them, It is (always) one and the same.'

4. The Heaven-honoured One says, 'While I am in this world, what shall I do to benefit life ? I occupy myself with this subtle and precious Treatise for the good of you, Heaven-endowed men. Those

who understand it will be allowed to ascend to the happy seats of the Immortals.

‘Students of the Táo believe that there are (the influences of) the ether and of destiny. But the (conditions of) climate being different, the constitutions received by men are naturally different, and hence they are ascribed to the ether. And the (conditions of) wisdom and stupidity being different, their constitutions as fine and coarse are naturally different, and hence they are ascribed to the destiny. The destiny depends on fate; the ether depends on Heaven.

‘The restraints arising from the ether and destiny are the manacles decreed by Heaven. But if one acquire the True Táo, though stupid, he may become wise; though coarse, he may become fine;—if there only be the decree of fate.

‘Stupidity the darkest, and coarseness the densest, are consequences of climate; but the suffering of them and the changing of them may take place, when Heaven and Earth quicken the motive spring. When this is done without the knowledge of men, it is said to take place spontaneously. If it be done with a consciousness of that want of knowledge, it is still said to take place spontaneously. The mystery of spontaneity is greater than that of knowledge; but how it comes to be what it is remains a thing unknown. But as to the Táo, It has not begun to come under the influence of what makes stupid and coarse. Hear this all ye Heaven (-endowed) men; and let all the multitude in all quarters rejoice.’

It may be considered as a proof of the difficulty of the Text that to this long paragraph Lî Hsi-yüeh does not subjoin a single explanatory remark.

APPENDIX IV.

Zăh Yung King, or 'Classic of the Directory for a Day.'

I have nowhere found any mention of the author of this brief composition, or of its date. The use of Buddhistic expressions in it shows that it cannot have had a very early origin. It belongs to the same category of Tăoist writings as the *Kking Kăng King*, which is the first of these appendixes. *Lî Hsi-yüeh* says, 'The Treatise is called "the Directory for a Day," as showing that during all the hours (the *Tăo*) should not be left for a single instant (comp. the words of Confucius at the beginning of the *Kung Yung*). Let the work be done, and there is sure to be the result promised; only there must be the Purity insisted on both of body and mind. In the second paragraph it is said, "During the twelve hours of the day let the thoughts be constantly fixed on absolute Purity;" and in the last paragraph, "During the twelve hours be always pure and undefiled;"—thus showing what the main teaching of the Great Tăoistic system is, and the pre-eminent place which Purity occupies in the "Directory for a Day." The style is so clear and simple that I have left it without note or comment.'

1. As to what should be done in a day, when the eating and drinking has been arranged, let one sit straight with his mouth shut, and not allow a single thought to arise in his mind. Let him forget everything, and keep his spirit with settled purpose. Let

his lips be glued together, and his teeth be firmly pressed against one another. Let him not look at anything with his eyes, nor listen to a single sound with his ears. Let him with all his mind watch over his inward feelings. Let him draw long breaths, and gradually emit them, without a break, now seeming to breathe, and now not. In this way any excitement of the mind will naturally disappear, the water from the kidneys will rise up, the saliva will be produced in the mouth, and the real efficaciousness becomes attached to the body. It is thus that one acquires the way of prolonging life.

2. During the twelve hours of the day let one's thoughts be constantly fixed on absolute Purity. Where one thought (of a contrary kind) does not arise, we have what we call Purity; where nothing (of a contrary kind) enters the Tower of Intelligence (= the mind), we have what we call the Undeified. The body is the house of the breath; the mind is the lodging of the spirit. As the thoughts move, the spirit moves; as the spirit moves, the breath is distributed. As the thoughts rest, the spirit rests; when the spirit rests, the breath is collected.

The true powers of the five elements unite and form the boat-like cup of jade, (after partaking of which), the body seems to be full of delicious harmony. This spreads like the unguent of the chrismal rite on the head. Walking, resting, sitting, sleeping, the man feels his body flexible as the wind, and in his belly a sound like that of thunder. His ears hear the songs of the Immortals, that need no aid from any instrument; vocal without words, and resounding without the drum. The spirit and the breath effect a union and the bloom of

childhood returns. The man beholds scenes unfolded within him; Spirits of themselves speak to him; he sees the things of vacuity, and finds himself dwelling with the Immortals. He makes the Great Elixir, and his spirit goes out and in at its pleasure. He has the longevity of heaven and earth, and the brightness of the sun and moon. He has escaped from the toils of life and death.

Accustomed to the phraseology of the Text all his life, the commentator Lî, as has been seen, did not think it necessary to append here any notes of explanation. A few such notes, however, will be welcome to an English reader. 'The twelve hours of the day:'—a Chinese hour is equal to two of our hours, and their twelve to our twenty-four. The twelve hours are named by the twelve branch terms of the cycle.

'The boat-like cup of jade' seems to be a satisfactory rendering of the Chinese characters *tão kwei* in the Text, which might be translated 'knife, and jade-symbol.' But *tão*, commonly meaning 'knife,' is in the *Shih King* (I, v; VII, 2) used of 'a small boat.' In the *Khang-hsi Thesaurus*, under the phrase, we have the following quotation, as if from *Ko Hung's Biographies of Immortals*:—'*K'zân Hsi*, a native of the territory of *Wû*, was studying the *Tão in Shû*, when the master *Lão* sent a beautiful young lady to him with a tray of gold and a cup of jade filled with medicine, and the message, "This is the mysterious elixir; he who drinks it will not die." And on this he and his wife had each a *tão kwei*.' See the account in *Ko Hung's work*, which is much more diffuse.

In the mention of 'the chrismal rite' there is a reference to what Dr. Williams calls 'a kind of Buddhist baptism or holy unction, by sprinkling, which confers goodness,' 'administered to children, idols, &c.' (See under the characters *kwân* and *ting*.)

3. Do not allow any relaxation of your efforts. During all the hours of the day strive always to be

pure and undefiled. The spirit is the child of the breath ; the breath is the mother of the spirit.

As a fowl embraces its eggs, do you preserve the spirit and nourish the breath. Can you do this without intermission ? Wonderful ! wonderful ! The mystery becomes still deeper !

In the body there are seven precious organs, which serve to enrich the state, to give rest to the people, and to make the vital force of the system full to overflowing. Hence we have the heart, the kidneys, the breath, the blood, the brains, the semen, and the marrow. These are the seven precious organs. They are not dispersed when the body returns (to the dust). Refined by the use of the Great Medicine, the myriad spirits all ascend among the Immortals.

If we were sure that we had exactly hit the meaning and spirit of every part of this paragraph, it would hardly be worth while to give more space to its illustration.

A sufficient number of the best of the Treatises of the later Táoism have been placed before the reader to show him how different they are from the writings of Láo and Kwang, and how inferior to them. It might seem as if Kwang-ze, when he ceased to write, had broken the staff of Táoism and buried it many fathoms in the earth. We can hardly wonder that Confucianists, such as K'ü Hsi, should pronounce, 'What the sect of Táo chiefly attend to is,—the preservation of the breath of life ;' and that Buddhists, such as Liú Mî, should say of it, 'Long life being attained, its goal is reached.'

APPENDIX V.

Analyses by Lin Hsi-kung of several of the Books of *Kwang-ze*.

BOOK I.

The Hsiáo-yáo in the title of this Book denotes the appearance of perfect ease and satisfaction. The Yû, which conveys the idea of wandering or rambling about, is to be understood of the enjoyment of the mind. The three characters describe the chief characteristic of our 'Old Kwang's' life, and therefore he placed the Book at the beginning of his more finished compositions or essays.

But when one wishes to enjoy himself in the fullest and freest way, he must first have before him a view like that of the wide sea or of the expanse of the air, in order that his mind may be free from all restraint, and from the entanglements of the world, and that it may respond in the fitting way to everything coming before it:—it is only what is Great that can enter into this enjoyment. Throughout the whole Book, the word Great has a significant force.

In paragraph 1 we are presented with the illustration of the phăng. Long was the journey which it would undertake, when it contemplated removing to the South. That it required a wind of 90,000 lî to support it, and even then only rested after a flight of six months, was owing to its own Great size, and also because the Southern Ocean was not to be easily reached by a single effort.

What is said, in paragraph 2, about men, when going anywhere, proportioning the provisions which they take

with them to the length of the journey has the same meaning. How should such creatures as the cicada and the little dove be able to know this? Knowledge is great or small, because the years of the parties are many or few:—so it is that one is inferior to another. Have they not heard of the ming-ling and tâ-khūn, which make their spring and autumn for themselves? And so does the phǎng, as we may understand. Its not resting till the end of six months is really not a long time to it. The case of Phǎng 3û is not worth being taken into account.

This description of the greatness of the phǎng is not any fabrication of our author's own, nor any statement peculiar to the K'î Hsieh. The same things are told in the 'Questions of Thang to K'î,' as in paragraph 3.

As to the long journey of the phǎng and the marsh-quail's laughing at it, that is not different from what the other two little creatures said above;—arising simply from the difference between the great and the small. And what difference is there between this and the case of those who enjoy themselves for a season in the world? Yung-ze of Sung is introduced (and immediately dismissed), as not having planted himself in the right position, and not being Great. Then Lieh-ze is brought forward, and dismissed as not being Great, because he had something to wait for. It is only he who rides on the twofold primal ether of the Yin and Yang, driving along with the six elements through all their changes as they wax and wane, and enjoying himself at the gate of death, that can be pronounced Great. This is what is called the Perfect Man; the Spirit-like Man; and the Sage Man.

In illustration of this, as instances of the Great Man, we have, in paragraph 4, Hsü Yû, regardless of the name; the personage on the hill of K'û-shih, in paragraph 5, with no thought of the services he could perform; and Yáo with his deep-sunk eyes, in paragraph 6, no longer thinking much of his throne, and regardless of himself. All these characteristics could be used, and made their possessor great; but let not this lead to a suspicion of greatness as

incompatible with usefulness. As a caution against this, we have, in paragraph 7, the salve to keep the hands from being chapped;—a Great thing when used properly, but of little value when not so used. Let those who exercise their minds look at this:—should they not seek to be useful, and so become Great? We have also the weasel and the yak, the one of which gets into trouble by its being of use, while the other escapes harm by its being of no use. Let those who have work to do in the world look at this. The Great calabash and the Great tree are, each of them, a phăng:—why may we not abandon ourselves to our natural feeling of enjoyment in connexion with them? Let men be satisfied with their Greatness and seek for nothing more.

As to the style of the Book, the sudden statement and the sudden proof; the sudden illustration and the sudden reasoning; the decision, made to appear as no decision; the connexion, now represented as no connexion; the repetition, turning out to be no repetition:—these features come and go on the paragraphs, like the clouds in the open firmament, changing every moment and delightful to behold.

Lû Fang-hû describes it well:—‘The guiding thread in the unspun floss; the snake sleeping in the grass.’

BOOK II.

In writings intended to throw light on the Tào we find many different views, affirmations on one side and denials on the other. These may be called Controversies, and the reason why they are not adjusted is that every one will hold fast to his own view. But every peculiar view arises from the holder's knowledge. Such knowledge, however, tends to the injury of his mind, and serves no purpose, good or bad, in illustrating the nature of the Tào;—it only increases the confusion of controversy. Hence when we wish to adjust controversies, we must use our knowledge well; and to use our knowledge well, we must stop at the point beyond which it does not extend.

In this whole Book knowing and not knowing is the thread that runs through it, (and binds its parts together). The expressions about men's being 'in darkness,' in paragraph 2, and the Tâo's being 'obscure,' in paragraph 3, indicate the want of knowledge; those, also in paragraph 3, about 'the light of the mind,' and 'throwing that light on a subject,' indicate the good use of knowledge; those, in paragraph 5, about 'the scintillations of light from the midst of confusion and perplexity,' and 'the store of light,' in paragraph 7, indicate the stopping at the point to which our knowledge does not extend. And what is to be done when we stop at this point? Nothing more can be done; we have simply, as it is said in paragraph 6, to stop here.

When Nan-kwo 3ze-khi says, in paragraph 1, 'I had lost myself,' he fully expresses the subject-matter of the Book. If we think that the affirmations and denials made by men's minds are fictions, made out from nothing to be something, that is like the myriad different sounds of the wind, suddenly appearing in their innumerable variations. But who is it that produces all these sounds? As is said in paragraph 2, they are 'the sounds of Earth which are really the notes of Heaven.' The minds of men speak from their possession of knowledge. However great or small their words may be, they are all of their own making. A discourse under a thousand Heads with a myriad Particulars, suddenly arising and as suddenly stopping, may suggest the idea of what we call 'a True Ruler.' But the idea is vague, and though our knowledge does not reach to such a subject, men toil their intelligence to the end of their lives, never stopping till both mind and body are exhausted. What is the reason of this? It is because they have their 'minds completely made up (par. 3).'

Now if words were like the chirpings of very young birds that come upon the ear, there would be no difference between them as regards truth or falsehood, right or wrong; but there is some obscuring influence, through which the different views of the Literati and Mohists are produced, with their confusion and uncertainty. All this is because

the parties do not use their knowledge well. In their controversies each looks at the other's view only from his own standpoint, and throwing on the subject from that the light of Heaven, thus emptily replying to one another without end. And is this purposely intended to make a violent end of their disputations? (It is not so), for the Táo is originally one. High and low, beautiful and ugly, ordinary and strange, success and overthrow, have nothing to do with it. The intelligent know this; those who weary their minds in trying to bring about a unity do not know it. At this point the sages throw on the subject the light of Heaven, also wishing to rest in Heaven, and so they come to a natural union:—this is how they use their knowledge well.

And what are we to consider the highest reach of knowledge (see par. 5)? The ancients thought it necessary to place this in the time before anything began to be. A second class would have it that there had (always) been (some) things; and a third class held that between those things (and men) there had been a relativity. Thus it was that gradually there came differences of opinion, in affirmations and denials; and when these once arose, there could not but be the experiences of success and failure.

But any one-sidedness in controversy is not sufficient to be accounted a proof of success or of failure. Not only is the Táo radically one; but those who employ it, however they may seem to differ, will be found to be substantially one and the same. When the sages, in the midst of slippery confusion and doubtful perplexity, yet find the clearness of conviction, is it not because they place the controversies that we speak of among the things that are not to be used?

But if there were no affirmations and denials, there would be no words. And let me think here. Suppose there were no words of controversy, we must not infer from that that there were no words at all. Is this word correct? Then if I also employ it, I form one class with all who do so? Is it not correct? Then if I also deny it, I form another class with those who do the same. Formerly,

when speaking of men's words, I said that they should change places, and look at things from the different stand-points of each other ; so with reference to my own words, my holding my 'Yea,' does not interfere with my changing my place, and taking my position with those who say 'Nay' in the case. If indeed there be no words of affirmation and denial, what words will there be? We must go back to the beginning when there were no words. We must go back still farther,—to the vacuity before the beginning when there were no words. If we try to go back even farther still, then great and small, long life and short life, heaven and earth and all things, fade away, blending together in the One. But that ONE is also a word. In this way we go on without end, wishing to make an end of controversy, and instead of doing that, our endeavour only serves to increase it. The better plan is to stop, as is proposed in a former paragraph, to stop at this point.—Even this word about having no controversy may be spared.

The sage, by avoiding discussion, reasoning, and the drawing of distinctions, while he availed himself of words, yet retained the advantage of eschewing words, and was also afraid of calling the demarcations (of propositions) by their eight qualities (see par. 7). Still, however, the trace of the use of words remained with him. It is not so in the case of the Great Tào and the Great Argument. The Tào (which is displayed) is not the Tào ; the Argument (which is most subtle) does not reach the point ; the degree of Non-action is very great ; but notwithstanding it is difficult to speak of what is entirely empty of purpose. The way by which the knowledge of the ancients reached the highest point was their stopping when their knowledge extended no farther. If they could know what they did not know, it was by means of the Heavenly Treasure-house ; it was thus they could take their place in the centre of the circle, to which all lines converged, and from which all questions could be answered. If they added what they did know to the sum of what they did not know, they then

possessed the Store of Light; and it was thus that they made provision for the scintillations of slippery doubt.

To the same effect was what Shun told Yáo (end of par. 7). As to the referring what is advantageous and what is hurtful, and the mysteries of life and death, to the sphere of the unknown, that is set forth in the conversation between Nieh K'üeh and Wang Í (par. 8).

As to how it is that rulers and grooms, other men and one's self, do not know each other, that is seen in the conversation between K'ü 3hiáo-3ze and K'ang-wú 3ze.

As to what is said about the substance and shadow waiting on each to make their manifestations, and not knowing how they were brought about, and about the dreamer and the man awake doubting about each other, and not knowing how to distinguish between them, we have knowledge stopping at the point to which it does not extend, and gradually entering into the region of transformation.

Is there anything still remaining to be done for the adjustment of controversy? One idea grows up out of another in the Book, and one expression gives rise to another apparently quite different. There is a mutual connexion and reference between its parts. Suddenly the style is difficult as the slope of Yang-k'ang, and vanishes like the path of a bird; suddenly it looks like so many steep cliffs and successive precipices. When ordinary scholars see this and cannot trace the connexion of thought, if they put it on one side, and did not venture to say anything about it, they might be forgiven. But when they dare to follow their prejudices, and to append their licentious explanations, breaking up the connexion of thought, and bringing down to the dust this wonderful composition, the admiration of thousands of years;—ah! when the old Kwang took his pencil in hand, and proceeded to write down his thoughts, why should we be surprised that such men as these cannot easily understand him?

BOOK VI.

'The Great and most Honoured Master' is the Táo. It appears separately in the Heavenly and Human elements (of our constitution), and exists alone and entire in what is beyond death and life; being, as we say, that which nothing can be without. To describe it as that which stands out superior and alone, we use for it the character *Koh* (卓) (par. 5); to describe it as abiding, we call it the True; to describe it as it vanishes from sight, we apply to it the names of Purity, Heaven, and Unity (par. 12).

When men value it, it is possible to get possession of it. But he who wishes to get it must, with the knowledge which he has attained to, proceed to nourish what that knowledge is still ignorant of. When both of these are (as it were) forgotten, and he comes under the transformation of the Táo, he enters into the region in which there is neither life nor death;—to the Human element (in him) he has added the Heavenly.

Now what knowledge does not know is the time of birth and death, and what it does know is what comes after birth and precedes death. It would seem as if this could be nourished by the exercise of thought; but if we do this after birth and before death, we must wait for the time of birth and death to verify it. If we try to do so before that time, then the circumstances of the Human and the Heavenly have not yet become subject to their Ruler. It is this which makes the knowledge difficult, and it is only the True Man with the True Knowledge who has no anxiety about it.

In the position which the True man occupies, he has his adversities and prosperities, his successes and defeats, his gains and his losses, his seasons of security and of unrest,—all the changes of his circumstances; but his mind forgets them all, and this result is due to his possession of both the Knowledge and the Táo.

As to his bodily conditions, he has his sleeping and

awaking, his eating and resting,—his constant experiences; but his mind (also) forgets them all. For the springs of action which move to the touch of Heaven, and the movements of desire are indeed different in men; but when we advance and examine the proper home of the mind, we find no difference between its place and nature at the time of birth and of death, and no complication in these after birth and before death:—so it is that the Mind, the Tào, the Heavenly, and the Human are simply One. Is not the unconsciousness of the mind the way in which the True man exercises his knowledge and nourishes it? Carrying out this unconsciousness, from the mind to the body and from the body to the world, he comprehends the character of the time and the requirements of everything, without any further qualification. Hence, while the mind has not acquired this oblivion, the great work of life always suffers from some defect of the mind, and is not fit to be commended. But let the mind be able to exercise this quality, and it can be carried out with great and successful merit, and its admirable service be completed. This is the mind of the True man, never exercised one-sidedly in the world, and gaining no one-sided victory either Heavenward or Manward.

Given the True Man with the True Knowledge like this, the nature of death and life may begin to be fully described. Death and life are like the night and the dawn;—is there any power that can command them? Men cannot preside over them. This is what knowledge does not extend to; but within the sphere of knowledge, there is that which is dearer than a Father (par. 5), and more to be honoured than a Ruler; the Eminent, the True, and that moreover over which Heaven cannot preside. Valuable therefore is the nourishing of this Knowledge; and what other art in nourishing it is there but the unconsciousness of which we speak? Why do we say so? The body is born, grows old and dies. This is the common lot. However skilful one may be in hiding it away, it is sure to disappear. Men know that the body is not easily got, but

they do not know that what might seem like man's body never comes to an end. Being hidden away in a place from which there is no escape for anything, it does not disappear. This takes place after birth and before death, and may be verified at the times of birth and death; but how much better it is to consider Heaven good, old age good, the beginning good and the end good, than vainly to think that the nourishing of knowledge is making the body good! The doing this is what is called the Tào. And the sage enjoys himself in this; not only because the Tào itself does not disappear, but also because of all who have got it not a single one has ever passed away from notice.

But it is not easy to describe the getting of the Tào. In the case about which Nü Yü told Nan-po 3ze-khwei (par. 8); the talents of a sage and the Tào of a sage came together in the study of it; three, seven, and nine days are mentioned as the time of the several degrees of attainment; the learner went on from banishing all worldly matters from his mind as foreign to himself till he came to the utter disregard of time. In this way was he led from what was external, and brought inwards to himself; then again from the idea of the Tào's being a thing, it was exhibited as Tranquillity amid all Disturbances, and he was carried out of himself till he understood that neither death nor life is more than a phenomenon. The narrator had learned all this from writings and from Lo-sung, searching them, and ever more the more remote they were. Truly great is the difficulty of getting the Tào!

And yet it need not be difficult. It was not so with 3ze-yü (par. 9), in whose words about one arm being transformed into a fowl, and the other into a cross-bow, we see its result, as also in what he said about his rump-bone being transformed into a wheel, his spirit into a horse, and one loosing the cord by which his life is suspended.

(Again) we have a similar accordance (with the Tào) in 3ze-li's question to 3ze-lai (par. 10), about his being made the liver of a rat or the arm of an insect, with the latter's reply and his remark about the furnace of a founder.

These were men who had got the Táo; as also were 3ze-fan and *Khin Kang* (par. 11), men after the Maker's mind, and who enjoyed themselves, disporting in the one vital ether of heaven and earth.

The same may be said of Mǎng-sun 3hái (par. 12). If he had undergone a transformation, he would wait for the future transformation of which he did know. So it was that he obtained the Táo. He and all the others were successful through the use of their mental unconsciousness; and they who pursue this method, must have the idea of I-7 3ze, who wished to have his branding effaced, and his dismemberment removed by hearing the substance of the Táo (par. 13).

Parties who have not lost the consciousness of their minds and wish to do so must become like Yen Hui (par. 14), who separated the connexion between his body and mind, and put away his knowledge, till he became one with the Great Pervader.

Of such as have lost (in part) the consciousness of their minds and wish to do so entirely, we have an instance in 3ze-sang (par. 15), thinking of Heaven and Earth and of his parents as ignorant of his (miserable) condition, and then ascribing it to Destiny. He exhibited the highest obliviousness:—was he not, with the knowledge which he possessed, nourishing that of which he was ignorant? Such were the True Men, and such was the True Knowledge. ✕

In this Book are to be found the roots of the ideas in the other six Books of this Part. In this they all unite. It exhibits the origin of all life, sets forth the reality of all cultivation, and shows the springs of all Making and Transformation, throwing open the door for the Immortals and Buddhas. Here is the wonderful Elixir produced by the pestle of Jade, the touch of which by a finger produces the feathers of Transformation. As to its style, a vast lake of innumerable wavelets, the mingling of a hundred sparkling eddies, a collection of the oldest achievements in composition, a granary filled with all woods;—it is only in the ✕

power of those who admire the leopard's spots to appreciate it!

BOOK IX.

Governing the world is like governing horses. There is the government, but the only effect of it is injury. Po-lão's management of horses (par. 1) in a way contrary to their true nature was in no respect different from the way of the (first) potter and the (first) carpenter in dealing with their clay and wood in opposition to the nature of those substances, yet the world praises them all because of their skill, not knowing wherein the good government of the world consists.

Now the skilful governors of the world simply caused the people to fulfil the conditions of their regular nature (par. 2). It was their gifts which they possessed in common, and their Heaven-inspired instincts, which constituted the (Early) age of Perfect Virtue. When the sages fashioned their benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and music, and the people then began to lose their perfect virtue, it was not that they had themselves become different. For benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and music, are not endowments forming a part of their regular nature;—they are practised only after men have laid aside the Táo and its characteristics, and abandoned the guidance of their nature and its feelings. This is what we say that the mechanic does when he hacks and cuts the raw materials to form his vessels. Why should we doubt that it was by Po-lão's dealing with horses that they became wise enough to play the part of thieves (par. 3); and that it was by the sages' government of the people that their ability came to be devoted to the pursuit of gain? The error of the sages in this cannot be denied.

From beginning to end this Book is occupied with one idea. The great point in it grew out of the statement in paragraph 3 of the previous Book, that 'all men are furnished with certain regular principles,' and it is the easiest to construe of all Kwang-ze's compositions; but

the general style and illustrations are full of sparkling vigour. Some have thought that, where the ideas are so few, there is a waste of words about them, and they doubt therefore that the Book was written by some one imitating *Kwang-ze*; but I apprehend no other hand could have shown such a mastery of his style.

BOOK XI.

That the world is not well governed is because there are those who try to govern it. When they try to govern it, they cannot but be 'doing' (to that end). Unable to keep from this 'doing,' they cause the world to be happy or to be miserable, both of which things the instincts of man's nature refuse to accept. Although the arts of governing are many, they only cause and increase disorder. Why so? Because they interfere with men's minds.

Now when men are made to be miserable or happy, they come to have great joy or great dissatisfaction. The condition ministers to the expansive or the opposite element (in nature), and the four seasons, the cold and the heat, all lose their regularity. This causes men everywhere in a contentious spirit to indulge their nature to excess, bringing about a change of its attributes, and originating the practice of good and evil. All unite in bringing this state about; and in the end all receive its consequences. Hence such men as *Kih* the robber, *Žǎng Shǎn*, and *Shih Žhúi* ought not to be found in a well-governed age. But those who governed the world went on to distinguish between the good and the bad, and occupied themselves with rewarding and punishing. When they wished men to rest in the requirements of their nature, was it not difficult for them to realise the wish?

And how much more was it so when they went on in addition to insist on acute hearing and clear vision, on benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, music, sageness, and knowledge (par. 2)! They did not know that these eight things were certainly of no use to the world, but injurious to it. Led astray by them, and not perceiving

this, they continued to practise them, and to do this every day more and more. This is what we see indeed in the ordinary men of the world, but not what we should have expected from superior men. The Superior man does nothing, and rests in the instincts of his nature. He values and loves his own person, which fits him to be entrusted with the charge of the world, and thereupon we see things becoming transformed of themselves. Yes, we see indeed that men's minds are not to be interfered with (par. 3).

Let me try to attest this from (the example of) the ancient Tîs and Kings. These in their interference with the minds of men, began with their inculcation of benevolence and righteousness, proceeded to their distinctions of what was right and wrong, and ended with their punishments and penalties. Their government of the world ended with the disordering of it. And the result can be seen, the Literati and the Mohists still thinking how they can remedy them.

But let us ask who it really was that brought things to this pass. The answer is supplied to us in the words of Láo Tan (see T. T. K., ch. 19), 'Abolish sageness and cast away wisdom, and the world will be brought to a state of good order.' But the issue does not commence with the state of the world. When Kwang K'ǎng-¿ze replied to Hwang-Tî's questions, he said (par. 4), 'Watch over your body, and increase the vigour of things. Maintain the unity, and dwell in the harmony.' What he said, about the rain descending before the clouds collected, about the trees shedding their leaves before they were yellow, about the light (of the sun and moon) hastening to extinction, about Hwang-Tî's mind being that of a flatterer of which he would make no account, and about how he should do nothing but rest in the instincts of his nature, and not interfere with the minds of men:—all these are expressions bearing on the value and love which should be given to the body. And the lesson in his words does not end with the watching over the body.

There are the words addressed by Hung Mung to Yün

K'iang, 'Nourish in your mind a great agreement (with the primal ether). (Things) return to their root, and do not know (that they are doing so). As to what you say, that "the mysterious operations of Heaven are not accomplished, that the birds all sing at night, that vegetation withers under calamity, and that insects are all overtaken by disaster:—about all these things there is no occasion for anxiety." While you do nothing, rest in the promptings of your human nature, and do not interfere with the minds of men;—such is the genial influence that attracts and gathers all things round itself (par. 2).'

But the Superior man's letting the world have its own course in this generous way;—this is what the ordinary men of the world cannot fathom. When such men speak about governing, they examine carefully between others and themselves, and are very earnest to distinguish between differing and agreeing. Their only quest is to find how they may overcome others, and the end is that they are always overcome by others. They do not know that in order to reduce others to the level of things, there must be those who cannot be reduced by others to that level. Those are said to be the sole possessors of the power (par. 6).

The teaching of the Great man, however, is not of this nature. He responds to others according to their qualities, without any selfish purpose. Although he is the sole possessor of the power, that power comes to be nothing in his view. Between having and not having there is to him no difference in the use. Doing nothing, and yet sometimes obliged to act, he forthwith does so; when he acts, yet no one sees that he has acted, and it is the same as if he did not act. So it is according to the Táo; but therein there are both the Heavenly and the Human elements. In accordance with this there are (in actual government) the Lord and the Minister (par. 7). When one discerns this, and knows which element is to be preferred, convinced that it is doing nothing which is valuable, what difficulty has he in governing the world?

The thread of connexion running through this Book is 'Doing Nothing.' Whether it speaks of the promptings of the nature or of the minds of men, it shows how in regard to both there must be this 'doing nothing.' In the end, with much repetition it distinguishes and discusses, showing that what doing there may be in doing nothing need not trouble us, and is not the same as the 'Extinction' of the Buddhists. There is not much difference between the teaching of this Book, and what we read in the Confucian Analects, 'He did nothing and yet governed efficiently (Bk. XV, ch. iv).' This is an instance of the light thrown by our 'old *Kwang*' on the *King*, and shows how an understanding may take place between him and our Literati.

In the style there are so many changes and transformations, so many pauses and rests as in music, conflicting discussions, and subtle disquisitions, the pencil's point now hidden in smoke and now among the clouds, the author's mind teeming with his creations, that no one who has not made himself familiar with a myriad volumes should presume to look and pronounce on this Book.

BOOK XX.

The afflictions of men in the world are great, because their attainments in the *Tao* and Its Attributes are shallow. The *Tao* with Its Attributes is the Author of all things. To follow It in Its transformings according to the time is not like occupying one's self with the qualities of things, and with the practice and teaching of the human relations, which only serve to bring on disaster and blame. He who seeks his enjoyment in It, however, must begin by emptying himself. Hence we have, 'Rip your skin from your body, cleanse your heart, and put away your desires (par. 2);' then afterwards 'you can enjoy yourself in the land of Great Vacuity.' In this way one attains to the status represented by coming across 'an empty vessel' and escapes 'the evils which the close-furred fox and the elegantly-spotted leopard' are preparing for themselves.

These are the ideas in the paragraph about *Î-lião* of

Shih-nan which may help to illustrate, and receive illustration from, what *Kwang-ze* says (par. 1) that 'he would prefer to be in a position between being fit to be useful and wanting that fitness.'

In the case of *Pei-kung Shê* collecting taxes for the making of a peal of bells, we have only the exercise of a small art (par. 3). He could, however, put away all thought of self, and act as the time required. He was 'as a child who has no knowledge,' so slow was he and hesitating in this respect; there escorting those who went, here welcoming those who came. But from all this we may know how far he had advanced (in the knowledge of the *Táo*).

But on consideration I think it was only Confucius of whom this could be spoken. Did not he receive a great share of the world's afflictions (par. 4)? When *Thái-kung Zăn* spoke to him of 'putting away the ideas of merit and fame, and placing himself on the level of the masses of men,' he forthwith put away the idea of himself and complied with the requirements of the time. This was the art by which he enjoyed himself in the *Táo* and Its attributes, and escaped the troubles of the world.

He could put away the idea of self in responding to the world, but he could not do so in determining his associations. In consequence of this, more distant acquaintances did not come to lay further afflictions on him, and his nearer friends perhaps came to cast him off because of those afflictions. What was he to do in these circumstances?

If one be able to comply with the requirements of the time in his relations with men, but cannot do so in his relations to Heaven, then in the world he will indeed do nothing to others contrary to what is right, but he will himself receive treatment contrary to it; and what is to be done in such a case? *Ze-sang Hû* saw the difficulty here and provided for it. What he said about 'a union of Heaven's appointment,' and about 'the intercourse of superior men being tasteless as water,' shows how well he knew the old lessons about a connexion growing out

of external circumstances and one founded in inward feeling. When one has divested himself of the idea of self, there will not again be such an experience as that of Confucius, when his intimate associates were removed from him more and more, and his followers and friends were more and more dispersed.

And Confucius himself spoke of such a case. What he said about its being 'easy not to receive (as evils) the inflictions of Heaven,' and 'difficult not to receive as benefits the favours of men (par. 7),' shows how truly he perceived the connexion between the Heavenly and the Human (in man's constitution), and between 'the beginning and end' of experiences. When one acts entirely according to the requirements of the time, the more he enlarges himself the greater he becomes, and the more he loves himself the more sorrow he incurs. If he do not do so, then we have the case of him who in the prospect of gain forgets the true instinct of his preservation, as shown in the strange bird of the park of Tião-ling (par. 8), and the case of the Beauty of the lodging-house, who by her attempts to show off her superiority made herself contemned. How could such parties so represented occupy themselves with the Táo and Its attributes so as to escape the calamities of life?

This Book sets forth the principles which contribute to the preservation of the body, and keeping harm far off, and may supplement what still needed to be said on this subject in Book IV. The Táo and Its attributes occupy the principal place in it; the emptying of Self, and conforming to the time, are things required by them. The exquisite reasonings and deep meaning of the Book supply excellent rules for getting through the world. Only the sixth paragraph is despicable and unworthy of its place. It is evidently a forgery, and I cannot but blame Kwo 3ze-hsüan for allowing it to remain as the production of K'wang-3ze.

BOOK XXII.

The Táo made Its appearance before Heaven and Earth.
It made things what they are and was Itself no THING,

being what is called their Root and Origin (par. 2). If we consider It something existing, It was not such; if we consider It as something non-existing, that does not fully express the idea of it. The 'I know it (of Hwang-Tî)' is an addition of 'Knowledge' to the idea of it, and (his) 'I will tell you' is the addition of a description of it (par. 1). Therefore he who would embody the Táo can only employ the names of 'Do Nothing' and 'Returning to the Root,' and then go forward to the region of the Unknown and the Indescribable.

Now the Táo originally was a Unity. The collection of the breath, constituting life, and its dispersion, which we call death, proceed naturally. The denominations of the former as 'spirit-like and wonderful' and of the latter as 'foetor and putridity' are the work of man. But those of 'Non-action' and 'Returning to the Root' are intended to do honour to the Unity. Knowledge, Heedless Bluster, and Hwang-Tî, all perceived this, but they also went on to reason about it, showing how not to know is better than to know, and not to talk better than to talk.

As it is said in par. 2, 'the beautiful operations of Heaven and Earth, and the distinctive constitutions of all things,' from the oldest time to the present day, go on and continue without any difference. But who is it that makes them to be what they are? And what expression of doubt or speculation on the point has ever been heard from them? It is plain that the doctrine of the Táo originated with man.

When Phei-î (par. 3) told Nieh K'üeh, 'Keep your body as it should be; look only at the One thing; call in your knowledge; make your measures uniform:'—all this was saying to him that we are to do nothing, and turn to (the Táo as) our Root. When he further says to him, 'You should have the simple look of a new-born calf; and not ask about the cause of your being what you are:'—this is in effect saying that knowledge is in not knowing, and that speech does not require the use of words.

If you suddenly (like Shun in par. 4) think that the Táo

is yours to hold, not only do you not know what the Táo is, but you do not know yourself. How is this? You are but a thing in the Táo. If your life came to you without its being produced by the Táo, you would yourself be a life-producer. But whether one lives to old age or dies prematurely he comes equally to an end. Your life properly was not from yourself, nor is your death your own act. You did not resist (the coming of your life); you do not keep it (against the coming of death); you are about to return to your original source. This simply is what is meant by the Sage's 'Do nothing, and return to your Root.' As to 'the bodily frame coming from incorporeity and its returning to the same (par. 5),' that certainly is a subject beyond the reach of our seeing and hearing; and how can any one say that the Táo is his to hold?

What Láo-ze (says to Confucius in par. 5), and what *K'äng* tells Shun (in par. 4), have not two meanings; but notwithstanding, it should not be said that the Táo is not to be found anywhere (par. 6). Speaking broadly, we may say that its presence is to be seen in an ant, a stalk of panic grass, an earthenware tile, and in excrement. Seeking for it in what is more delicate and recondite, let us take the ideas of fulness and emptiness, of withering and decay; of beginning and end, of accumulation and dispersion. These are all ideas, and not the names of things; and (the Táo) which makes things what they are has not the limit which belongs to things. No wonder that Tung-kwo Ze should have been so perplexed as he was!

Those who think that the Táo has no positive existence (par. 7), speak of it as 'The Mysterious and Obscure,' and then it would seem to be equivalent to the name 'Mystery,' which cannot be rightly applied to it. And those who think that it has a positive existence speak of it as being considered now noble and now mean, now bound and compressed, now dispersed and diffused, and what is One is divided into the noble and the mean, the compressed and the dispersed;—a mode of dealing with it, of which the Táo will not admit. Better is it to say with No-

beginning, 'There should be no asking about the Táo; any question about it should not be replied to.' The opposite of this would imply a knowledge of what is not known, and the use of words which should not be spoken. In accordance with this, when Star-light puts his question to Non-entity, and it is added, 'To conceive the ideas of Existence and Non-existence is not so difficult as to conceive of a Non-existing non-existence,' this is an advance on speaking of (the Táo) as Non-existent; and when the forger of Swords says to the Minister of War that by long practice he came to the exercise of his art as if he took no thought about it (par. 9), this is an advance on speaking of (the Táo) as existent.

The substance of what we know is to this effect:—The Táo was produced before heaven and earth. It made things what they are and is not itself a thing. It cannot be considered as of ancient origin or of recent, standing as it does in no relation to time. It had no beginning and will have no end. Life and death, death and life equally proceed from It. To speak of It as existing or as non-existing is a one-sided presentation of It. Those who have embodied It, amid all external changes, do not change internally. They welcome and meet all men and things, and none can do them any injury (par. 11). Whatever they do not know and are unequal to, they simply let alone. This is the meaning of 'Doing nothing, and turning in everything to the Root.' Where the want of knowledge and of language is the most complete, *Zăn Khiû* (par. 10) and *Yen-jze* (par. 11) apply to *Kung-nî* for his judgment in the case, and the consideration of it comes to an end.

In this Book the mysteries of the Táo are brought to light; one slight turn of expression after another reveals their successive depths, beyond the reach of Reasoning. *Lû Fang-hû* says, 'Master this Book, and the Mahâyâna of the Tripitaka will open to you at the first application of your knife.'—Well does he express himself!

BOOK XXVI.

Those who practise the Táo know that what is external to themselves cannot be relied on, and that what is internal and belonging to themselves, does not receive any injury (par. 1). They are therefore able to enjoy themselves in the world, emptying their minds of all which would interfere with their pursuing their natural course.

What men can themselves control are their minds; external things are all subject to the requirements and commands of the world. Good and evil cannot be prevented from both coming to men, and loyalty and filial duty may find it hard to obtain their proper recompense. From of old it has been so; and the men of the world are often startled to incessant activity with their minds between the thoughts of profit and injury, and are not able to overcome them (par. 1). But do they know that among the enemies (of their serenity) there are none greater than the Yin and Yang? The water and fire of men's minds produce irregularity in their action, and then again overcome it; but after the harmony of the mind has been consumed, there remains in them no more trace of the action of the Táo.

On this account, when *Kung-ní* was obstinately regardless of a myriad generations (in the future), *Lão Lái-ze* still warned him to have done with his self-conceit (par. 5). His reason for doing so was that wisdom had its perils, and even spirit-like intelligence does not reach to everything (par. 6). It was so with the marvellous tortoise, and not with it only. The sage is full of anxiety and indecision (par. 5), and thereby is successful in his undertakings; the man of the greatest knowledge puts away (the idea of) skill, and without any effort shows his skill:—they can both look on what seems to have no use and pronounce it useful, and allow their nature while it is able to enjoy itself to take its course without being anxious about its issue in advantage or injury (par. 1).

And moreover, it is not necessary that they should leave

the world in order to enjoy themselves. There are the distinctions of antiquity and the present day indelibly exhibited in the course of time (par. 8). The way in which the Perfect man enjoys himself is by his passing through the world of men without leaving any trace of himself. His way is free and encounters no obstruction (par. 9); his mind has its spontaneous and enjoyable movements, and so his spirit is sure to overcome all external obstructions. Very different is this from the way of him who is bent on concealing himself, and on extinguishing all traces of his course (par. 8). He will seek his enjoyment in the great forest with its heights and hills, and not be able to endure the trouble of desiring fame, having recourse also to violence, laying plans, seeking to discharge the duties of office so as to secure general approval.

Thus the Perfect man obtains the harmony of his Heaven (-given nature), and his satisfactions spring up, he knows not how, as when the growing grain in spring has been laid by the rains (par. 9). As to the arts of curing illness, giving rest to old age, and restraining hasty measures to remedy the effects of errors, he can put them on one side, and not discuss them; thus playing the part of one who has apprehended the ideas and then forgets the words in which they were conveyed (par. 11). Let him who occupies himself with the Táo beware of 'seeking the fish-baskets and hare-snares,' and falling into such mistakes as are instanced in the cases of emaciation to death, or suicide by drowning.

This Book points out the true form of substances, and gave rise to the talk in subsequent ages about the Khân and Lî hexagrams, and about the lead and quicksilver. Nearly the whole of it has been called in question, and the second, third, and fourth paragraphs are so marked by the shallowness of their style, and the eccentricity of their sentiments, that it may be doubted if they are genuine. I suspect they were written and introduced by some imitator of Kwang-jze, and therefore call attention to them and cast them out of my analysis.

BOOK XXXII.

Lin Hsi-kung omits Books XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, and XXXI from his edition of *Kwang-ze's* Writings. Our Book XXXII, the *Lieh Yü-khâu*, is with him Book XXVIII. He explains and comments on its various paragraphs as he does in the case of all the previous Books. Instead of subjoining an Analysis and Summary of the Contents in his usual way, he contents himself with the following note:—

In the Notice given by *Sû 3ze-kan*¹ of the Sacrificial Hall to *Kwang-ze*, he says that after reading the last paragraph of Book XXVII (the *Yü Yen*, or 'Metaphorical Words'), about Yang 3ze-kü, and how (when he left the inn) the other visitors would have striven with him about the places for their mats, he forthwith discarded the four Books that followed,—the *Zang Wang*, the *Táo Kih*, the *Yüeh Kien*, and the *Yü-fû*; making the *Lieh Yü-khâu* immediately follow that paragraph. Having done so, he fully saw the wisdom of what he had done, and said with a laugh, 'Yes, they do indeed belong to one chapter!'

So did the old scholar see what other eyes for a thousand years had failed to see. No subsequent editor and commentator, however, ventured to take it on him to change the order of the several Books which had been established, following therein the Critical Canon laid down by Confucius about putting aside subjects concerning which doubts are entertained²; but we ought not to pass the question by without remark.

The subject of the last paragraph of the *Lieh Yü-khâu* is *Kwang-ze*, 'when he was about to die.' It clearly

¹ *Sû Shih* (蘇軾), styled 3ze-kan (子瞻) and also, and more frequently, Tung-pho (東坡), one of the most celebrated statesmen and scholars of the eleventh century (1036–1101). The notice of the Sacrificial Hall of *Kwang-ze* was written in 1078. See Appendix viii.

² See the Confucian *Analects* II, xviii:—'Learn much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others.'

intimates how he, the man of *K'hi-yüan*, from that time ceased to use his pencil, just as the appearance of the *Lin* (in the *3o-kwan*) did in the case of Confucius. Not a single character therefore should appear as from him after this. We have no occasion therefore to enter into any argument about the *Thien Hsiâ* (Book XXXIII). We may be sure that it was made, not by *Kwang-ze*, but by some editor of his writings. Later writers, indeed, contend vehemently for *Kwang-ze*'s own authorship of it. We can only say, Great is the difficulty in treating of the different views of Scholars¹!

¹ The arguments both of *Sü Shih* and *Lin Hsi-kung* as set forth in this note are far from conclusive.

APPENDIX VI.

List of Narratives, Apologues, and Stories of various kinds in the Writings of *Kwang-ze*.

BOOK I.

Paragraph 1. The enjoyment of the Tào by such vast creatures as the Khwăn and the Phăng.

2. The enjoyment and foolish judgments of smaller creatures. Big trees and Phăng 3û.

3. Questions put by Thang to Kî. The Tào in different men:—Yung-ze; Lieh-ze; and an ideal Tàoist. The Perfect man, the Spirit-like man, and the Sagely-minded man.

4. Yáo wishing to resign the throne to Hsü Yû.

5. Kien Wû and Lien Shû on the ideal Tàoist.

6. A cap-seller of Sung. Yáo after visiting the four Perfect ones.

7. Hui-ze and Kwang-ze:—the great calabashes; the hand-protecting salve; and the great Ailantus tree.

BOOK II.

Par. 1. Nan-kwo 3ze-khî in a trance, and his disciple. The notes of heaven, earth, and man.

4. 'In the morning three:—the monkeys and their acorns.

7. Yáo and Shun,—on the wish of the former to smite some small states.

9. Li Kî before and after her marriage.

10. The penumbra and the shadow. Kwang-ze's dream that he was a butterfly.

BOOK III.

Par. 2. King Wăn-hui and his cook ;—how the latter cut up his oxen.

3. Kung-wăn Hsien and the Master of the Left who had only one foot.

4. The death of Lâu-ze; and adverse judgment on his life.

BOOK IV.

Pars. 1, 2. Yen Hui and Confucius ;—on the proposal of the former to go and convert the ruler of Wei.

3, 4. 3ze-kão and Confucius ;—on the mission of the former from *Khû* to *Khî*.

5. Yen Ho and K'ü Po-yü ;—on the former's undertaking to be tutor to the wayward son of duke Ling of Wei.

6. The master-mechanic and the great tree ;—so large and old through its uselessness.

7. Nan-po 3ze-khî and the great tree, preserved by its uselessness. Trees of Sung cut down because of their good timber. Peculiarities exempting from death as sacrificial victims.

8. The deformed object Shû and his worth.

9. Rencontre between Confucius and the madman of *Khû*.

BOOK V.

Par. 1. Confucius explains the influence of the cripple Wang Thâi over the people of Lû.

2. The fellow-students 3ze-khân and the cripple Shân-thû Kiâ.

3. Confucius and Toeless of Shû-shan. Judgment of Toeless and Lâu-ze on Confucius.

4. Duke Âi of Lû and Confucius ;—on the ugly but most able and fascinating man, Âi-thâi Tho. Admiration for Confucius of duke Âi.

5. The deformed favourites of duke Ling of Wei and duke Hwan of *Khî*. Argument between Kwang-ze and Hui-ze, growing out of the former's account of them.

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Par. 8. Nan-po 3ze-khwei and the long-lived Nü Yü. How Pù-liang Í learned the Táo.

9. Four Táoists, and the submission of 3ze-yü, one of them, a poor deformed hunchback, to his lot, when he was very ill.

10. The submission of 3ze-lái, another of the four, as his life was ebbing away.

11. Three Táoists, and the ways of two of them on the death of the third. Conversation on the subject between Confucius and 3ze-kung.

12. Confucius and Yen Hui on the mourning of Mǎng-sun 3hái.

13. Í-r 3ze and Hsü Yü. How the Táo will remove the injuries of error, and regenerate the mind.

14. Confucius and Yen Hui. The growth of the latter in Táoism.

15. 3ze-yü and 3ze-sang. The penury of the latter and submission to his fate.

BOOK VII.

Par. 1. Nieh K'üeh, Wang Í, and Phû-î-3ze. That Shun was inferior in his Táoistic attainments to the more ancient sovereign, Thâi.

2. Kien Wû and the recluse K'ieh-yü;—on the ideal of government.

3. Thien Kǎn and a nameless man;—that non-action is the way to govern the world.

4. Yang 3ze-kü and Láo Tan on the nameless government of the Intelligent Kings.

5. Lieh-3ze and his master Hû-3ze. How the latter defeated the wizard of Kǎng.

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different ways. The corresponding cases of the righteous Po-î and the robber Kih.

BOOK X.

Par. 1. Murder of the ruler of *Khi* by Thien *Khăng-ze*, and his usurpation of the State.

2. How the best and ablest of men, such as Lung-făng, Pî-kan, *Khang Hung*, and *Ze-hsü*, may come to a disastrous end, and only seem to have served the purposes of such men as the robber *Kih*.

3. Evils resulting from such able men as *Žăng Shăn*, Shih *Khiu*, Yang *Ku*, Mo *Ti*, Shih *Khwang*, *Khui*, and *Lî Ku*.

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Par. 3. *Žhui Khiu* and *Lăo-ze*. The latter denounces the meddling with the mind which began with *Hwang-Ti*, and the spread of knowledge, as productive of all evil.

4. *Hwang-Ti* and *Kwang Khăng-ze*, his master, who discourses on the mystery of the *Tăo*, and how it promotes long life.

5. *Yün Kiang* and *Hung Mung*, or the Leader of the Clouds and the Great Ether;—the wish of the former to nourish all things, and how they would be transformed by his doing nothing.

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Par. 4. The loss and recovery by *Yăo* of his dark-coloured Pearl;—the *Tăo*.

5. *Hsü Yü*'s reply to *Yăo* on the character of *Nieh Kueh* and his unfitness to take the place of Sovereign.

6. *Yăo* rejects the good wishes for him of the Border-warden of *Hwă*.

7. *Yü* and *Po-khăng Ze-kăo*. The latter vindicates his resignation of dignity and taking to farming.

9. Confucius and *Lăo-ze*;—on the attitude to the *Tăo* of a great sage and ruler.

10. *K'iang-lü Mien* and *K'î K'hêh*;—on the counsel which the former had given to the ruler of *Lû*.

11. *3ze-kung* and the old gardener;—argument of the latter in favour of the primitive simplicity, and remarks thereon by *Confucius*.

12. *Kun Mâng* and *Yüan Fung*;—on the government of the sage; of the virtuous and kindly man; and of the spirit-like man.

13. *Măn Wû-kwei* and *K'ih-kang Man-k'hi*;—that there had been confusion and disorder before the time of *Shun*; and the character of the age of Perfect Virtue.

BOOK XIII.

Par. 6. *Yáo* and *Shun*;—on the former's method of government.

7. *Confucius*, wishing to deposit some writings in the royal Library, is repulsed by *Láo-ze*. Argument between them on Benevolence and Righteousness in relation to the nature of man.

8. *Shih-k'ang K'hi* and *Láo-ze*;—the strange conferences between them, and the charges brought by the one against the other.

10. Duke *Hwan* and the wheelwright *Phien*;—that the knack of an art cannot be conveyed to another, and the spirit of thought cannot be fully expressed in writing.

BOOK XIV.

Par. 2. *Tang*, a minister of *Shang*, and *Kwang-ze* on the nature of Benevolence.

3. *Pei-măn K'ang* and *Hwang-Ti*;—a description of *Hwang-Ti*'s music, the *Hsien-k'hi*.

4. *Yen Yüan* and *Kin*, the music-master of *Lû*, on the course of *Confucius*;—the opinion of the latter that it had been unsuccessful and was verging to entire failure.

5. *Confucius* and *Láo-ze*. The former has not yet got the *Táo*, and *Láo-ze* explains the reason.

6. *Confucius* and *Láo-ze*. *Confucius* talks of Benevolence

and Righteousness ; and how the tables are turned on him. He is deeply impressed by the other.

7. 3ze-kung, in consequence of the Master's report of his interview, goes also to see Láo-3ze ; and is nonplussed and lectured by him.

8. Confucius sees Láo-3ze again, and tells him how he has profited from his instructions. The other expresses his satisfaction with him.

BOOK XVI.

Par. 2. The state of Perfect Unity, and its gradual Decay.

BOOK XVII.

Pars. 1-7. The Spirit-earl of the Ho and Zo of the Northern Sea ;—on various metaphysical questions growing out of the doctrine of the Táo.

8. The khwei, the millipede, the serpent, the wind, the eye, and the mind ;—how they had their several powers, but did not know how.

9. Confucius in peril in Khwang is yet serene and hopeful.

10. Kung-sun Lung and Máu of Wei. The Frog of the dilapidated well, and the Turtle of the Eastern Sea. The greatness of Kwang-3ze's teachings.

11. Kwang-3ze refuses the invitation of the king of K'û to take office. The wonderful tortoise-shell of the king.

12. Hui-3ze and Kwang-3ze. The young phoenix and the owl.

13. Hui-3ze and Kwang-3ze ;—how Kwang-3ze understood the enjoyment of fishes.

BOOK XVIII.

Par. 2. Hui-3ze and Kwang-3ze ;—vindication by the latter of his behaviour on the death of his wife.

3. Mr. Deformed and Mr. One-foot ;—their submission under pain and in prospect of death.

4. Kwang-3ze and the skull ;—what he said to it, and its appearance to him at night in a dream.

5. The sadness of Confucius on the departure of Yen Hui for *K'hi*; and his defence of it to *3ze-kung*. The appearance of a strange bird in *Lú*, and his moralizings on it.

6. *Lieh-3ze* and the skull. The transmutations of things.

BOOK XIX.

Par. 2. *Lieh-3ze* and *Kwan Yin*;—on the capabilities of the Perfect man.

3. Confucius and the hunchback, who was skilful at catching cicadas with his rod.

4. The boatman on the gulf of *K'ang-shǎn*, and his skill.

5. *Thien Khái-k'ih* and duke *Wei* of *K'áu*;—on the best way to nourish the higher life. How it was illustrated by *Thien's* master, and how enforced by Confucius.

6. The officer of sacrifice and his pigs to be sacrificed.

7. Duke *Hwan* gets ill from seeing a ghostly sprite, and how he was cured.

8. The training of a fighting-cock.

9. Confucius and the swimmer in the gorge of *Lü*.

10. *K'ing*, the worker in rottlera wood, and the bell-frame;—how he succeeded in making it as he did.

11. *Tung-yê K'î* and his chariot-driving;—how his horses broke down.

12. The skill of the artisan *Shui*.

14. The weakling *Sun Hsiû* and the Master *3ze-pien K'ing-3ze*, with his disciples.

BOOK XX.

Par. 1. *K'wang-3ze* and his disciples;—the great tree that was of no use, and the goose that could not cackle.

2. *Î-lião* of *Shih-nan* and the marquis of *Lû*;—how the former presses it on the marquis to go to an Utopia of Táoism in the south, to escape from his trouble and sorrow.

3. *Pei-kung Shê* and prince *K'ing-k'î*;—how the former collected taxes and made a peal of bells.

4. How the *Thái-kung Zǎn* condoled with Confucius on his distresses, and tried to convert him to Táoism.

5. Confucius and 3ze-sang Hû. The Táoistic effect of their conversation on the former. The dying charge of Shun to Yü.

6. Kwang-3ze in rags before the king of Wei. The apologue of the climbing monkey.

7. Confucius and Yen Hui;—on occasion of the perilous situation between *Khăn* and 3hái. Confucius expounds the principles that supported him.

8. Kwang-3ze's experiences in the park of Tiáo-ling;—has the character of an apologue.

9. The Innkeeper's two concubines;—the beauty disliked and the ugly one honoured.

BOOK XXI.

Par. 1. Thien 3ze-fang and the marquis Wăn of Wei.

2. Wăn-po Hsüeh-3ze and the scholars of the Middle States.

3. Confucius and Yen Hui;—on the incomprehensibleness to the latter of the Master's course.

4. Conversation between Confucius and Láo-3ze on the beginning of things.

5. Kwang-3ze and duke Âi of Lû;—on the dress of the scholar.

6. Pâi-lî Hsi.

7. The duke of Sung and his map-drawers.

8. King Wăn and the old fisherman of 3ang. Confucius and Yen Hui on king Wăn's dream about the fisherman.

9. The archery of Lieh-3ze and Po-hwăn Wû-zăn.

10. Kien Wû, and Sun Shû-áo, the True man. Confucius's account of the True man. The king of *Khû* and the ruler of Fan.

BOOK XXII.

Par. 1. Knowledge, Dumb Inaction, Head-strong Stammerer, and Hwang-Tî on the Táo.

3. Nieh *Khüeh* questioning Phei-î about the Táo.

4. Shun and his minister *Khăng*;—that man is not his own.

5. Confucius and Láo Tan ;—on the Perfect Táo.
6. Tung-kwo 3ze's question to Kwang-3ze about where the Táo was to be found, and the reply.
7. Á-ho Kan, Shán Nǎng, Láo-lung K'i, Yen Kang ;—Grand Purity, Infinitude, Do-nothing, and No-beginning :—on what the Táo is.
8. Star-light and Non-entity.
9. The Minister of War and his forger of swords.
10. Zǎn K'hiù and Confucius ;—how it was before heaven and earth.
11. Confucius and Yen Hui :—No demonstration to welcome, no movement to meet.

BOOK XXIII.

- Par. 1. Kǎng-sang K'hiù and the people about Wei-lêi hill.
2. Kǎng-sang K'hiù and his disciples. He repudiates being likened by them to Yáo and Shun.
 3. Kǎng-sang K'hiù and the disciple Nan-yung K'hiù.
 - 4-12. Láo-3ze lessoning Nan-yung K'hiù on the principles of Táoism.

BOOK XXIV.

- Pars. 1, 2. Hsü Wû-kwei, Nü Shang, and the marquis Wû of Wei :—Hsü's discourses to the marquis.
3. Hwang-Ti, with six attending sages, in quest of the Táo, meets with a wise boy herding horses.
 5. Debate between Kwang-3ze and Hui-3ze, illustrating the sophistry of the latter.
 6. The artisan Shih cleans the nose of a statue with the wind of his axe ; but declines to try his ability on a living subject.
 7. Advice of Kwan Kung on his death-bed to duke Hwan of K'hi about his choice of a successor to himself.
 8. The king of Wû and the crafty monkey. His lesson from its death to Yen Pû-i.
 9. Nan-po 3ze-k'hi and his attendant Yen K'hǎng-3ze.

The trance is the highest result of the Táo. Practical lesson to be drawn from it.

10. Confucius at the court of *K'ü* along with Sun Shü-áo and Í-liáo.

11. *Ze-k'hi*, and his eight sons, with the physiognomist *K'ü-fang Yán*.

12. Nieh *K'üeh* meets Hsü Yü fleeing from the court of Yáo.

BOOK XXV.

Par. 1. *Ze-yang* seeking an introduction to the king of *K'ü*. Í Kieh, Wang Kwo, and the recluse Kung-yüeh Hsiü.

3. The ancient sovereign *Zán-hsiang*; Thang, the founder of the Shang dynasty; Confucius; and Yung-*k'hang Ze*.

4. King Yung of Wei and his counsellors:—on his desire and schemes to be revenged on Thien Máu of *K'hi*. Tái *Shin-zán* and his apologue about the horns of a snail.

5. Confucius and the Recluse at Ant-hill in *K'ü*.

6. The Border-warden of *K'ang-wú*'s lessons to *Ze-láo*. Kwang-*ze*'s enforcement of them.

7. *Láo-ze* and his disciple Po K'ü:—that the prohibitions of Law provoke to transgression.

8. The conversion to Taoism of K'ü Po-yü.

9. Confucius and the historiographers;—about the honorary title of duke Ling of Wei.

10. Little Knowledge and the Correct Harmonizer:—on the Talk of the Hamlets and Villages.

11. On the namelessness of the Táo; and that Táo is but a borrowed or metaphorical name.

BOOK XXVI.

Par. 2. Against delaying to do good when it is in one's power to do it. The apologue of Kwang-*ze* meeting with a goby on the road.

3. The big fish caught by the son of the duke of *Zán*.

4. The Resurrectionist Students.

5. How Láo Lái-ze admonished Confucius.
6. The dream of the ruler Yüan of Sung about a tortoise.
7. Hui-ze and Kwang-ze;—on the use of being useless.
11. Illustrations of the evil accruing from going to excess in action, or too suddenly taking action.

BOOK XXVII.

Par. 2. Kwang-ze and Hui-ze on Confucius;—did he change his views in his sixtieth year?

3. Confucius and his other disciples:—on Ǵǵng-ze and his twice taking office with different moods of mind.
4. Yen Kǵǵng Ǵze-yü tells his Master Tung-kwo Ǵze-kǵi of his gradual attainments.
5. The penumbrae and the shadows.
6. Láo-ze's lessoning of Yang Ǵze-kü, and its effects on him.

BOOK XXVIII.

Par. 1. Yáo's proffers of the throne to Hsü Yü and Ǵze-káu Kih-fü. Shun's proffers of it to Ǵze-káu Kih-po, to Shan Küan, and to the farmer of Shih-hü. Thâi-wang Than-fü and the northern tribes. Prince Sâu of Yüeh.

2. Counsel of Ǵze-hwâ Ǵze to the marquis Káo of Han.
3. The ruler of Lû and the Taoist Yen Ho, who hides himself from the advances of the other.
4. Lieh-ze and his wife, on his declining a gift from the ruler of Kǵǵng.
5. The high-minded and resolute sheep-butcher Yüeh, and king Káo of Kǵü.
6. The poor Yüan Hsien and the wealthy Ǵze-kung. Ǵǵng-ze, in extreme poverty, maintaining his high and independent spirit. The satisfaction of Confucius in Yen Hui refusing, though poor, to take any official post.
7. Prince Mâu of Kung-shan, living in retirement, was not far from the Táo.
8. Confucius and the disciples Yen Hui, Ǵze-lü, and Ǵze-kung, during the perilous time between Kǵǵǵn and Ǵhái.

9. Shun and the northerner Wû-k'ai who refuses the throne. Thang, and Pien Sui and Wû Kwang, who both refused it.

10. The case of the brothers Po-i and Shû-k'hi, who refused the proffers of king Wû.

BOOK XXIX.

Par. 1. The visit of Confucius to the robber Kih, and interview between them.

2. 3ze-kang and Mân Kâu-teh (Mr. Full of Gain-recklessly-got) on the pursuit of wealth.

3. Mr. Dissatisfied and Mr. Know-the-Mean;—on the pursuit and effect of riches.

BOOK XXX.

How Kwang-ze dealt with the king of K'ao and his swordsmen, curing the king of his love of the sword-fight. The three Swords.

BOOK XXXI.

Confucius and the Old Fisherman;—including the story of the man who tried to run away from his shadow.

BOOK XXXII.

Par. 1. Lieh-ze and the effect of his over-manifestation of his attractive qualities. Failure of the warnings of his master.

2. The sad fate of Hwan of K'ang, a Confucianist, who resented his father's taking part with his Mohist brother.

5. K'û Phing-man and his slaughtering the dragon.

8. Kwang-ze's rebuke of 3h'ao Shang for pandering to the king of Sung, and thereby getting gifts from him.

9. Description to duke Ai of Lû of Confucius by Yen Ho as unfit to be entrusted with the government.

11. Kh'ao-fû the Correct, and his humility.

12. Kwang-ze's rebuke of the man who boasted of having received chariots from the king of Sung, and comparison of him to the boy who stole a pearl from under the chin of the Black Dragon when he was asleep.

13. *Kwang-ze* declines the offer of official dignity. The apologue of the sacrificial ox.

14. *Kwang-ze*, about to die, opposes the wish of his disciples to give him a grand burial. His own description of what his burial should be.

BOOK XXXIII.

Par. 1. The method of the Táo down to the time of Confucius.

2. The method of Mo Tì and his immediate followers.

3, 4. The method of Mo's later followers.

5. The method of Kwan Yin and Láo-ze.

6. The method of *Kwang-ze*.

7. The ways of Hui Shih, Kung-sun Lung, and other sophists.

APPENDIX VII.

I.

THE STONE TABLET IN THE TEMPLE OF LÂO-3ZE. BY HSIEH TÂO-HĂNG OF THE SUI DYNASTY¹.

1. After the Thái Kî (or Primal Ether) commenced its action, the earliest period of time began to be unfolded.

¹ Hsieh Tâo-hăng 薛道衡, called also Hsüan-k'ing (玄卿), was one of the most famous scholars and able ministers of the Sui dynasty (581-618), and also an eloquent writer. His biography is given at considerable length in the fifty-seventh chapter of the Books of Sui.

For about 200 years after the end of the 3in dynasty, the empire had been in a very divided and distracted state. The period is known as the epoch of 'The Southern and Northern Dynasties,' no fewer than nine or ten of which co-existed, none of them able to assert a universal sway till the rise of Sui. The most powerful of them towards the end of the time was 'The Northern K'au,' in connexion with the Wû-khăng (武成) reign of which (558-561) the name of our Hsieh first appears. In the Wû-phing (武平) reign of 'The Northern K'hi (570-576),' we find him member of a committee for revising the rules of 'The Five Classes of Ceremonial Observances,' and gaining distinction as a poet.

When the emperor Wăn (文帝), by name Yang K'ien (楊堅), a scion of the ruling House of Sui, a small principality in the present Hû-pei, and founder of the dynasty so called, had succeeded in putting down the various conflicting dynasties, and claimed the sovereignty of the empire in 581, Hsieh freely yielded his allegiance to him, and was employed in the conduct of various affairs. The important paper, of the translation of the greater part of which a translation is here attempted, was the outcome of one of them. Wăn Tî regularly observed the Confucian worship of God, but also kept up the ceremonies of Buddhism and T'aoism. Having repaired the dilapidated temple of Lâo-3ze at his birth-place, he required from Hsieh an inscription for the commemorative tablet in it, the composition of which is referred to the year 586, 'the sixth year of Sui's rule over all beneath the sky.'

Hsieh appears to have been a favourite with the emperor Wăn, but when Wăn was succeeded in 605 by his son, known as Yang Tî (煬帝), his relations with

The curtain of the sky was displayed, and the sun and moon were suspended in it; the four-cornered earth was established, and the mountains and streams found their places in it. Then the subtle influences (of the Ether) operated like the heaving of the breath, now subsiding and again expanding; the work of production went on in its seasons above and below; all things were formed as from materials, and were matured and maintained. There were the (multitudes of the) people; there were their rulers and superiors.

2. As to the august sovereigns of the highest antiquity, living as in nests on trees in summer, and in caves in winter, silently and spirit-like they exercised their wisdom. Dwelling like quails, and drinking (the rain and dew) like newly-hatched birds, they had their great ceremonies like the great terms of heaven and earth, not requiring to be regulated by the dishes and stands; and (also) their great music corresponding to the common harmonies of heaven and earth, not needing the guidance of bells and drums.

3. By and by there came the loss of the T'ao, when its Characteristics took its place. They in their turn were lost, and then came Benevolence. Under the Sovereigns and Kings that followed, now more slowly and anon more rapidly, the manners of the people, from being good and simple, became bad and mean. Thereupon came the Literati and the Mohists with their confused contentions; names and

the throne became less happy. Offended by a memorial which Hsieh presented, and the ground of offence in which we entirely fail to perceive, the emperor ordered him to put an end to himself. Hsieh was surprised by the sentence, and hesitated to comply with it, on which an executioner was sent to strangle him. Thus ended the life of Hsieh T'ao-h'ang in his seventieth year. His death was regretted and resented, we are told, by the people generally. A collection of his writings was made in seventy chapters, and was widely read. I do not know to what extent these have been preserved; if many of them have been lost, and the paper, here in part submitted to the reader, were a fair specimen of the others, the loss must be pronounced to be great. Of this paper I have had two copies before me in translating it. One of them is in *Giáo Hung's* 'Wings to Láo-ze;' the other is in 'The Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers.' Errors of the Text occur now in the one copy, now in the other. From the two combined a Text, which must be exactly correct or nearly so, is made out.

rules were everywhere diffused. The 300 rules¹ of ceremony could not control men's natures; the 3000 rules¹ of punishment were not sufficient to put a stop to their treacherous villainies. But he who knows how to cleanse the current of a stream begins by clearing out its source, and he who would straighten the end of a process must commence with making its beginning correct. Is not the Great Tào the Grand Source and the Grand Origin of all things?

4. The Master Lâo was conceived under the influence of a star. Whence he received the breath (of life) we cannot fathom, but he pointed to the (plum-) tree (under which he was born), and adopted it as his surname²; we do not understand² whence came the musical sounds (that were heard), but he kept his marvellous powers concealed in the womb for more than seventy years. When he was born, the hair on his head was already white, and he took the designation of 'The Old Boy' (or Lâo-3ze). In his person, three gateways and two (bony) pillars formed the distinctive marks of his ears and eyes; two of the symbols for five, and ten brilliant marks were left by the wonderful tread of his feet and the grasp of his hands. From the time of Fû-hsi down to that of the Kâu dynasty, in uninterrupted succession, dynasty after dynasty, his person appeared, but with changed names. In the times of kings Wăn and Wû he discharged the duties, (first), of Curator of the Royal Library³, and (next), of the Recorder under the Pillar³. Later on in that dynasty he filled different offices, but did

¹ Compare vol. xxviii, p. 323, par. 38.

² Lî (李), a plum-tree. For this and many of the other prodigies mentioned by Hsieh, see what Julien calls 'The Fabulous Legend of Lâo-3ze,' and has translated in the Introduction to his version of the Tào Teh King. Others of them are found in the Historical, or rather Legendary, Introduction in the 'Collection of Tàoist Treatises,' edited by Lû Yü in 1877.

³ The meaning of the former of these offices may be considered as settled;—see the note in Wang K'ân-k'ai's edition of the 'Historical Records (1870),' under the Biography of Lâo-3ze. The nature of the second office is not so clearly ascertained. It was, I apprehend, more of a literary character than the curatorship.

not change his appearance. As soon as Hsüan Nî¹ saw him, he sighed over him as 'the Dragon,' whose powers are difficult to be known². Yin (Hsî), keeper of the (frontier) gate, keeping his eyes directed to every quarter, recognised 'the True Man' as he was hastening into retirement. (By Yin Hsî he was prevailed on) to put forth his extraordinary ability, and write his Book in two Parts³,—to lead the nature (of man) back to the Tâo, and celebrating the usefulness of 'doing nothing.' The style of it is very condensed, and its reasoning deep and far-reaching. The hexagram which is made up of the 'dragons on the wing'⁴ is not to be compared with it in exquisite subtlety. (The 30 *Kwan*) which ends with the capture of the Lin, does not match it in its brightness and obscurity. If employed to regulate the person, the spirit becomes clear and the will is still. If employed to govern the state, the people return to simplicity, and become sincere and good. When one goes on to refine his body in accordance with it, the traces of material things are rolled away from it; in rainbow-hued robes and mounted on a stork he goes forwards and backwards to the purple palace; on its juice of gold and wine of jade⁵ he feasts in the beautiful and pure capital. He is lustrous as the sun and moon; his ending and beginning are those of heaven and earth. He who crosses its stream, drives away the dust and noise of the world; he who finds its gate, mounts prancing up on the misty clouds. It is not for the ephemeral fly to know the fading and luxuriance of the Tâ-*k*hun⁶, or for a Fäng-î⁷ to fathom the depth of an Arm of the sea. Vast indeed (is the Tâo)! words are not sufficient to describe its excellence and powers!

5. *Kwang Kâu* tells us, that, 'when Lâo Tan died,

¹ Confucius, who was styled after the beginning of our era for several centuries 'Duke Nî, the Illustrious.'

² See vol. xxxix, pp. 34, 35.

³ See vol. xxxix, p. 35.

⁴ The *K'ien* or first of all the hexagrams of the *Yî K'ing*; but the sentence is to be understood of all the hexagrams,—of the *Yî* as a whole.

⁵ Compare Pope's line, 'The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew.'

⁶ Vol. xxxix, p. 166.

⁷ Vol. xxxix, p. 244.

Khin Shih went to condole (with his son), but after crying out three times, immediately left the house¹. This was what is called the punishment for his neglecting his Heaven (-implanted nature), and although it appears as one of the metaphorical illustrations of the supercilious officer, yet there is some little indication in the passage of the reappearance of the snake after casting its exuviae².

[At this point the author leaves the subject of the *Táo* and its prophet, and enters on a long panegyric of the founder of the Sui dynasty and his achievements. This sovereign was the emperor *Wăn* (文帝), the founder of Sui (隋高祖), originally *Yang Kien*, a scion of the House of Sui, a principality whose name remains in *Sui-kâu*, of the department *Teh-an* in *Hû Pei*. He was certainly the ablest man in the China of his day, and deserves a portion of the praise with which Mr. *Hsieh* celebrates him after his extravagant fashion. He claimed the throne from the year 581. While doing honour to Confucianism, he did not neglect the other two religions in the empire, *Táoism* and Buddhism; and having caused the old temple of *Láo-sze* to be repaired in grand style in 586, he commissioned *Hsieh Táo-hăng* to superintend the setting up in it a commemorative Tablet of stone.

I pass over all this, which is related at great length, and proceed to give the inscription. It occupies no fewer than 352 characters in 88 lines, each consisting of four characters. The lines are arranged in what we may call eleven stanzas of equal length, the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines of each rhyming together. There is a good deal of art in the metrical composition. In the first six stanzas the rhyming finals are in the even tone and one of the deflected tones alternately. In the last five stanzas this arrangement is reversed. The rhymes in 7, 9, and 11 are deflected, and in 8 and 10 even. The measure of four characters is the most common in the *Shih King* or Ancient Book of Poetry.

¹ Vol. xxxix, p. 201.

² Referring, I suppose, to the illustration of the fire and the faggots.

It continued to be a favourite down to the Thang dynasty, after which it fell very much into disuse. Through the many assonances of the Chinese characters, and the attention paid to the tones, we have in Chinese composition much of the art of rhyming, but comparatively little of the genius of poetry.]

II.

THE INSCRIPTION.

- St. 1. Back in the depths of ancient time ;
 Remote, before the Tîs began ;
 Four equal sides defined the earth,
 And pillars eight the heaven sustained.
 All living things in classes came,
 The valleys wide, and mighty streams.
 The Perfect Tâo, with movement wise,
 Unseen, Its work did naturally.
- St. 2. Its power the elements¹ all felt ;
 The incipient germs of things² appeared.
 Shepherd and Lord established were,
 And in their hands the ivory bonds³.
 The Tîs must blush before the Hwangs⁴;
 The Wangs must blush before the Tîs⁴.
 More distant grew Tâo's highest gifts,
 And simple ways more rare became.
- St. 3. The still placidity was gone,
 And all the old harmonious ways.
 Men talents prized, and varnished wit ;
 The laws displayed proved but a net.

¹ 'The five essences ;' meaning, I think, the subtle power and operation of the five elements.

² So Williams, under Wei (微). See also the Khang-hsi Thesaurus under the phrase 三微.

³ 'Bonds' with written characters on them superseded the 'knotted cords' of the primitive age. That the material of the bonds should be, as here represented, slips of ivory, would seem to anticipate the progress of society.

⁴ The Hwangs (皇) preceded the Tîs in the Tâoistic genesis of history ; and as being more simple were Tâoistically superior to them ; so it was with the Tîs and the Wangs or Kings.

Wine-cups and stands the board adorned,
And shields and spears the country filled.
The close-meshed nets the fishes scared:
And numerous bows the birds alarmed.

St. 4. Then did the True Man¹ get his birth,
As 'neath the Bear the star shone down².
All dragon gifts his person graced;
Like the stork's plumage was his hair.
The complicated he resolved³, the sharp made blunt³,
The mean rejected, and the generous chose;
In brightness like the sun and moon,
And lasting as the heaven and earth³.

St. 5. Small to him seemed the mountains five⁴,
And narrow seemed the regions nine⁴;
About he went with lofty tread,
And in short time he rambled far.
In carriage by black oxen drawn⁵,
Around the purple air was bright.
Grottoes then oped to him their sombre gates,
And thence, unseen, his spirit power flowed forth.

St. 6. The village near the stream of Ko⁶
Traces of him will still retain⁶;
But now, as in the days of old,
With changed times the world is changed.

¹ This of course was Lâo-3ze.

² See above, p. 313, par. 4.

³ In the *Tào Teh King*, p. 50, par. 2, and p. 52, par. 1. The reading of line 7 is different in my two authorities: — in the one 日角月角; in the other 乃前月角. I suppose the correct reading should be— 日前月角, and have given what I think is the meaning.

⁴ Two well-known numerical categories. See Mayers's *Manual*, pp. 320, 321, and p. 340.

⁵ So it was, according to the story, that Lâo-3ze drew near to the barrier gate, when he wished to leave China.

⁶ The Ko is a river flowing from Ho-nan into An-hui, and falling into the Hwâi, not far from the district city of Hwâi-yüan. It enters the one province from the other in the small department of Po (亳州), in which, according to a Chinese map in my possession, Lâo-3ze was born. The *Khang-hsi Thesaurus* also gives a passage to the effect that the temple of his mother was hereabouts, at a bend in the Ko.

His stately temple fell to ruin ;
 His altar empty was and still ;
 By the nine wells dryandras grew¹,
 And the twin tablets were but heaps of stone.

St. 7. But when our emperor was called to rule,
 All spirit-like and sage was he.
 Earth's bells reverberated loud,
 And light fell on the heavenly mirror down.
 The universe in brightness shone,
 And portents all were swept away ;
 (All souls), or bright or dark², revered,
 And spirits came to take from him their law.

St. 8. From desert sands³ and where the great trees grow³,
 From phoenix caves, and from the dragon woods,
 All different creatures came sincere ;
 Men of all regions gave their hearts to him.
 Their largest vessels brought their gifts,
 And kings their rarest things described ;
 Black clouds a thousand notes sent forth ;
 And in the fragrant winds were citherns heard⁴.

St. 9. Through his transforming power, the tripods were
 made sure ;
 And families became polite and courteous.

¹ The nine wells, or bubbling springs, near the village where Láo was born, are mentioned by various writers ; but I fail to see how the growth of the trees about them indicated the ruin of his temple.

² I have introduced the 'all souls' in this line, because of the 鬼 in the second character. Williams defines the first character, yao (曜), as 'the effulgence of the sun,' and of 'heavenly bodies generally ;' the second (魄) is well known as meaning 'the animal soul,' and 'the dark disk of the moon.' The Thesaurus, however, explains the two characters together as a name for the pole star (北辰 ; see Analects I, i) ; and perhaps I had better have followed this meaning.

³ The 'desert sands' were, no doubt, what we call 'the desert of Gobi.' The trees referred to were 'in the extreme East.' The combination phan-mû is not described more particularly.

⁴ This and the three preceding lines are not a little dark.

Ever kept he in mind (the sage) beneath the Pillar¹,
 Still emulous of the sovereigns most ancient².
 So has he built this pure temple,
 And planned its stately structure;
 Pleasant, with hills and meadows around,
 And lofty pavilion with its distant prospect.

St. 10. Its beams are of plum-tree, its ridge-pole of cassia;
 A balustrade winds round it; many are its pillars;
 About them spreads and rolls the fragrant smoke³;
 Cool and pure are the breezes and mists.
 The Immortal officers come to their places⁴;
 The Plumaged guests are found in its court⁴,
 Numerous and at their ease,
 They send down blessing, bright and efficacious.

St. 11. Most spirit-like, unfathomable,
 (Tâo's) principles abide, with their symbolism at-
 tached⁵.
 Loud is Its note, but never sound emits⁶,
 Yet always it awakes the highest echoes.
 From far and near men praise It;
 In the shades, and in the realms of light, they look
 up for Its aid;
 Reverently have we graven and gilt this stone
 And made our lasting proclamation thereby to heaven
 and earth.

¹ 'The (sage) beneath the Pillar' must be Lâo-ze. See above in the Introductory notice, p. 313.

² See the note on the meaning of the epithet 太上, vol. xxxix, p. 40.

³ 'The smoke,' I suppose, 'of the incense, and from the offerings.'

⁴ Tâoist monks are called 'Plumaged or Feathered Scholars (羽士),' from the idea that by their discipline and pills, they can emancipate themselves from the trammels of the material body, and ascend (fly up) to heaven. Arrived there, as Immortals or Hsien (仙), it further appears they were constituted into a hierarchy or society, of which some of them were 'officers,' higher in rank than others.

⁵ An allusion to the text of the hexagrams of the Yî K'ing, where the explanations of them by king Wăn,—his thwan, are followed by the symbolism of their different lines by the duke of K'âu,—his hsiang.

⁶ See the Tâo Teh K'ing, ch. xli, par. 2.

APPENDIX VIII.

RECORD FOR THE SACRIFICIAL HALL OF KWANG-3ZE.

BY SÔ SHIH¹.

1. *Kwang-3ze* was a native (of the territory) of Măng and an officer in (the city of) *Khi-yüan*. He had been dead for more than a thousand years, and no one had up to this time sacrificed to him in Măng. It was Wang King, the assistant Secretary of the Prefect, who superintended the erection of a Sacrificial Hall (to *Kwang-3ze*), and (when the building was finished) he applied to me for

¹ The elder of two brothers, both famous as scholars, poets, and administrators in the history of their country, and sons of a father hardly less distinguished. The father (A. D. 1009-1066) was named Sû Hsün (蘇洵), with the designation of Ming-yun (明允), and the two names of locality, Láo-khwan (老泉) and Mei-shân (眉山). Of the two brothers the elder (1036-1101), author of the notice here adduced, was the more celebrated. His name was Shih (軾), and his designation 3ze-kân (子瞻); but he is more frequently styled Tung-pho (東坡), from the situation of a house which he occupied at one time. His life was marked by several vicissitudes of the imperial favour which was shown to him and of the disgrace to which he was repeatedly subjected. He was versed in all Chinese literature, but the sincerity of his Confucianism has not been called in question. His brother (1039-1112), by name K'eh (轍), by designation 3ze-yü (子由), and by locality Ying-pin (穎濱), has left us a commentary on the T'ao Teh K'ing, nearly the whole of which is given by 3iao Hung, under the several chapters. It seems to have been K'eh's object to find a substantial unity under the different forms of Confucian, Buddhistic, and T'aoist thought.

The short essay, for it is more an essay than 'a record,' which is here translated is appended by 3iao Hung to his 'Wings to *Kwang-3ze*.' It is hardly worthy of Shih's reputation.

a composition which might serve as a record of the event ; (which I made as follows) :—

2. According to the Historical Records (of Sze-mâ *K'ien*), Kwang-ze lived in the time of the kings Hui of Liang (B.C. 370–333 [?])¹ and Hsüan of *K'hi* (B.C. 332–314). There was no subject of study to which he did not direct his attention, but his preference was for the views of Lâo-ze ; and thus it was that of the books which he wrote, containing in all more than ten myriad characters, the greater part are metaphorical illustrations of those views. He made 'The Old Fisherman,' 'The Robber *Kih*,' and 'The Cutting Open Satchels,' to deride the followers of Confucius, and to set forth the principles of Lâo-ze. (So writes Sze-mâ *K'ien*, but) his view is that of one who had only a superficial knowledge of Kwang-ze. My idea is that Kwang wished to support the principles of Khung-ze, though we must not imitate him in the method which he took to do so. (I will illustrate my meaning by a case of a different kind):—A prince of *K'hi*² was once hurrying away from the city in disguise³, when the gate-keeper refused to let him pass through. On this his servant threatened the prince with a switch, and reviled him, saying, 'Slave, you have no strength !' On seeing this, the gate-keeper allowed them to go out. The thing certainly took place in an irregular way, and the prince escaped by an inversion of what was right ;—he seemed openly to put himself in opposition, while he was secretly maintaining and supporting. If we think that his servant did not love the prince, our judgment will be wrong ; if we think that his action was a model for imitation in serving a prince, in that also we shall be wrong. In the same way the words of Kwang-ze are thrown out in a contradictory manner, with which the tenor of his writing does not agree. The correct interpre-

¹ Compare vol. xxxix, pp. 36, 37, 39. Sze-mâ *K'ien* enters king Hui's death in this year. The 'Bamboo Books' place it sixteen years later, see 'The General Mirror of History,' under the thirty-fifth year of king Hsien of *K'au*.

² I suppose this incident is an invention of Sû Shih's own. I have not met with it anywhere else. In *Siào*'s text for the 'in disguise' of the translation, however, there is an error. He gives 徽服 instead of 微服.

tation of them shows them to be far from any wish to defame Khung-ze.

3. And there is that in the style which slightly indicates his real meaning. (In his last Book for instance), when discussing the historical phases of Taoism, he exhibits them from Mo Ti, *K'in Hwâ-li*, Phăng Măng, Shăn Táo, Thien Pien, Kwan Yin, and Láo Tan, down even to himself, and brings them all together as constituting one school, but Confucius is not among them¹. So great and peculiar is the honour which he does to him!

4. I have had my doubts, however, about 'The Robber *K'ih* (Bk. XXIX),' and 'The Old Fisherman (Bk. XXXI),' for they do seem to be really defamatory of Confucius. And as to 'The Kings who have wished to Resign the Throne (Bk. XXVIII)' and 'The Delight in the Sword-fight (Bk. XXX);' they are written in a low and vulgar style, and have nothing to do with the doctrine of the Táo. Looking at the thing and reflecting on it, there occurred to me the paragraph at the end of Book XXVII ('Metaphorical Language'). It tells us that 'when Yang Ze-kü had gone as far as *K'in*, he met with Láo-ze, who said to him, "Your eyes are lofty, and you stare; who would live with you? The purest carries himself as if he were defiled, and the most virtuous seems to feel himself defective." Yang Ze-kü looked abashed and changed countenance. When he first went to his lodging-house, the people in it met him and went before him. The master of it carried his mat for him, and the mistress brought to him the towel and comb. The lodgers left their mats and the cook his fire-place, as he went past them. When he went away, the others in the house would have striven with him about (the places for) their mats.'

After reading this paragraph, I passed over the four intermediate Books,—the Zang Wang, the Yüeh Kien, the Yü Fû, and the Táo K'ih, and joined it on to the first paragraph of the Lieh Yü-khâu (Book XXXII). I then read how Lieh-ze had started to go to *K'hi* but came back

¹ See Book XXXII, pars. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

when he had got half-way to it. (When asked why he had done so), he replied, 'I was frightened, I went into ten soup-shops to get a meal, and in five of them the soup was set before me before I had paid for it.' Comparing this with the paragraph about Yang 3ze-kü, the light flashed on me. I laughed and said, 'They certainly belong to one chapter!'

The words of *Kwang-3ze* were not ended; and some other stupid person copied in (these other four Books) of his own among them. We should have our wits about us, and mark the difference between them. The division of paragraphs and the titles of the Books did not proceed from *Kwang-3ze* himself, but were introduced by custom in the course of time¹.

Recorded on the 19th day of the 11th month of the first year of the period Yüan Fǎng (1078-1085).

¹ Few of my readers, I apprehend, will appreciate this article, which is to me more a *jeu d'esprit* than 'a record.' It is strange that so slight and fantastic a piece should have had the effect attributed to it of making the four Books which they call in question be generally held by scholars of the present dynasty to be apocryphal, but still Sū Shih avows in it his belief in Book XXXIII. Compare the quotation from Lin Hsi-kung on pp. 296, 297.

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 Thien Ze (highest name of the sovereign), ii, 195, et al.
 Thien Ze-fang (preceptor of marquis of Wei), ii, 42, 43.
 Thung-thing (the lake), i, 348; ii, 8.
 Thung-thü (a certain region), ii, 110.
 3âi-lü (name of an abyss), ii, 136.
 3ang (a place), ii, 51; (a name for a male slave), i, 273.
 3äng (the disciple 3äng Shän), i, 269, 274, 287, 292, 295, 328; ii, 132, 145, 158.
 3âu (birthplace of Mencius), ii, 216.
 3eh-yang (designation of Phäng Yang), ii, 114.
 3iao Hung (commentator and editor), i, pp. xv, xix, 76, 84, 90, 119, 123, et al.
 3iao-liáo (the, orthotomus or tailor-bird), i, 170.
 3in (the state), i, 194, 319; ii, 169, 189.
 3o K'wan (the book so called), i, 106; ii, 210, 235, et al.
 3ung (a state), i, 190.
 3ze-hsiü (the famous Wü Ze-hsiü or Wü Yüan), i, 283; ii, 2, 174, 180.
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 3ze-kang (disciple of Confucius), ii, 176, 177.
 3ze-káo (designation of duke of Sheh), i, 210.
 3ze-káu Kih-fü, and 3ze-káu Kih-po (men to whom Yáo and Shun

- wished to resign the throne), ii, 149.
- 3ze-kbân (a minister of Käng), i, 226, 227, 228.
- 3ze-kbi (minister of war of Kbû), ii, 156.
- 3ze-kbi, ii, 106. See Nan-kwo 3ze-kbi.
- 3ze-kbin Kang (a Taoist), i, 250.
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- 3ze-sang Hû (a Taoist), i, 250, 251.
- 3ze-sze (a Taoist), i, 247.
- 3ze-wei kîh lin (a certain forest), ii, 192.
- 3ze-yang (minister of Käng), ii, 154.
- 3ze-yû. See Yen Kbäng.
- 3ze-yü (a Taoist), i, 247.
- 3hâi (the state), i, 352; ii, 32, 34, 160, 161, 172, 197.
- 3han-lião (name for vague uncertainty), i, 247.
- 3hang-wû (where Shun was buried), ii, 134.
- 3hào Shang (a man of Sung), ii, 207.
- 3hui Kbû (a contemporary of Lâu-ze), i, 294.
- 3hung-kîh (a state), i, 206; perhaps i. q. 3ung.
- 3hze (name of 3ze-kung, q.v.), ii, 160.
- [3h and Kb are sometimes interchanged in spelling names.]
- Wăn (the king), i, 359; ii, 51, 52, 53, 168, 172, 173. (The famous duke of 3in), ii, 173. (A marquis of Wei), ii, 42, 43. (A king of Kào), ii, 186, 190, 191. (The emperor of Sui), ii, 311, 315.
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- Yang Hû (a bad officer), i, 387.
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- Ying (the capital of Kbü), i, 347; ii, 101, 230.
- Ying (a river), ii, 161.
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- Zâh-kung Shih (a teacher of Confucius's time), i, 260.

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- Zăh Kung King (the Treatise so called), ii, 269-272.
- Zăn (name of a region in the South; probably a district of *Kbû*), ii, 133, 134. In ii, 32, the Zăn in *Thâi-kung Zăn* may indicate a different quarter, or the Zăn there may be simply a name.
- Zăn-hsiang (a prehistoric sovereign), ii, 117.
- Zăn *Kbiû* (disciple of Confucius), ii, 71, 72.
- Zo (Spirit-lord of the Northern sea), i, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384.
- Zû and Zû-*kê* (Literati, = Confucianists), i, 182, 296, 360; ii, 73, 100.
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OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.			II Class.								III Class.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g			ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	. . .	
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q				{ 𐬙 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬜 (xho)	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	. . .	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)			ङ	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	h, hs	
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह							. . .	
8 " lenis	,										. . .	
9 " asper faucalis	'h										. . .	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h										. . .	
11 " asper fricatus	. . .	'h									. . .	
12 " lenis fricatus	. . .	'h									. . .	
Gutturales modificatæ (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis	k			च	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	k	
14 " aspirata	kh			छ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	kh	
15 Media	g			ज	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	. . .	
16 " aspirata	gh			झ	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .	
17 " Nasalis	ñ			ञ	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬵	𐬶	𐬶	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y')		. . .	𐬵	𐬶	𐬶	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		श	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	ش	ש	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	z		. . .	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	ز	ז	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .		त	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬥𐬵	𐬥𐬵	𐬥𐬵	ת	ת	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ד	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		ल	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		ळ	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	s (s)	स	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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